

NEW PUBLICATION.

NEANDER'S HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION, during the first three Centuries. Thin 8vo. No. 1, pp. 96, price 25 cents. Philadelphia: JAMES M. CAMPBELL & Co. May, 1843. For sale by N. Hickman.

We are gratified to find that this valuable and cheap publication is presented to the public on good paper, and in legible type: thus proving that cheapness and convenience may be combined. We hope this is an indication that the present generation will be spared from the destruction of eye-sight which has been predicted as the consequence of reading the miserable type of many modern *cheap* publications.

The work before us is No. 1 of the Biblical Cabinet; and the volume of Neander's history will be completed in five numbers, at a cost of one dollar and twenty-five cents. The English copy costs six dollars and twenty-five cents. Other standard works will succeed this.

This work of Dr. NEANDER, which is translated

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Neander, August, 1789-1850.

The history of the Christian religion and church during

does not wish for accurate knowledge of the History of the Christian Religion and Church, during the first three Centuries? The grain of mustard seed, planted in the Apostolic age, has become a mighty tree on whose fruit the nations live, and by whose branches they are sheltered. The reader will find, in the recital of the early history of the Christian Church, an argument in support of the divinity of its origin. It was introduced into the world without the attractions of pomp, or the support of power; and did not constrain the judgment of men by offering them "The tribute or the sword." Wrapped, at first, in swaddling clothes and laid in a manger, it gradually developed the vigor of manhood, and the purity of heaven. The worshippers of the false gods of Greece and Rome opposed the progress of the new religion. But the results of every succeeding persecution, armed with imperial power, afforded additional proof that the blood of the martyrs became the seed of the Church. The religions of Greece and Rome were buried beneath the ruins of their civil and political institutions. The religion of Jesus of Nazareth survived; and when the sign appeared in Heaven, "By this thou shalt conquer," it ascended the throne of the Cæsars. Genius and learning have conspired for its overthrow; and the rock remains unshaken. The insidious pen of the historian has seemed to praise, while it aimed to destroy; but the simple histories of the "Fishermen of Galilee" will be received by the world, after existing empires shall have declined and fallen, and new dynasties shall have arisen. In vain did Voltaire proclaim to the world, "Crush the wretch." Every opposer of this Divine Teacher shall be brought to acknowledge, with the dying and apostate Julian, "O Galilæan! thou hast conquered."

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Dr. S. Collins

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S. Collins

THE HISTORY
OF THE
CHRISTIAN RELIGION AND CHURCH,
DURING
THE THREE FIRST CENTURIES.

BY DR. AUGUSTUS NEANDER.

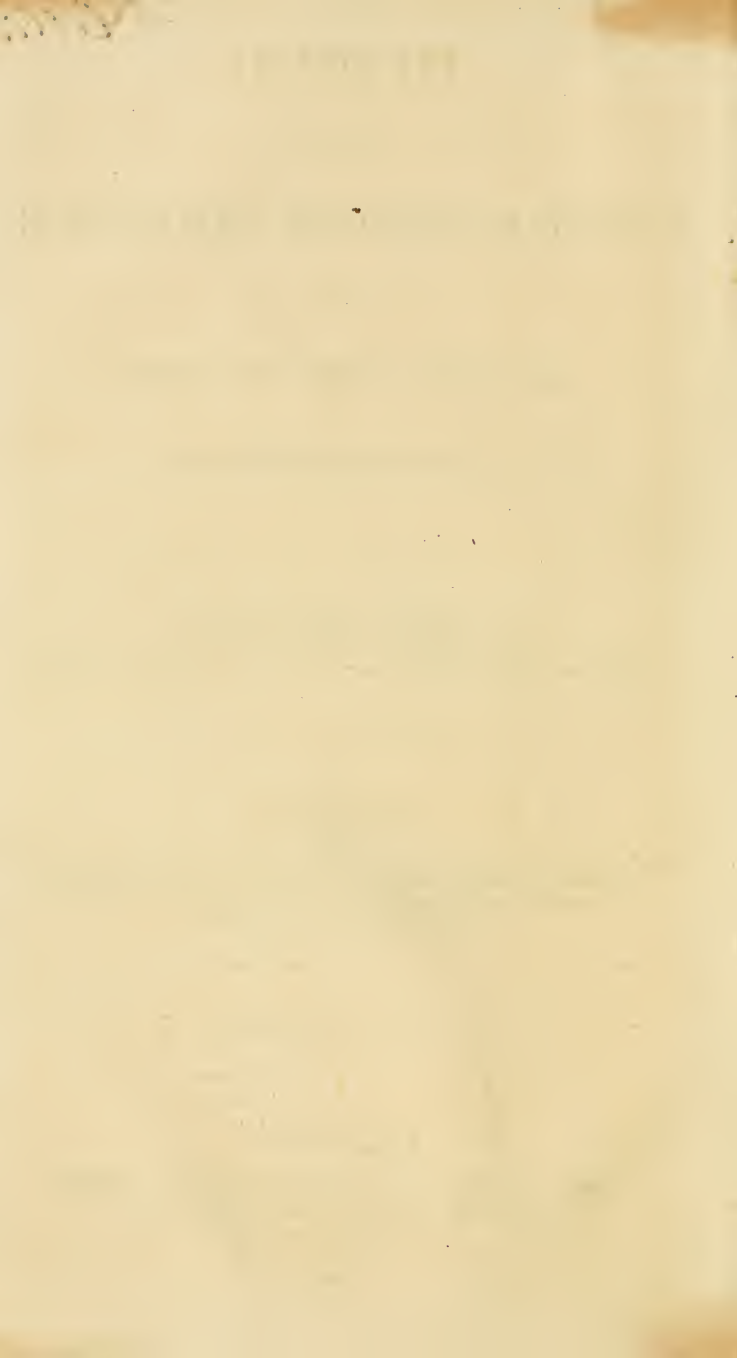
TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN,
BY HENRY JOHN ROSE, B.D.
RECTOR OF HOUGHTON CONQUEST, AND LATE FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

IN ONE VOLUME,
CONTAINING
THE INTRODUCTION; THE HISTORY OF THE PERSECUTIONS OF CHRISTIANITY; AND
THE HISTORY OF CHURCH DISCIPLINE, AND OF CHRISTIAN LIFE AND WORSHIP;
THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN SECTS AND DOCTRINES, AND AN ACCOUNT OF
THE CHIEF FATHERS OF THE CHURCH.

Philadelphia:
JAMES M. CAMPBELL & CO., 98 CHESTNUT STREET.
NEW YORK: SAXTON & MILES, 205 BROADWAY.

Stereotyped by C. W. Murray & Co.

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1843.





THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE history of the Christian Church, especially in the earlier periods of existence, is a cheering subject for the contemplation of a Christian heart. It supplies a commentary, which cannot be mistaken, on the promise of our Lord, that He would be with his disciples even to the end of the world. (Matt. xxviii. 20.) The difficulties against which Christianity had at first to struggle, only serve to prove the overwhelming might of the arm which sustained it. It was to be expected that an age of corruption should put forth all its powers to crush that religion which denounced and combated it. The progress which Christianity made in spite of this opposition, constitutes one of the chief points of interest belonging to the earlier periods of ecclesiastical history. The working of that leaven, which is destined in God's good time to leaven the whole lump, is seen most definitely at that season, when the world was exchanging its paganism for Christianity.*

Let any man read the first sixteen chapters of Gibbon, and then turn from that melancholy record of blood and crime to the history of the Christian Church during the same period. He will then acknowledge that there was beneath that stormy tide of passion and ambition an under current silently advancing, whose calmer and purer waters came to light, when once that troubled tide had passed away. He will see principles of action, and rules of life, the strongest and the purest ever given to man, making their way against all the persecutions of power, by their own intrinsic worth, and by the power which sustained them from above. It is in this point of view, among many others, that the early history of Christianity is fraught with such deep interest to man, and it is to be considered one of the great aims of such an history to develope this progress of the Church clearly, and delineate it with accuracy.

It would be foreign to the purpose of this Preface to discuss the merits or the demerits of other ecclesiastical histories, but it may be allowable to direct attention to this particular point, as connected with the work of Dr. Neander. To develope this progress of Christianity faithfully, requires that the historian should not only possess the learning and the impartiality which are needed for all historical inquiries; but that he should unite profound and extensive views of human nature with what is of even more importance, warm feelings for the higher parts of the Christian scheme, and an eye well practised to discern the dealings of God in the world. I cannot but think that the learned and amiable author of this history unites these qualifications in no common degree; and I believe that it would be difficult to become acquainted with his works without feeling reverence for the high qualities both of head and heart which adorn their author. The present portion of the history bears testimony to his candour and acuteness, his diligence and his fidelity. His judgment also in disentangling the historical† from the fictitious in the *Acta Martyrum* cannot fail to strike any one, who will take the trouble to compare the details of this history with the original of the *Acta Martyrum*, as edited by Ruinart.

To this meed of praise, high as it is, I think every impartial reader will consider the author to be entitled, but still this avowal by no means binds us to the acceptance of all the views propounded in this work. I feel it necessary to state, that in many of them I

* Every man at all acquainted with the history of religion, will see at once, that the history of this period contains much that is interesting to all ages, because the controversies of all ages have been nearly the same in substance, though varied in form, and in this period the germ of most of them will be discerned.

† It has, however, been observed, that in another part of the subject, Dr. Neander has expressed far too favourable an opinion of Apollonius of Tyana—a man, whose very existence is a matter of doubt, and whose life, as set forth to us by eulogists, is a tissue of impostures. See Leslie, *Easy Method with the Deists*.

cannot at all concur. The author has embraced them honestly, and he maintains them with a zealous love of truth, and in a truly Christian temper of charity; but still I cannot accede to the views themselves, nor acknowledge the weight of the arguments brought to support them, especially those which relate to the early form of church government, and the questions concerning the Christian ministry. It will be seen at once that these are not isolated questions; they are only parts of a larger system or view, which seeks to place Christianity in an improper opposition to Judaism in respect to universality and spirituality. The same sort of view which induces the author to attribute the rights of Christian priesthood to every Christian, and to maintain that these rights gradually became restricted to one class from motives of convenience, and the necessity of order, &c., leads him to look upon all days as *Lord's days*, and to consider the special sanctification of one day in the week a measure of convenience, rather than a precept of Christianity. The view taken of the sacraments, and some other portions of the Christian scheme, is greatly affected by this desire to represent the essentials of Christianity, as independent upon any particular and external observances. In a great degree, the views taken of these matters by the author appear to arise from habits of mind which are admirable in themselves, but still require regulation, to prevent them from undue excess or improper application. I mean his fear of lowering the spiritual nature of Christianity, by giving too much importance to its forms—his fear, lest the spirit should be lost in the form. This is a rational fear, and a just ground of jealousy, but the question is, whether it is justly applied. And in the present instance, I think it has improperly led Dr. Neander to combat the notion of an authoritative ministry, as if it savoured of the Jewish priesthood, and to present in great vagueness much which Christianity distinctly defines.*

Now one thing which is remarkably striking in the view presented by Dr. Neander of the early government of the Church, is its indefiniteness in point of time. In the first chapter he professes to treat of the apostolic times, but in that case the miraculous gifts and the superintendence of the apostles themselves would appear to deserve more particular notice. They are two elements which distinguish this period from every other. If, however, it be meant for the age immediately succeeding that of the apostles, it must be remarked that the notices of this age are very scanty, and as far as I have investigated the question, his account, which admits of lay elders and rejects an authoritative ministry, is not warranted by those notices, and still less by the accounts of the next times, of which we have a more accurate knowledge. To descend, therefore, to one or two particulars:—

* I here subjoin an extract from the "British Critic," enumerating some of the writers who treat on the question of the ministry:

"To those who are not conversant with this question we should recommend Bennet's *Rights of the Clergy*, (Lond. 1711.) This book proves, we think, decisively, the necessity of an ordination by ministers, although it does not enter into the question between presbyters and bishops. This latter question he treated in his work on *Schism*, and it is also well argued by King Charles, in the letters which passed between him and the ministers at Newport. The *Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici*, also argues the former question admirably. Leslie's little tract (on the Qualifications requisite to administer the Sacraments,) and Bilson's large treatise, are also well worthy of perusal. The former of these contains the pith of the episcopal question in a small compass. Slatyer's '*Original Draught of the Primitive Church*,' is said* to have made a convert of Lord King, against whose work on the Church it was written. Burscough, Thorndike, or Potter, might also serve the same purpose as the above works, or Daubeney's '*Guide to the Church*.' Any of these books, but especially Bennet, Leslie, or Burscough, will give the common arguments on the subject." On the question of the priesthood, as savouring of Judaism, see Hooker, *Eccles. Pol.* Book iii. § 11. v. 78. There are also some admirable remarks on this subject in an article on Dr. Whateley's *Errors of Romanism*, in the *British Critic* for July, 1831.

* As this assertion has been controverted, it may be proper to state, that I wrote the article which is here quoted, and at the same time to give the authority on which the assertion was made. It is the following passage from the *Works of the Learned* for 1739, and it will be seen that the words of the Review do not assert the fact, but simply that there exists a report to that effect—"is said to have made a convert of Lord King, &c."

After praising Sir P[eter] K[ing] as a lawyer, and mentioning his treatise on the Church, the writer proceeds:—"An answer was made by a very learned and judicious divine to this Book in 1717, which Sir P[eter] King saw, and read in MS. before it was printed; and he had it in his power to prevent the printing of it effectually, if he pleased. But so far was he from that, that he gave up his own book, which had just then had a second edition, without asking his consent, by one Bell, a dissenting bookseller, thereunto moved by the party; and he returned the MS. with thanks, and desired it might be printed, for it had convinced him of his mistakes." *Works of the Learned*, for Jan. 1739. Vol. v. p. 21.

1. With regard to lay elders (see 1 Tim. v. 17, quoted p. 190.) The passage from Bishop Bilson, which I have cited, is very badly worded, but as it was impossible to extract his commentary on it, I merely took the shortest extract possible. In his work, p. 131, the reader will find strong arguments for an interpretation, at least somewhat similar in substance, though differently expressed. The most obvious interpretation certainly appears that given by Dr. Neander, but still I am inclined to think it not the true one. Mosheim says, that he acquiesces in it, but he gives and supports in his note an entirely different interpretation. He makes "labouring in the word," to mean extending Christianity among heathens by labouring to convert them, and distinguishes this "labour" from that of teaching the converted Church: (Mosheim, de Rebus Christianorum, p. 126.) He also admits that this one passage is not sufficient to establish the existence of lay elders, that they had ceased almost immediately, and that afterwards none were made presbyters but such as could also teach the Church.

2. With regard to the gifts or *χαρισματα* of Christians (see p. 188.)

The word *χαρισματα* is used sixteen times in Scripture, and variously applied. If any one will take the trouble to look at Rom. xii. 6—8, he will find it there applied to (1.) prophecy; (2.) ministry, (*διακονια*;) (3.) teaching; (4.) exhortation; (5.) charity; (6.) government; (7.) showing mercy.

It has been contended from 1 Pet. iv. 9—11, that all gifted brethren should be ministers of the word, and preach publicly in the churches. Now I can see in this passage only a general exhortation to use all the gifts which God bestows upon us, for the edification of our brethren; and in the interpretation of ver. 11, Macknight renders it, "If any man speak *by inspiration*, let him speak as the oracles of God." It is to be remembered that, during this time, the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit were manifested by miraculous effects; and, therefore, great caution is requisite in applying what is said of those times to our own. The presbyters were the public ministers in the assemblies, the public expounders of the word of God, they were from the first appointed by imposition of hands, and it was a regular office. Now in order to make out the argument of our opponents, it ought to be shown that *any ordinary gift*, or a capacity for teaching properly, entitled a man to be a public teacher, and take the place of the presbyters without qualifying himself for that office in the regular course, to which other presbyters submitted; namely, ordination. I am unable to discover such a general permission even in the apostolic age, and I cannot but think that establishing a regular ministry with the right hand to be contended with, perhaps, or superseded by another irregular ministry from the left hand, is unlike the dealings of God and his apostles. That these gifted brethren might be of great service to the cause of Christ by activity in their own proper sphere—by instructing those whom they could instruct, no one is weak enough to deny; but this is not the point contended for. It would seem from Dr. Neander's account, that by degrees all public teaching was limited to the presbyters, which was not the case at first. We look then to the apostolic age, and we certainly find some brethren miraculously gifted, using their gifts publicly for the good of Christ's Church, though not regular ministers; but as soon as the Church of Christ emerges from the darkness which hangs around the immediate post-apostolic age, we find every thing pretty well settled, and a regular ministry established.*

The episcopal question is hardly touched upon, for the points which are concerned in it, would require separate discussions of considerable length to be fairly considered. One or two works, besides the great works of Hooker and Taylor, in which it has been

* In making these remarks, I have studiously preferred drawing them from writers, who do not agree with the Church of England, among them are Macknight, Collinge, (*Vindiciæ Ministerii Evangelici Revindicate*, p. 45—56.) M. Poole's *Quo Warranto*, (chapter entitled, Gifted Brethren no Gospel Preachers.) These two last treatises are nearly contemporary with Calamy's "*Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici*," published by the Provincial Assembly, 1654.

† Churchman's History of Episcopacy; Slatyer, (or Sclater, for the work is anonymous) Original Draught of the Primitive Church; Maurice's Diocesan Episcopacy: Brokesby's History of the Government of the Church during the three first centuries. See also, my brother's "Sermons on the Commission of the Clergy."

argued on the episcopal side, are mentioned in a note. The main point is simply this, whether presbyters had originally the right of ordination. The limits of episcopal power over the clergy is a different question, and the part of Dr. Neander which relates to this, will, I think, be read with considerable interest. Those who would wish to see the controversies in which Cyprian was engaged, handled by a person whose notions on this subject are entirely opposed to those of Dr. Neander, may consult the work entitled, *Historical Collections concerning District Succession*, during the three first centuries. It was written, I believe, by one of the Nonjurors.

These remarks it seemed proper to make on the important subject of the Christian Ministry, and in making them I trust that I shall not be deemed guilty of presumption, but simply desirous of pointing out what I believe to be true and salutary in the author's work, and what I consider erroneous. It will not be desirable to enter into the discussion of the other points at the same length. After the general indication I have made above of their unsoundness, as it appears to me, I must leave the work to the judgment of the reader. The Christian tone of feeling which characterises it, and the beautiful development of the progress of Christianity against persecution, and of its effects upon the social life of the world, cannot fail to obtain their due share of approbation, and need no praise of mine.

But it may, perhaps, be useful, if I add here a very brief synopsis of the contents of the work, so as to show the plan upon which Dr. Neander has worked in this portion of his history, and thus to methodise it more conveniently than the detailed table of contents affords us the means of doing. This is the course pursued in the history:—

INTRODUCTION.

1. General view of the heathen and Jewish world in a religious point of view.

SECTION I.—*External History of Christianity.*

1. Its propagation during the three first centuries.
2. The opposition which it met with from heathen persecution.
3. The opposition to it by controversial writings.

SECTION II.—*History of the Formation of the Church.—Church Discipline and Church Schism.*

1. General view of the early constitution of the Church and its changes, until it assumed a form of outward unity as one integral body.
2. Church Discipline—Excommunication and re-admission to the Church.
3. History of Schisms (as distinguished from Heresies.)
 - a. Schism of Felicissimus in the North African Church.
 - b. Schism of Novatian in the Romish Church.

SECTION III.—*Christian Life and Worship.*

1. Christian Life—Effects of Christianity as affecting social and domestic life, and condition of the world generally.
2. Christian Worship:

Places and times of worship—Single acts of worship—Sacraments—Baptism and the Lord's Supper, considered as acts of worship, not doctrinally viewed.

SECTION IV.—*History of the conception and Development of Christianity as a system of Doctrines.*

1. History of Sects.
 - a. The Judaizing Sects.
 - b. The Sects which arose from the mixture of Oriental Theosophy with Christianity.
- (1.) Gnostic Sects.

General Remarks on Gnostic Sects.

Cerinthus—Basilides—Valentinus—Ophites—Pseudo-basilidians—Saturninus—Tatian—Eclectics as e. g. Carpocrates—Marcion—Appendix on the Worship of the Gnostics.
- (2.) Manes and the Manichees.

SECTION V.—*History of the Formation of Christianity as a system of Doctrines in the Catholic Church which formed itself in opposition to the Sects.*

1. (a) Realistic disposition.
- (b) Idealistic disposition in the Alexandrian Church.
2. Development of the great doctrines of Christianity separately. Theology—Anthropology—Christology—Doctrine concerning the Church—Eschatology.

3. (1) History of the most celebrated Church teachers: Barnabus—Clement—Hermas.
 (2) Peculiar characteristics of the Church teachers.
 α In Asia Minor.
 β In North Africa.
 γ In Rome.
 δ In Alexandria.

I have now finished the prefatory remarks which I feel called upon to make with regard to the original work; and in concluding them, I must again express my high respect for the author's talents and learning, and for what is far above talents and learning, his Christian temper and feelings. In translating his work, I think the cause of truth requires me to express my dissent from some of his views; and I feel assured that the candid author himself would be the last person to disapprove of the course I have taken.

With regard to the manner in which I have executed my humble task of translation, it is for others to judge, not myself. I have only endeavoured to transcribe faithfully the ideas of the author, and in words approaching as much to his own as possible. In translating a work of imagination, the great point is to convey the spirit of the original: in translating the history of the Church, my object has been to say every thing which the author says, and nothing whatever which he does not say.

With regard to the second edition of this first volume, I must merely add, that it scarcely differs at all from the former, with the exception of a very few corrections, where I had either missed the sense of the original, or where I thought a slight alteration might improve the faithfulness of the version, and the clearness of the sense. I have constantly compared the proof sheets with the original, and the consequence has been the very few alterations to which I have just alluded. I ought perhaps here to apologise for the few fragments of notes which are scattered through the volume. The fact is, that I do not pretend to give any notes to the work at all, but have merely printed a few private memoranda made in the course of reading this history, because I thought them likely to be useful. In general they are merely calculated to facilitate references to other editions of the authors here quoted, besides those used by Dr. Neander. I trust that they may be found of use, inasmuch as I have often found it very difficult to consult the originals of passages, simply because the editions were different from those which I possessed.

I will only add, that as I hope, ere long, to publish a translation of the succeeding volumes of this history, I shall feel obliged by any corrections, or by any suggestions, which may render the succeeding volumes more valuable and more acceptable.

H. J. ROSE.

Houghton Conquest, 1842.

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

To set forth the history of the Church of Christ, as an eloquent witness to the Divine power of Christianity, as a school of Christian experience, as a voice of instruction and warning to all who choose to hear, which speaks to all ages of the world—this has long been the chief aim of my life and of my studies. And yet at the same time I have always felt the deep importance of such a work, and the great difficulty of accomplishing it in a manner which should answer the demands of knowledge, and at the same time serve these great practical purposes. Both these ends are intimately connected; nothing, which will not prove its truth before the judgment-seat of a genuine, unprejudiced knowledge, that does not look through the false glare of a philosophical or dogmatical school, can be adapted for edification, instruction, and admonition; and wherever knowledge, occupying itself with Divine things, and their revelation and development in human nature, does not lose itself, by the mismanagement of human perverseness, in senseless caricatures, or content itself with a lifeless skeleton of facts, it must necessarily lead to these practical results. Knowledge and life must mutually imbue each other with the spirit peculiar to each, if we would preserve the source of life from the manifold contradictions of error, and knowledge from a dead and empty vanity.

Although I felt an inward call to such an undertaking, yet I was constantly withheld from the execution of this favourite scheme, which had so long occupied my thoughts, by the consciousness of its importance and its responsibility—especially in an age like the present, which needs so much the aid of "*Historia, vitæ Magistra*," to find a sure and certain guide amidst its multifarious storms. After much preparation by means of works on detached portions of ecclesiastical history,* I was at last induced, by many outward and inward motives, to attempt the execution of a work which, if delayed too long, might, perhaps, remain forever unaccomplished.

The most immediate inducement of an outward nature was, that my very excellent publisher urged me to undertake a new edition of my book on the Emperor Julian, and to supply what was left imperfect in it; but on attempting this, I found that, with my present views, this book would be very much altered, and that if any thing at all was done with it, I must entirely rewrite it. I then began to think that I would first publish the ecclesiastical history of the three first centuries, as the beginning of a general history of the Christian Church, and the encouragement of my publisher strengthened me in my determination.

I therefore begin the execution of this plan with the following volume, and publish the first part of an ecclesiastical history of the first three centuries, which shall be followed, "*Deo volente*," by the second about next Easter.† The History of the Apostolic Age, as a whole, appeared to me too important to be interwoven into this historical work. I therefore altogether presuppose it already executed, while I reserve the publication of it for a separate book.‡ May He, from whom all that is good and true descends, accompany the beginning of this work with his blessing, and grant me the power and the proper disposition to continue it.

In conclusion, I beg to offer my most heartfelt thanks to all the friends who have given me their assistance during the printing of this work, and particularly to my dear young friend, M. Singer of Silesia, one of our most promising students in theology. This book owes much to his kindness and diligence in correcting the press, which was often attended with no small trouble to him. I have also to thank this kind friend for the table of contents, which I hope will contribute much to the satisfaction of the reader.

A. NEANDER.

* Among these we may mention, I. the *Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Geschichte des Christenthums und des Christlichen Lebens*; Berlin, 1825. Sections first, second, and third, relate to the first three centuries, and serve to illustrate the first and third sections.

2. *Genetische Entwicklung der Vornehmsten Gnostischen Systemen*; Berlin, 1818.

3. *Antignostikus Geist des Tertullian*; Berlin, 1825.

4. A work on Chrysostom and his times.

5. St. Bernard and his times.

6. A Life of our Saviour.

† Neander's book was originally published in three volumes.

‡ [It has now been published. The second edition of it has been translated into English by Mr. Ryland, and forms two volumes of the Edinburgh Cabinet Library.—H. J. R.]

THE HISTORY

OF THE

CHRISTIAN RELIGION AND CHURCH,

DURING THE THREE FIRST CENTURIES.

INTRODUCTION.

General view of the State of Religion among the Romans, Greeks, and Jews, at the time of the first appearance of Christianity.

HUMAN nature bears universally the same relation to Christianity, inasmuch as that nature remains always essentially the same, as well as its tendencies to evil and to good, although in different epochs the active development of those tendencies appears under different forms. There are, no doubt, in the general history of unregenerated human nature, as there are in the life of an unregenerated individual, some periods in which its godlike qualities are most visibly displayed, and others in which its ungodliness is most prominent; and yet a deep observer, whom appearances do not deceive, may observe in every age qualities of both kinds at work, and satisfy himself of the constant identity of human nature. The most depraved times are not without some contrast of good against the prevailing evil, and on the other hand, in an age apparently the most glorious, there will always be found some offset of evil, partly in those very circumstances, which a superficial view regards as an unmixed manifestation of good, and partly in those which are openly opposed to it. In every age Christianity proves itself the only means by which the innate evil of human nature, which always remains the same, though it is at some times developed in open excesses, and at others in hidden wickedness, can be purified, and human nature itself, from its inmost foundations, ennobled and exalted. In every age, therefore, Christianity has

the same relation to the corruption of human nature, which in it alone can find its radical cure. The declaration of Christ is universally proved true, that he came, not for the sake of the righteous, but for the sake of sinners; not for the sound, but for the sick. So, also, although the obstacles opposed to that attractive power which Christianity exerts upon human nature may be more or less; yet Christianity never entirely fails (unless when its preachers mix up too much of their own with it) to exert this attractive power of the Divine nature upon that which is akin to the divine in humanity. It is universally seen, that those come to the Son of God whom the Father draws to him; the sheep, who know the voice of their shepherd when he calls them, and follow him. The hindrances, however, which oppose this influence of Christianity on human nature in different periods appear under different forms, but they all rest on the same foundation, on the same inclinations of human nature, which are opposed to Christianity, and over which it must triumph in order to be able to fix its roots in the depths of that nature. And, again, it is constantly seen how every human affection finds its place in Christianity, a scheme which calculates upon the development of the whole nature of man, and how the opposite and conflicting powers and affections of man's nature can be reconciled to each other by Christianity alone. It is universally proved that Christianity is the leaven, destined to leaven the whole mass of human nature.

Now that which may indeed be perceived throughout the whole of ecclesiastical history, is more striking and pro-

minent in those periods in which Christianity took a peculiar hold of human life on a larger scale, and this is particularly seen in the season at which Christianity was at first revealed in the life of man, as the means of reforming and healing his nature; for the unseen hand which guides all the threads in the development of man's nature, in the plans of his infinite wisdom, had so guided the threads of this development among that portion of the human race, in which Christianity was first to take root, and from which the instruction of the rest of mankind was to proceed, that they were exactly calculated to be brought together by the power of Christianity, and to be interwoven together into one web. The consideration of this first period will show us how requisite a fundamental remedy for the evil of human nature then was, and how the want of it was particularly felt in those regions,—it will show us what is calculated to satisfy the moral and religious wants of human nature, and how Christianity exactly supplied this need;—it will show us how an unconscious desire after such a religion was excited, and how the spiritual world was made exactly then most capable of receiving such a religion; but, at the same time, how powerful obstacles of a peculiar nature also opposed the reception of Christianity in this century; and, lastly, it will show us that a religion like the Christian, could never have sprung forth from any of the individual religious tendencies of that age, nor from any union of them; but, at the same time, how well the opposing religious tendencies of that age might be purified, ennobled, reconciled with one another, and united by means of Christianity. We shall first throw our glance on the heathen world, under the influence of the Roman and Grecian nations.

Religious state of the Roman and Grecian world, in Heathen days.

It was Christianity which first presented religion under the form of objective truth, as a system of doctrines perfectly independent of all individual conceptions of man's imagination, and calculated to meet the moral and religious wants of man's nature, and in that nature every where to find some point on which it might attach itself. The religions of antiquity, on the contrary, consist of many elements of various kinds, which, either by the skill of the first promulgator, or in the length of years, by the impress of na-

tional peculiarities, were moulded together into one whole. By the transmission of tales, half mythical, and half historical, by forms and statutes bearing the impress of religious feelings or ideas, mingled with multifarious poems, which showed a powerful imaginative spirit, rugged indeed, or if animated by the spirit of beauty, at least devoid of that of holiness, all these varied materials were interwoven so completely into all the characters, customs, and relations of social life, that the religious matter could no longer be separated from the mixed mass, nor be disentangled from the individual nature of the life and political character of each people with which it was interwoven. There was no religion generally adapted to human nature, only religions fitted to each people. The divinity appeared here, not as free and elevated above nature, not as that which, overruling nature, might form and illuminate the nature of man; but the divinity was lowered to the level of nature, and made subservient to it.

That idea, which dwells in the heart of man, of a Divine Being, was not recognised as a revelation of an Almighty and Holy God, a God above nature and of free-will, and received as a finger-mark which actually pointed to him; but this notion was transferred to all the great masses, powers, and appearances of nature, which worked on feeble man either to befriend or fright him; and, lastly, to all which appeared great in history or in the intellectual world; and often without any reference to its moral or immoral character. Through this principle of deifying the powers of nature, by which every exertion of bare power, even though immoral, might be received among the objects of religious veneration, the idea of holiness which beams forth from man's conscience, must continually have been thrown into the back-ground and overshadowed. As long as a certain simplicity of life and manners existed among a people,—as long as the political and social life was in its purity and power,—so long also might a religion, interwoven into every social relation, retain its life and vigour; and the moral feelings, awakened by civil and social intercourse, might attach themselves to that which was religious in the national religion, and ennoble it. Now this was especially the case among the Romans, while the republic was in full vigour; for among them, with all their miserable superstition, religion took rather a political and moral cast, than as among

the Greeks, a character in which the refinements of art were joined with those of an æsthetic system, a character which in natural religion is likely to prove dangerous to morality.* The old lawgivers were well aware how closely the maintenance of an individual state religion depends on the maintenance of the individual character of the people, and their civil and domestic virtues. They were well aware that when once this union is dissolved no power can restore it again. Therefore we find, especially in Rome, where politics were the ruling passion, a watchfulness after the most punctilious observance of traditional religious ceremonies, and a jealous aversion to any innovations in religion.

Men of thought, however, must always have attained to the perception, that in the traditional religions of a people, truth and falsehood must be intermingled. The consciousness of their religious nature, developed by the influence of their reason, must have taught them to distinguish the foundation of religion from the superstructure of superstition. The belief of a divine origin of all existence is a first principle in man's nature, and he is irresistibly impelled to ascend from Many to One. This very feeling showed itself even in the polytheism of national religions, under the idea of a Highest God, or a Father of the Gods. Among those who gave themselves up to the consideration of Divine things, and to reflection upon them, this idea of an original unity must have been more clearly recognised, and must have formed the centre-point of all their inward religious life and thought. There always accompanied, therefore, the polytheism of the national religions of antiquity, a certain doctrine of the unity of God; although, in general, this doctrine was unable to elevate itself above the principles of natural religion. It usually appeared only as an accompaniment to the polytheism of the national religion, a conception of religion under a different form, and with a different spirit; the one a conception of nature from the consideration of the multitude of powers at work in her; and the other from that of the unity which revealed itself in the operation of those powers. But under all circumstances, the idea of this unity appeared something too abstract and ele-

vated to be brought within the comprehension of the gross and sensuous many. The imagination of the people was to be engaged with the numerous powers and energies flowing forth from that one Highest Being, while to the contemplation of that unity, only a small number of exalted spirits, the initiated leaders of the multitude, (which in religious matters was accounted a minor) could elevate themselves. The one God was the God of philosophers alone. Thus Plato said, in the true spirit of the ancient world, that it is hard to find out the Father of all, and that it is impossible, when you have found him, to make him known to all; and so the Brahmins of the East Indies still think. A spiritual conception of the whole of religion was closely connected with the doctrine of the unity of God, and both together formed an esoteric system of doctrines attached to the exoteric, symbolic religion of the people. All pure spiritual knowledge of religion was considered as the peculiar possession of a small number of initiated men; it seemed impossible to communicate this knowledge to the multitude, under which name we must include not only the lower classes, but, in general, all those who were occupied with any practical business. Certainly, the spiritual perception of religion, in order to be conceived, duly understood, and soundly employed, supposed a certain stage of intellectual cultivation, and a certain direction of the whole inward life, and of the whole habits of thinking; and no means were at hand to produce these qualifications, and thus to work on the inmost foundations, and the centre-point of human nature. Hence, the ruling opinion of all the thinking men of antiquity, from which all religious legislation proceeded, was, that pure religious truth could not be proposed to the multitude, but only such a mixture of fiction, poetry, and truth, as would serve to represent religious notions in such a manner that they might make an impression on men, whose only guide was their senses.* The principle of a so-called *fraus pia* was prevalent in all the legislation of antiquity. The great historian Polybius, says, (B. xvi. c. 12.) "As far as it serves to maintain piety, we must pardon some historians, if they do relate miraculous stories." As this same Polybius saw in the religion which was so

* See the remarkable intimation of Dionysius of Halicarnassus concerning the difference between the Roman and the Grecian religion. Archæolog. II. 18.

* [See Warburton's Alliance, Book i. ch. iv. p. 45. in Quarto edition of his works.—H. J. R.]

interwoven into all the public and private relations of the Romans, and in the superstition which was connected with it, the most eminent cause of the truth and honesty by which they were distinguished in all their intercourse with other nations, and the source of the prosperity of their state, he therefore defends the Roman legislators from the reproach, that they had introduced so much superstition among mankind, and says,—“If a state could be formed wholly of wise men, perhaps, such means would not be requisite. But as the people are giddy and full of evil desires, there remains no other resource than to keep the multitude in check by the fear of something unseen, and by terrors arising from this sort of tragic representation.” (vi. 56.) This observer of human nature, who saw deeply into it by means of the light of nature, and to whom the light of Divine wisdom was alone wanting, clearly perceived that the earthly order of civil society cannot be maintained as an independent arrangement, and can only be maintained, when it is held together by a higher bond, connecting human affairs with heaven; but how miserable would be the case of mankind, if this bond could only be united by means of lies: if lies were necessary in order to restrain the greater portion of mankind from evil! And what could religion in such a case effect? It could not impart holy dispositions to the inward heart of man; it could only restrain the open outbreking of evil, that existed in the heart, by the power of fear. Falsehood, which cannot be arbitrarily imposed on human nature, would never have been able to obtain this influence, had not a truth, which is sure to make itself felt by human nature, been working through it, had not the belief in an unseen God, on whom man universally feels himself dependent, and to whom he feels himself attracted, had not the impulse towards an invisible world, which is implanted in the human heart, been able to work also through this covering of superstition.* In this point of view, with all the appearances of political freedom in antiquity, how little could that free development of spiritual and moral powers, which human nature requires, have existence, when the greater part of mankind, given up to blind superstition, were obliged to submit to be led

by lies at the hands of a few who had the monopoly of truth. And these wise men themselves, who believed that they were elevated above the multitude, who needed no such artificial terrors, who saw that mankind can only be happy by the establishment of moral order, who had pleasure after the inward man in the holy law for its own sake, could they then, if they really probed their own hearts, say that their inward feelings entirely harmonised with this holy law; did they feel nothing within them of that power of evil, whose outbreakings among the multitude, uncontrolled by any refinements of education, they believed it necessary to restrain by the aid of a higher power? Let us compare with the above expression of Polybius the opinions of some thinking men who lived in the century in which Christianity itself appeared.

The geographer Strabo (see B. i. c. 2. p. 36, ed. Casaubon) thinks that, in the same manner that mythical tales and fables are needful for children, so also they are necessary for the uneducated and uninformed, who are in some sort children, and also for those who are half-educated, (*παιδαυόμενοι μετρίως*) for even with them reason is not sufficiently powerful, and they are not able to free themselves from the habits they have acquired as children (*i. e.* of loving fables, &c.) This is, indeed, a sad condition of humanity, when the seed of holiness, which can develop itself only in the whole course of a life, cannot be strewn in the heart of the child, and when mature reason must destroy that which was planted in the early years of infancy! When holy truth cannot form the foundation of the future development of life from the earliest dawn of childish consciousness! He then continues thus:—“The great mass of the inhabitants of cities are excited to good by means of agreeable fables, when they hear the poets narrating in a fabulous manner the deeds of heroes; such, for instance, as the labours of Hercules or Theseus, or the honors bestowed on men by the gods, or when they see these mythical events represented by painting or statuary; and they are deterred from evil by narrations or pictures of the punishments inflicted by the gods; for the great mass of women, and the promiscuous multitude of the people, cannot be led to piety by philosophical reasoning, but for that purpose superstition is requisite, which cannot be supported without miraculous stories and

* [See Stillington, Orig. Sacr. Book I. c. i. § vi. vii.—H. J. R.]

prodigies.”* The thinking Roman statesman, also of the time at which Christianity appeared, as Varro, for instance, distinguish between the *theologia philosophica* and the *theologia civilis*, which contradicts the principles of the former, as Cotta in Cicero distinguished between the belief of Cotta and the belief of the Pontifex. The philosopher required in religion a persuasion grounded on reasoning—the citizen, the statesman, followed the tradition of his ancestors without inquiry. Suppose now this *theologia civilis* and this *theologia philosophica* to proceed together, without a man’s wishing to set the opposition between the two in a very clear light to himself, and that the citizen and the statesman, the philosopher and the man, could be united in the same individual, with contradictory sentiments, (a division which in the same man is very unnatural,) so that he might, perhaps, say: Philosophical reason conducts to a different result from that which is established by the state religion; but the latter has in its favor the good fortune which the state has enjoyed in the exercise of religion handed down from our ancestors. Let us follow experience, even where we do not thoroughly understand. Thus speaks Cotta, and thus also many Romans of education (see below) in his time, either more or less explicitly. Or perhaps we may suppose, that men openly expressed this contradiction, and did not scruple to assign the pure truth to the *theologia philosophica*, and to declare the *theologia civilis* only a matter of politics, as Seneca does, when in his book *Contra Superstitiones* he says:—“We must pray to that great multitude of common gods, which in a long course of time a multifarious superstition has collected, with this feeling, that we are well aware that the reverence shown to them is a compliance rather with custom, than a thing due to the actual truth. All these things the philosopher will observe, as something commanded by the law, not as a thing pleasing to the gods.” How miserable for the philosopher, if he had human feelings, to be obliged to stand a cold hypocrite there, where men are gathered together to exercise the highest and noblest privileges of their heart. So Plutarch, out of the fulness of an honest heart (non posse suaviter vivi sec. Epicurum, c. 22.), exclaims,—“He feigns

prayer and adoration from fear of the multitude! And he utters words which are against his own conviction; and while he is sacrificing, the priest who slays the victim is to him only a butcher!”

In the East, which is less subject to change and fluctuation, where tranquil habits of life are more common, and where a mystical spirit of contemplation, accompanying and spiritualising the symbolical religion of the people, was more prevalent than an intellectual cultivation, opposed to it, and developing itself independently, it was possible that an esoteric and an exoteric religion should proceed hand in hand without change for many centuries. But it was otherwise with the more stirring spirits and habits of the West. Here this independently proceeding development of the intellect must have been at open war with the religion of the people, and as intellectual culture spread itself more widely, so also must a disbelief of the popular religion have been more extensively diffused, and in consequence of the intercourse between the people and the educated classes, the disbelief must also have found its way at last among the people themselves; more especially since, as this perception of the nothingness of the popular religion spread itself more widely, there would naturally be many who would not, with the precaution of the men of old, hide their new illumination from the multitude, but would think themselves bound to procure for it new adherents, without any regard to the injury of which they might be laying the foundations, without inquiring of themselves, whether they had any thing to offer to the people in the room of that of which they robbed them, in the room of their then source of tranquillity under the storms of life, instead of that which taught them moderation under affliction; and lastly, in the place of their then counterpoise against the power of wild desires and passions. Against men of this sort Polybius, a century and a half before the birth of Christ, had said, “The men of old appear to me, not without good reason, to have introduced the notions of the gods, and the representations of the infernal regions among the multitude; our contemporaries far rather appear to me to be banishing these opinions without good reason, and in a very senseless manner.” Whilst with the increase of luxury a superficial education was constantly extending itself among the

* See the contrast exhibited below in the first effects of Christianity.

Romans, and the old simplicity of manners was daily disappearing, the old citizen virtues, the constitution and freedom died away, a general corruption of morals, and a system of slavery was introduced; and the bond was also broken, by which the old state religion had hitherto maintained its ground in the lives of the people. Those philosophical systems among the Greeks, which thought lightly of Divine matters, or altogether denied all objective truth, which left nothing to man but the pleasures of sense, such systems, for instance, as Epicurism and Scepticism, would obtain the most easy and the most general acceptance, because they corresponded the most with the prevailing light-minded sentiments, which were entirely limited to views of the world, and these sentiments again assisted to further these systems. The old religion could not maintain its ground before an inquiring intellect, and to the wit of those who held nothing sacred, and who were without any feeling for Divine things, as, for instance, Lucian, it was an easy matter to make all religion a subject of ridicule, by coupling it with the vapid and contradictory superstitions of the people. Men saw in the religious systems of different nations which then came into contact with each other in the enormous empire of Rome, nothing but utter contradiction and opposition. The philosophical systems also exhibited nothing but opposition of sentiments, and left those who could see in the moral consciousness no criterion of truth, to doubt whether there was any such thing or not. In this sense, as representing the opinions of many eminent and cultivated Romans, with a sneer at all desire for truth, Pilate made the sarcastic inquiry, "What is truth?" Many contented themselves with a shallow lifeless Deism, which usually takes its rise where the thirst after a living union with heaven is wanting; a system which, although it denies not the existence of a God, yet drives it as far into the background as possible! a listless God! who suffers every thing to take its own course, so that all belief in any inward connexion between this Divinity and man—any communication of this Divinity to man, would seem to this system fancy and enthusiasm. The world and human nature remain at least free from God. This belief in God, if we can call it a belief, remains dead and fruitless, exercising no influence over the life of man. Man is independent, as if he were his own God;

he created for himself his own world, without thinking further on his God. If, however, impelled by his moral feelings, the inward man felt delight in God's law, and endeavoured to fulfil it; yet neither good nor evil came before him with relation to God, except in as far as he thought, "by doing good he shall become like God." The belief in God here produced neither the desire after that ideal perfection of holiness, the contemplation of which shows at the same time to man the corruption of his own nature, so opposite to that holiness; nor that consciousness of guilt, by which man, contemplating the holiness of God within him, feels himself estranged from God: nor does this belief impart any lively power of sanctification. Man is not struck by the inquiry, "How shall I, unclean as I am, approach the Holy God, and stand before him, when he judges me according to the holy law which he has himself engraven on my conscience? What shall I do to become free from the guilt which oppresses me, and again to attain to communion with him?" To make inquiries such as these, this spirit of Deism considers as fanaticism and anthropopathism, for while it ridicules the vulgar and superstitious representations of God's anger, and the punishments of the infernal regions—forgetting that superstition, nevertheless, supposes a real and undeniable desire in human nature, which procures for it admission, and which it only misunderstands, as well as a fundamental and undeniable truth, which it only misunderstands and defaces—forgetting all this, the spirit of Deism casts away from it all notions of God's anger, judgments, or punishments, as representations arising only from the limited nature of the human understanding.

This was Lucian's way of thinking. And Justin Martyr says of the philosophers of his day: "The greater part of them think no more on these questions, whether there be one or more gods; whether there be any Providence or not; than if this knowledge was of no importance in regard to our happiness. They attempt, far more, to persuade us that the Divinity, although he upholds the whole and whole races, yet cares not for you and me and individual men. We need not, therefore, pray to him at all; because every thing revolves with unchanging laws in one eternal circle."*

* Just. Mar. Dial. c. Tryph. Jud. p. 218.

More lively and penetrating spirits, who felt in the world an infinite Spirit, which animated all things, fell into an error of quite an opposite nature to this Deism, which removed God too far from the world, namely, into a Pantheism, which confused God and the world, which was just as little calculated to bestow tranquillity and consolation. The consideration of nature filled them with the conception of an infinite and Almighty Spirit, not to be judged of by the limits of the human understanding. But this was not for them a strengthening, an elevating and animating feeling; but rather a feeling which abased and prostrated them, because upon it was founded another feeling, that of their own narrow nature and nothingness; and there was to them no middle ground on which these contemplations and feelings, so opposite to each other, might meet and amalgamate. They beheld only the gulf between the finite and the infinite, between the mortal and the immortal, between the Almighty and the poor weak being; and no means to fill up that gulf. They conceived God only as the infinite being elevated above frail man, and not as being connected with him, attracting him to himself, and lowering himself down to him. It was only the greatness, and not the holiness, nor the love of God, which filled their souls. We may consider Pliny the Elder as the representative of these deep-feeling and inquiring, but comfortless men. Polytheism appeared to him only as an invention of human weakness, by which men, unable to embrace and hold fast the whole idea of perfection, broke it up into its several parts. They formed for themselves different ideal beings, as objects of their veneration; each one made for himself his God, as he happened to feel the need of one. The wants of weakness, as well as fear, feigned Gods; what God is, if he be distinct from the world, no human understanding can know. But it is a foolish fancy, proceeding from the helpless weakness of human nature, as well as from its pride, to suppose that such an infinite Spirit, be it what it may, can trouble itself with the miserable affairs of man. The vanity of man, and his insatiable longing after existence, have also invented a life after death. Thus even the feeling of his frailness imposes no limits on the wishes of man. A creature full of contradictions! The most unhappy of all creatures! For other creatures have no desires incommensurate

with the limits of their nature. Man is full of wishes and desires, running into infinity, which can never be gratified, and his nature is a lie; the greatest poverty united with the greatest pride.*

Yet the history of all ages proves that man cannot for any length of time disown the desire for religion implanted in his nature. Whenever man, entirely devoted to the world, has for a long time wholly overwhelmed the perception of the Divinity which exists in his nature, and has long entirely estranged himself from Divine things, these at last prevail over humanity with greater force. Man feels that something is wanting to his heart which can be replaced to him by nothing else, he feels a hollowness within him, which can never be satisfied by earthly things, and can find satisfaction and blessing, suited to his condition, in the Divinity alone, and an irresistible desire impels him to seek again his lost connexion with heaven. The times of the dominion of superstition, as history teaches us, are also always times of earthly calamity, for the moral corruption which accompanies superstition, necessarily also destroys all the foundations of earthly prosperity. Thus the times in which superstition extended itself among the Romans were those of the downfall of civil freedom, and of public suffering under cruel despots. But, however, the consequences of these evils conducted men also to their remedy; for by distress from without man is brought to the consciousness of his own weakness, and his dependence on a higher than earthly power; and when he is forsaken by human help, he is compelled to seek it here. Man becomes induced to look upon his misfortunes as the punishments of a higher Being, and to seek for means by which he may secure again for himself the favour of that Being. He looks back with anxious longings to the time in which his ancestors were so happy in their old faith, and this was the case with many then. They compared these unhappy times with those when the Roman state was in its bloom; and they believed they had found the cause of the difference, inasmuch as then the gods, who protect the Roman state, had been honoured with piety, whereas they were now neglected. They saw the contentions of philosophical systems one with another, which, while they promised truth,

* Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. ii. c. 7; lib. vii. Proœm. c. vii.

only increased uncertainty and doubt; and all this led their thoughts back to the external authority of the old religion, under which the nations had been so free from doubts, and were so happy. Thus in Minucius Felix, [p. 42. Ed. Ouzel et Meursii, 1672.] the heathen Cæcilius, after painting the contentions and the uncertainties of the systems of human philosophy, and the doubts regarding Providence, which proceeded from a view of the misfortunes of the virtuous, and of the good fortune of the vicious, a sight not unrequent in the public life of these corrupt days of despotism, draws his conclusion from it in the following words.* "How much more reputable and better is it, to receive the doctrines of our ancestors as guides to truth! to honour the religions which have descended to us! to pray to the gods, whom our ancestors taught their children to fear, before they knew right from wrong! And concerning the divinities, not to please one's own fancies, but to trust to our ancestors, who in the childhood of humanity at the birth of the world were honoured by having the gods either as their friends or their kings."

The need of a connexion with heaven, from which man felt himself estranged, and dissatisfaction with the cold and joyless present, obtained a more ready belief for the picture which mythology presented, of a golden age, when gods and men lived together in intimate union; and warm imaginations looked back on such a state with longing and desire. This belief and this desire, it must be owned, were founded on a great truth, which man could rightly apprehend only through Christianity, and this desire was a kind of intimation which pointed to Christianity. Pausanias, who wrote in the first half of the second century, after introducing an old mythological fable, says, (lib. ii. ch. 8.) "The men of those days, on account of their righteousness and piety, were on terms of hospitality with the gods, and their companions at the board, and when they acted uprightly they openly received honour from the gods, just as they were also visited with anger if they committed any iniquity. And then also they, who are still honoured in this manner, became gods instead of men. Thus also we can believe that a Lycaon was transformed into a beast, and Niobe, the daughter of Tantalus, into a stone. But in my time, when vice has reached its loftiest summit,

and has spread itself abroad over the whole country, and in all cities, no one has passed from man to God, except only in name, and out of flattery to power," (i. e. in the deification of the emperors) "and the anger of the gods opposes evil more tardily, and is not executed on men till after they have left this world. But much, which used in former times to take place, and which happens even now, those persons, who have mixed falsehood with truth, have rendered incredible to the multitude." After Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who wrote only a few years before the birth of Christ, has told the tale of the discovery of a Vestal virgin's innocence, who had been falsely accused, by the special interference of a supernatural power, he adds, "The atheistic philosophers, if those persons deserve the name of philosophers, who scoff at all the appearances of the gods which have taken place among the Greeks and the barbarians, would deduce all these histories from the trickery of man, and turn them into ridicule, as if none of the gods ever cared for any man; but he who does not deny the gods a providential care over men, but believes that the gods are benevolent to the good, and angry against evil men, will not judge these appearances to be incredible."*

From the nature of the case, however, it is clear that a fanatical zeal, where the heat of passion concealed from man the hollowness and falsehood of his faith, might be created for a religion, to which man only betook himself as a refuge in his misery, and in his dread of the abyss of unbelief; a religion which no longer served for the development of man's nature, and into which nevertheless he felt himself driven back from the want of any other; and that men must use every kind of power and art, to uphold that which was in danger of falling from its own internal weakness, and to defend that which was unable to defend itself by its own power. Fanaticism was, therefore, obliged to avail itself of every kind of power in the struggle with Christianity, in order to uphold heathenism, which was fast sinking by its own weakness. Although the Romans had from the oldest times been noted for their repugnance to all foreign sorts of religious worship, yet this trait of the old Roman character had with many altogether disappeared. Because the old national temples of the Romans had lost

* Comp. Tac. Ann. VI. 22—26.

* Ant. Rom. II. 68.

their respect, in many dispositions, man was inclined to bring in to their assistance foreign modes of worship. Those which obtained the readiest admission were such as consisted of mysterious, symbolical customs, and striking, sounding forms. As is always the case, men looked for some special and higher power in what is dark and mysterious.

The consideration of human nature and history shows us, that the transition from unbelief to superstition is always easy. Both these conditions of the human heart proceed from the self same ground, the want of that which may be properly called faith, the want of a life in God, of a lively communion with Divine things by means of the inward life; that is, by means of the feelings. Man, whose inward feelings are estranged from the Divine nature, is inclined, sometimes, to deny the reality of that of which he has nothing within him, and for the conception and application of which to himself he has no organ. Or else the irresistible force of his inward nature impels man to recognize that higher power from which he would fain free himself entirely, and to seek that connexion with it which he cannot but feel needful to his comfort; but inasmuch as he is without any real inward sympathy of disposition with the Divinity, and wants a true sense of holiness, the Divinity appears to his darkened religious conscience only under the form of power and arbitrary rule. His conscience paints to him this power as an angry and avenging power. But as he has no idea of that which the Divinity really is, he cannot duly understand this feeling of estrangement from God, this consciousness of Divine wrath, and instead of seeking in moral things the source of this unquiet feeling, which leaves him no rest by day or night, and from which there is no escape, he fancies that by this or that action, which of itself is perfectly indifferent, he may have offended this higher power, and he seeks by outward observances again to reconcile the offended power. Religion here becomes the source not of life, but of death, the source not of consolation and blessing, but of the most unspeakable anxiety, which torments man day and night, with the spectres of his own imagination. Religion here is no source of sanctification, but may unite in man's heart with every kind of untruth, and serve to promote it. There is one kind of superstition in which, while man torments himself to the utmost, he still remains estranged from the true

nature of inward holiness, and while he is restrained from many good works of charity by his constant attendance on mischievous, arbitrary, and outward observances, he is still actuated by a horror of any great sin,—a superstition in which man avoids pleasure so completely that he falls into the opposite extreme; and even the most innocent enjoyments, which a childlike simplicity would receive with thankfulness from the hand of a heavenly Father, he dares not indulge in. But there is also another kind of superstition, which makes it easy for man, by certain outward observances, to silence his conscience under all kinds of sin, and which therefore serves as a welcome support to sin. Both these forms of superstition were in existence at this time. The first sort of superstition is especially painted by Plutarch, in colours which can be taken only from the life, in his excellent work, *περί δεισιδαιμονίας και ἀθρησκείας*, on the contrast between superstition and unbelief. These sketches are taken from his melancholy picture, “Every little evil is increased to the superstitious man by the terrifying spectres of his own anxiety. He looks on himself as a man hated by the gods, one whom they persecute with their wrath. But it is even still worse with him, he dares not employ any means to avoid or remedy his calamities, lest he should appear to be contending against the gods. The physician, the consoling friend, are sent away. ‘Leave me,’ says the unhappy man, ‘let me, godless and cursed, and hated by all the gods, let me suffer my punishment.’ He sits without, covered with sackcloth or with filthy rags, and often rolls and wallows in the mire, and remembers this or that sin!”—and how characteristic are these sins! “He has eaten or drunk such and such things,* or he has gone such a road, which it was not permitted to him to go by the Divine authority. The festal days of the gods fill not the superstitious man with pleasure, but with fear and horror. He gives the lie to the saying of Pythagoras, that then we are happiest when we are going to the gods, for with the superstitious man this is the time of his deepest misery. Temples and altars are a place of refuge for the persecuted, but where other men find a release from their fears, there the superstitious man fears and trembles the most. In his sleep, as well as in his waking hours, the spectres of his anxiety still

* Compare Coloss. ii. 16.

haunt him. Awake, he does not use his reason, and in his sleep he finds no deliverance from that which disquiets him; his reason is always dreaming, and his fears always awake. He can never escape from the terrific spectres that fright him." Plutarch throws the unbeliever and the superstitious man into strong contrast when he says, "The atheist denies the existence of a God; the superstitious man would be glad to believe in none, but he believes by compulsion, because he is afraid to disbelieve; in his heart he is an unbeliever, but too weak to believe that of the gods, which he would be glad to do." When he says further, that superstition has introduced the existence of unbelief, and serves as an excuse for it, he advances what is certainly true, and what is confirmed by the contemplation of those times, as we may learn from the jesting of a Lucian, although he does not point out the peculiar and the deepest cause of unbelief. Still the contemplation of human nature in general, and of this time in particular, contradicts another statement of Plutarch, —namely, that atheism, on the contrary, did not at all serve the purposes of superstition, and lead to its introduction, for the history of those times exactly shows us most pointedly how completely men were driven, by the irresistible impulses of their nature, to take refuge in superstition, from a comfortless atheism, under which their religious nature could not long remain in peace. Now as this superstition had a deep-laid foundation in these irresistible and so long unsatisfied wants of human nature, in a sickness of heart which showed itself by many outward appearances, it was therefore impossible that ridicule should cure the superstitious man, and the deeper the sickness lay within him, the less chance there was of curing him thus. Or, even if it were possible to persuade the superstitious man of the nothingness of some one of the objects of his fear, yet that inward restlessness, whose cause was not removed, would create a multitude of other spectres, just as it is useless to persuade a man of diseased imagination of the absurdity of some one of his fancies, as long as the inward disease exists, which is sure to fasten itself, sometimes on one, sometimes on another, of the outward objects presented to it.

There were especially two forms of ancient philosophy, which found a more ready admittance than others among those of the educated classes, who felt most

deeply the religious and moral wants of man's nature, and which, connecting themselves in a certain manner with the popular religion, opposed themselves to infidelity. The stoic philosophy commended itself in a corrupted and effeminate age to many noble and powerful minds, because it raised them above the corruption around them, by an animated zeal for an ideal standard of morality, and because in the self-sufficiency of the philosopher's own heart it taught him to despise the baseness which surrounded him. This philosophy certainly imparted to many powerful spirits a higher moral impulse, which, however, was not untainted by the pride of self-idolatry, although, as it often happens that the influence of a philosophic system is modified by the natural character of the men who adopt it, this pride might often be softened in individuals by their childlike and unassuming dispositions, as in the case of Marcus Aurelius. But there were many who, in the idle contemplation of an ideal standard of perfection, overlooked their own baseness, and who imagined that by an acquiescence, although it were purely intellectual, in the excellence of that standard, they were immediately raised above all sin, while sin was still reigning in their hearts,—men who, bearing in their mouths the loftiest professions of moral wisdom, gave themselves up in their daily lives to every kind of lust, *qui Curios loquuntur et Bacchanalia vivunt!* Stoicism did not teach a belief in a God, who governs all things with a father's love, to whom every individual is an object of regard, and who knows how to unite the good of the whole with the good of the individual; but in a Saturn, who devours his own children, an universal Spirit, from which every individual existence originally proceeded, and into which they must all, after a certain period, resolve themselves again. Every thing is repeated after immutable laws, and even moral evil is necessary to the establishment of the harmony of the whole. The philosopher looks calmly on the game, and willingly offers up his individual existence to the requirements of the great whole, to which all individuals must be subservient as its parts. The philosopher has the same divine life as Jove, from whom he is sprung. With calm devotion, when his appointed hour comes, he resigns it again to its original source. A cold submission, which overwhelms all our natural feelings, how different is it from the childlike resignation of the

Christian, which leaves all the pure feelings of human nature uninjured, a resignation not to the iron decrees of a necessity which commands annihilation, but a resignation founded on a confidence in that eternal love, which restores all which is sacrificed to it in greater splendour and beauty. The Emperor Marcus Aurelius says, "With deep reverence the philosopher speaks thus to nature, which gives all and again reclaims all. Give what thou wilt, and take what thou wilt!"* This is not spoken with the pride of one who defies nature, but only in the spirit of one who willingly obeys her. The words would have been words of consolation in the mouth of a childlike reliance on eternal love, which guides all things for the advantage of those who confide in it; but they are dead and comfortless in the mouth of stoic submission to a Deity which devours all things, although the feelings of the man, who thus resigned himself to the will of an unknown God, deserve regard. But how poor, how unquickenng to the heart of a man of feeling, are the grounds of consolation by which he endeavours to reason himself out of the desire after an everlasting life.—"Man must consider two things; first, that every thing returns again and again in constant succession, from eternity even till now; and that it matters not, whether one sees the same thing in one hundred or in two hundred years, or in an endless infinity of time. Next, that he who lives the longest and he who dies the soonest, both lose the same, for each loses that only, which he hath, the present moment."† (xi. 14.) "Always think that all which happens or will happen, hath been already.—All is only one uniform exhibition!"‡ (x. 27.) How miserable is this consideration of the vanity of the constant succession of earthly things, without the feeling that we are destined to a higher and eternal life! "Every active power which ceases at some destined time, suffers no evil from the fact of ceasing; and he, who used this instrument, suffers no evil, because he has ceased. And so also the whole which consists of the collection of all activities, namely, life, when it ceases at its appointed time, suffers no evil, because it has ceased, and he also, who closed this chain at its appointed

time, incurs no blame." (xii. 23.) He throws out the following inquiry in xii. 5. "How have the gods, who have ordained every thing well and with love to man, overlooked this one thing alone, that many excellent men, who through pious works and sacrifices have been in confidential intercourse with the gods, when once they have died, never again have come into existence, but are altogether and entirely lost for ever?" He answers thus, "Even if this be so, remember that had necessity ordained it otherwise, it would have been otherwise. For if it were just, if it were even possible, and were it conformable to nature, nature would have made it thus. That it is not so, if it be not so, must be a proof that it could not have been thus appointed." Little, indeed, can cold reflections, such as these, satisfy a heart that trembles before the notion of annihilation, and unsatisfied with the vanity of earthly things, is longing to attain unto that ideal being, which it has pictured to itself in the inmost recesses of the spirit and the affections. It would only be some peculiar natures, entirely absorbed in reflections, and living in the world of their own thoughts, who would thus limit and govern their feelings, their wants, and their wishes. *Naturam frustra expellas furcâ.*

The PLATONIC philosophy was likely to obtain a more general influence than the Stoic among dispositions which were alive to religious wants. History has often to repeat the same statement, that in times of scepticism and of superstition this philosophy was efficacious towards exciting and animating more spiritual feelings of religion, and, in some degree, assisted the preparation for the appearance of Christianity. It led man to the consciousness of possessing a nature akin to the Divinity; and, of a connexion with a more exalted system, from which all that is true and good descends upon the divine portion of man's nature, a system, the revelation of which this godlike nature affords him the organs to perceive and to appropriate to himself, from which the divine portion of his inward nature bursts forth, for which it must develop itself independently, and into which it must again enter, freed from every thing of foreign essence, as an integral member of that system. This philosophy did not, as the stoic must have done, if logically pursued, make the divine nature in man something entirely independent, an emanation from a divine original, which as

* Monolog. x. 14.

† [See de Maistre. Soirées de St. Petersburg, vol. i. p. 294. The germ of many of these sentiments is to be found in Seneca. Ep. 77. H. J. R.]

long as he continued in his personality, could exist independently for itself; it did not represent Jupiter to the philosopher merely as the ideal of wisdom and virtue; but it considered the divine part of man's nature only as an indication of a divine origin, only as a conceiving power, which was of no value except when in communion with Him from whom alone it can conceive. It considered man's personality, not as a mere transitory vision, but as destined for a higher development. This philosophy considered the life of the individual, not a mere purposeless game in the succession of the world's events, but it recognised in it a stage of purification and preparation for a more lofty existence. It required from man no suppression of his purer human feelings; on the contrary, it allowed him to seek and to expect the satisfaction of them. It pointed his attention to a higher state of existence, in which the soul, freed from all foreign admixture, might arrive at the clear contemplation of a truth. It did not oppose the existing religions with a bare abstract acknowledgment of religion, but it endeavoured to point out in the whole history of human nature, the traces of a communion between heaven and earth, and of a revelation of the divine nature to man, under a variety of different forms. When scepticism produced the contradiction of religions the one to the other as a proof against their truth; on the contrary, the Platonic religion and philosophy sought to point out the fundamental unity which existed under the multiplicity of forms in which it was revealed; and it endeavoured, by distinguishing between form and essence, between the Spiritual and the Sensual, between the idea and the symbol which represents it, to oppose unbelief and superstition, because it deduced the causes of unbelief and superstition from a confusion between these things, and a neglect of these differences. This method of considering the matter is expressed in the following passage of Plutarch, one of the noblest and wisest representatives of this system, and one in whose writings it was first fully unfolded. *Plut. de Iside et Osiride*, c. 67. "As the sun, and the moon, heaven, earth, and the sea, are common to all; but yet are differently named by different men, so also, although only one system of nature exists, and one Providence governs, and the powers that serve this Providence are placed over all mankind, yet by the laws of different men, different modes of worship,

and different names are established for them; while some make use of darker, others of clearer consecrated symbols, which lead the contemplation, not without danger, to the Divinity; for some who have entirely erred, fell into superstition, but others who endeavoured, as it were, to avoid the slough of superstition, fell, on the other hand, without perceiving it as it were, into the abyss of infidelity." The reverence towards a higher necessity in the religious institutions of mankind, and the recognition of an authority raised above the caprice of man, is beautifully expressed in these words of the pious Plutarch, *Adv. Stoic.* c. 31: "Since Jove is the beginning, and the centre of every thing, and all arose from Jove, so also must man, if any thing impure or erroneous has stolen into the notions he entertains of the gods, instantly rectify and purify them. But if nothing of this kind has happened, he must leave all men to that mode of worship, to which their laws and their customs lead them." He then quotes the beautiful passage of the *Antigone* of Sophocles, to prove that the foundation of human religion is to be referred to the Divine impress on man's heart:—

ἀγρεύματα καὶ σφάλην θέσαν

Νομίμα

Οὐ γὰρ τι νυν τε κλέβεις, ἔλλα' αἶ ποτε

Σὺ ταῦτα κούεις οἶδεν ἔξ' οὗτου φανή.—*SOPH. ANT.*

Out of this religious philosophy, therefore, a certain idealism proceeded, which, connecting itself with the popular religion, endeavoured to establish and defend it against infidelity, and spiritualizing it, to purify it from superstition.

It is in this view that Plutarch says, in his exhortation to the priestess of Isis, *ch. 3*. "As the long beard and the mantle do not make a philosopher, neither does the linen garb and the shaven head constitute a priest of Isis. But the true priest of Isis is he who, having received through the laws, the customs relative to these gods, inquires into the grounds of them, and philosophises on the truth contained in them." When, for example, superstitious people thought that the god himself inhabited the priestess in the Delphic Oracle, and spoke through her mouth, so that every thing literally came from Phœbus himself, and when, on the contrary, the infidels endeavoured to turn this representation into ridicule, and quoting the bad verses of the Pythian prophetess, laughed at the notion of their coming from Apollo, Plutarch thus delivers his sentiments, *De Pythiæ Oracul.* *ch.*

7: "The language, the expression, the words, and the metre come not from God, but from the woman. The god only presents the images to her mind, and lights up in her soul the lamp which illuminates the future. The god uses the soul as an instrument, and the activity of the instrument consists in its property of representing as purely as possible what is communicated to it. It is impossible that it should ever be repeated perfectly pure, nay, without even a large admixture of foreign matter." Ch. 21, de Pyth. Orac.

Thus Porphyry defends the use of images in religion,* "By forms perceptible to the senses the ancients represented God and his powers, and they imaged the invisible by the visible, for those who had learnt to read, in images as in books, a writing which treats of God. We cannot, therefore, wonder if the most ignorant can see in statues nothing but wood and stone, just as those who are ignorant of the art of writing can see nothing but stone and monuments, nothing but wood in tables, and nothing but a scroll of papyrus in books." These Platonic religious philosophers connected themselves with the polytheism of the popular religion, but they endeavoured to refine and spiritualize it, by constantly insisting more strongly on the unity on which it fundamentally rests. There is, according to them, one source of all existence, the abstract of all perfection, from whose super-abundance of life all the gods which are akin to him emanated, and in them the divinity, which comprehends all things within itself, has unfolded itself, so that in every one of these divinities one individual divine property or power, stands forth personified. In these divinities the multitude, who are unable to raise themselves by the force of contemplation, to the one great source of all, pray to these qualities. Every thing, mediately or immediately, resolves itself finally into relation with him; the gods are the mediate powers between the first cause and man distracted by multiplicity. Only in relation to these can all worship, which is testified by objects of sense, be explained: that source of all existence, on the contrary, who is far above all connexion with the visible world, cannot be honoured by any outward observance or sensible object; but to him only the philosopher can raise himself, by pure and spiritual contemplation. Thus speaks Apollonius, of Tyana, in his work on Sacrifices:† "To the first of gods, who is

ONE, and separated from all others, we show the most worthy honour, when we sacrifice nothing to him, when we light no altar to him, and consecrate nothing material to him, for he wants nothing, nothing even from beings superior to us, and there is no plant which the earth produces, there is no creature of the earth or air, which considered in reference to him, hath not some taint of impurity . . . and from the most excellent of Beings we must ask for good things by the most excellent of all we have, that is, by the spirit, which needs no outward organ." This endeavour to refine and spiritualise the religion of Polytheism, must afterwards, when Christianity extended itself with great success, have taken a polemic and apologetic direction. It was thus endeavoured to prop up and support the rotten fabric of heathenism, but this endeavour, often too artificial, served only to show most easily how untenable that religion was, which it was at such pains to defend, and these philosophical refiners of religion themselves afterwards gave, by this means, to the Christians weapons against the popular religion, which these latter knew well how to wield. Already Plutarch had made use of the doctrine of dæmones as intermediate beings between gods and men, in order to uphold the loftiness of the gods, and yet to defend the popular religion, while he withdrew much which had been by men assigned to the gods, from the race of gods, and attributed it to these intermediate beings. Plut. de Defectu Orac. c. 13, et seq. Porphyry went farther, when he considered these dæmones as impure beings, allied to matter, from which these Platonists declared the origin of all evil. "These beings have their delight in material offerings, by which their sensual appetites were gratified, they enticed men to all evil desires, they endeavoured, by giving themselves out as the gods, to seduce men from their reverence towards the gods, and to spread abroad unworthy notions of these gods, and even of the Almighty God himself. Their arts of deception have found reception from the earliest ages. Hence come the unworthy and unseemly stories of the gods, which are propagated among the multitude and supported even by the poets and philosophers."* It is easy to see how well such discussion

* Porphyry ap. Euseb. Præp. iv. 21, 22. [This is the substance of a considerable part of the passage of Porphyry there found, but not a translation of any part of it. H. J. R.]

* In Euseb. Præp. Ev. iii. 7. † Ibid. iv. 13.

would serve the purposes of the Christian opponents of heathenism.

Thus these Platonists, by their spiritualizing idealism, and their mysticism which excited, or pretended and feigned an inward religious life, while they enlisted the imagination, a certain convenient, agreeable, and indolent contemplation, and a speculation often obscure, into the service of the popular religion, endeavoured to restore that religion to life, in some degree, among the educated classes, and excite some degree of zeal for its advancement. But the knowledge of religion, and a religious life among the common people, was utterly incapable of being amended by these refinements on religion. The people still clung to the outward parts of their worship, they still clung to the old superstition, which the philosophers endeavoured to advance, although they refined and spiritualized it, and they were totally unable to comprehend any thing of those spiritualizations, and symbolical meanings of their religious worship. Nay, these Platonists themselves considered the spiritual knowledge of religion to be attainable only by the philosopher, who lived in contemplation; to it man could only arrive by means of *ἐπιστήμη*, while the people must content themselves with the *δόξα*, in which truth and falsehood are mingled together. It was besides impossible to oppose superstition effectually, by theoretically opposing to it purer general principles of religion. As its foundation lay in a practical want, it could only be opposed successfully in a practical manner. An unsatisfied religious yearning, the yearning after a deliverance from that feeling of guilt which was deeply implanted in the heart, though it might not have attained the character of a perfect conviction of sin, was the source of superstition. This longing must be satisfied, and the distracted heart eased of this oppressive burden, and then superstition would fall of itself, together with its cause. Plutarch casts on superstition the reproach, that it looks on the gods, who are full of fatherly love, only as beings to be feared; but it was of no purpose, to exhort men to confide in the kind and preserving deities (*θεοὶ σωτῆρες καὶ μελιχριοί*;) the feeling of estrangement from God in their hearts opposed itself to the reception of such a notion of the gods. Hence arose the attempts to find means of purification for the soul, which men believed might be obtained by manifold outward ceremo-

nies, and magic formulæ. The latter Platonists themselves invented many, in order to satisfy this desire. Now, inasmuch as these Platonists adhered to the popular religion, and endeavoured to melt this down with their philosophical ideas, they were able, by an artful admixture of truth and falsehood, to receive many forms of superstition into their systems, and to give them a still stronger ground of acceptance by means of their method of spiritualizing them. The experience of later times, (as, for instance, the case of the controversies about images among the schoolmen,) shows that a superstition refined by an idealistic system of this sort is most difficult to uproot. Platonism awakened an indefinite desire after the supernatural, and after a communion with the invisible world, which it was unable to satisfy. The less this indefinite desire was understood by those who felt it, the more an imaginative power, unfettered by laws and a speculative curiosity, which delighted to look into hidden things, mingled themselves with it, by so much the more occasion was given for delusions of every kind, and so much the more did those who wished to thrust themselves into the invisible world by means of their own choosing, and avoided as much as possible all attempts to realise godliness in their hearts, give themselves up to most dangerous self-deceits and to deceptions arising from the influence of others.

There were at that time roving about the Roman empire many pretenders to supernatural powers, for whom the existence of such a feeling and desire procured acceptance, men in whom, as is usually the case during such a season of religious excitement, a degree of self-delusion or enthusiasm was mingled with more or less of intentional deceit. Such was that Alexander of Abonoteichos, in Pontus, whose life Lucian has written after his usual satirical manner, a man whose pretended enchantments and predictions found credit all over the world, from Pontus to Rome, one who was honoured and consulted as a prophet, even by men who held the highest and most distinguished offices in the Roman state. Among the better men of this sort we must class the Apollonius of Tyana, so celebrated in the apostolic age, who was probably possessed of more extraordinary gifts, and was probably under the influence of the Divine Spirit, although by spiritual pride and vanity he had at

least in part destroyed the talent intrusted to him, instead of keeping it pure, and increasing it by faithful and careful use. But it is difficult to judge of this man accurately, from the exceeding paucity of authentic accounts. Those who, like Philostratus, in the third century, have endeavoured to represent him as one of the heroes of the ancient popular religion, have injured him most deeply in the eyes of posterity. He went about to stir up and animate a spirit of religious faith, and furthered fanaticism, while he gave food to that curiosity which inquires after the things of the invisible world. He spoke against superstition, because it served to promote immorality when men believed that they could buy impunity for crime by sacrifices; and he declared, that without a moral state of the heart and feelings, no sacrifice could be well pleasing to the gods. He exclaimed against the cruel custom of shows of gladiators; for when the Athenians, who were in the habit of exhibiting these shows, invited him to their assembly, he answered that he could not enter a place stained with so much human blood, and that he wondered the goddess did not leave their city.* When the president of the Eleusinian mysteries refused to initiate Apollonius of Tyana, it is difficult to determine whether the Hierophant was really in earnest, and thought Apollonius an enchanter, who used forbidden arts, or whether he was not rather jealous of the great influence, opposed to priestcraft, which Apollonius exercised on the people, and to such a degree, that many considered intercourse with him of far more consequence than initiation into the mysteries. The concluding formula of all the prayers of Apollonius, which he recommended also to others, who would pray, although opposed to the notions of

those who think the heart of the supplicant of no consequence in prayer, yet shows wherein was his greatest deficiency, a deficiency which might well prove to him the source of most of his self-delusions, I mean the prayer: "*Give me, ye gods, that which I deserve*"—δοῦναι μοι τὰ ὀφειλομένα: the direct contrary to the prayer, "*Forgive us our debts!*"

A desire universally displayed itself for a revelation from heaven, which might ensure to the inquiring mind that tranquillity which was neither to be found in the contending systems of ancient philosophy, nor in the antiquated religions, now called back to the world in an age of artificial refinement. Porphyry, that zealous defender of the old religion, himself alludes to this desire, so deeply felt; a desire which, while he supports himself on the authority of the promises of the gods, he endeavoured to satisfy in his collection of old oracular responses, as the groundwork of a system of theology. On this subject he says,* "The utility of this work those will best be able to estimate, who, feeling an anxious desire after the truth, have wished that some open vision of the gods might be granted to them, and set them free from their doubts."

The composer of a sort of philosophico-religious romance, called the Clementine, has given us a sketch of the life of one of this class of men; a man thirsting after truth, but tormented by doubt from his very childhood, and disquieted by the strife of contending opinions, who at last is led to embrace Christianity in consequence of this long unsatisfied desire after truth; the Heavenly Father thus leading him to a knowledge of his Son. It is but a picture, but it is a picture drawn from the life, which we shall here make use of to characterise many of the thinking spirits of this period.

Clement, a man of a noble Roman family, who lived about the time of the first preaching of the Gospel, gives the following account of himself: "From the earliest days of my youth, doubts, like the following, which have come into my mind, I know not how, have constantly exercised my thoughts. After death shall I exist no longer, and will no one ever remember me? does infinite time thus drown all human affairs in oblivion?

* Just like Demonax, another remarkable man of Athens, of the age of the Antonines, who, instead of the mystical pantheism, from which Apollonius of Tyana set out, opposed the superstition of the people by another more temperate one. When the Athenians wished to exhibit a show of gladiators, he told them they must first pull down the altar of Pity, of ἔλεος, which their city more than all other cities honoured. The answer to the inquiry, whether the soul is immortal? which Demonax gave—"yes! immortal; but like every thing:" may be compared with the declaration of Apollonius, that being born and dying are only an illusion, (Maja) the same substance sometimes withdrawing itself into the invisible, and at other times clothing itself in gross earthly forms. See his Ep. 58, a letter which is most probably genuine.

* Περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας, in Euseb. Præpar. v. 7.

Then will it be as if I had never been born? When was the world created, and what was before the world was? If it has existed from eternity, it will last to all eternity: if it had a beginning, it must have an end. And what will again exist after the world, unless it be a death-like stillness? Or, perhaps, something may then exist which now it is impossible to conceive. Whilst I, continues he, incessantly bore about with me thoughts like these, I know not whence, I was constantly tormented, so that I grew pale and wasted away; and what was most dreadful of all, when I endeavoured to free myself from this anxiety as being useless, these sufferings only awoke again in my heart with stronger violence, and inflicted on me more severe vexation. I knew not that in these tormenting thoughts I had a good companion, who was leading me to eternal life, as I afterwards found by experience, and I thank God, who rules all things, for this, because by these thoughts, which at first so tortured me, I was obliged to search into the nature of things, and thus to find out the truth. And when this had taken place, I pitied as wretched creatures the very men whom at first, in my ignorance, I was in danger of considering happy. As I found myself harassed by these thoughts from my very childhood, I visited the schools of the philosophers, in order that I might have something certain to repose upon, and I saw there nothing but building up and pulling down of systems, strife and contradiction; and sometimes, for instance, the doctrine that the soul is immortal gained the victory; sometimes the notion that it is mortal: when the first carried the day, I was glad; if the latter triumphed, I was again cast down. Thus was I driven backwards and forwards by different arguments, and I was obliged to suppose that things appear not as they really are, but as they are represented from this side or from that. I was hence seized with greater dizziness, and I sighed from the bottom of my heart." Clement had already determined, as he could attain by reason to no sure and certain persuasion, to seek the resolution of his doubts by some other method, and to journey into Egypt, the land of mysteries and apparitions, and there to search for some magician who could call a spirit for him from the dead. The appearance of a ghost would give him an ocular proof of the immortality of the soul, and then, once firmly persuaded by the evidence of his

own eyes of this truth, no argument should ever again be able to make him waver. The representations, however, of a philosopher of calmer thoughts restrained him from seeking the truth by means of these forbidden arts, after the use of which he would never again obtain peace of conscience. In this frame of mind, doubting, wavering, inquiring, tormented, and deeply agitated, the preaching of the Gospel, supported by proofs reposing on the operations of the Spirit and on miracles, reached him, and his case may represent to us that of many others.

If then, after the representation which has been given of the religious condition of the heathen world at this period, we consider its relation to Christianity; we find that on the one hand Christianity was opposed by unbelief, a frame of mind as devoid of all capacity for the perception of any thing Divine, as it was of all religion; a frame of mind which to that doctrine, when it preached Divine truth, offered in reply the inquiry, "What is truth?"—And on the other hand, it was opposed by a kind of fanatical attachment to the old popular religion, revived by causes we have above related, and by a blind superstition, which those who endeavoured to spiritualize it, only promoted, a disposition of mind to which the worship of God in spirit and in truth was an offence. But the restless religious desire of many hearts, which sought for rest, the thirst after some new connexion with heaven, and after some revelation from heaven, placed beyond all doubt, which, amid the strife of human opinions might assure its followers tranquillity and confidence, were all calculated to lead men's souls to Christianity. And yet this indefinite desire, often uncertain even of what it wished itself, might also deliver up men to every kind of delusion; and spirits, which promised to impart the powers of the invisible world, and to explain its mysteries, and thereby flattered the natural inclinations of men, would often be more readily received than the simple Gospel which opposed those inclinations. Only there was in Christianity a power of God, which put to shame all arts of delusion, which could make its way, through all the adverse powers of delusion, to the human heart, and prove itself to be that which could alone satisfy all its wants; and which alone was able utterly to uproot that superstition, which no Platonic philosophy could triumph

over, because it alone brought a radical cure to the real source of the disease. But the Platonic philosophy, inasmuch as it excited more lively inward feelings of religion, and gave them a more spiritual turn which did not correspond with the popular religion, was, in some degree, a preparation for Christianity; and yet, on the other hand, it might perhaps oppose the humble spirit of the simple Gospel with its fantastic mystico-poetical religion, which has its attractions for the vanity of the natural man that delights in the Gorgious, for, although all that is Divine bears the impress of simplicity, yet man is least of all inclined to inquire into what is simple. This Platonic religious eclecticism, accustomed to melt down every thing, even discordant elements, together, and amalgamate them, could not so easily bring itself to recognize only one thing which was needful for man, to give up the whole man to this one, and to seek every thing in this one. With those, who had more than others, although not exactly what human nature desires for the healing of its sickness, and the satisfaction of its wants, it was a harder sacrifice than with other men, to acknowledge the insufficiency of that in which their advantages lay, and to clothe themselves in that humility, without which the riches of the Gospel cannot be received nor enjoyed.

If we now pass over to the religious condition of the Jewish people, we shall perceive between Judaism and heathenism that immense difference, which must exist between a revelation of the living God and natural religion. Witness the pure religious and moral spirit of Judaism; the idea of one holy, almighty, all-wise, merciful, and independent God, as Creator and governor of the world, to whose glory all things must be subservient, and on whom every thing must depend; and this notion, not the possession of a small class of initiated persons, not an esoteric doctrine of the priests, but the possession of a whole people, the centre of a whole system of popular religion; witness the contrast between holiness and sin, which was not to be found, so clearly defined, in the natural religion of the heathens. It was, however, in the divine scheme of education for the human race, the loftiest purpose of this religion, to awaken desires of the heart and the spirit which it could not satisfy,—the satisfaction of which it could and should only prepare and promise; to call forth the consciousness of a division in the heart of man, which it could not

remedy; but still there remained under every change of human civilization, a divine power in this religion, there was here an objective, authentic ground of belief, and not a mere texture of varied myths and stories, into which a religious meaning must be conveyed, or from which only some dark glimmering of religious thought proceeded. Hence this religion was enabled to preserve its authority, in general, unshaken under all the political storms, which agitated the Jewish people; nay, in after times, under all the oppressions of this nation, its faith in the old religion was altogether only surer and stronger. But nevertheless, even this religion was unable to escape the general causes of decay, which have in the end produced the downfall of all religious institutions. As a peculiar form of religion, it was unable to come forth victorious as Christianity has often done in similar times of excitement, with a more splendid display of its excellence, because, as a peculiar form of religion, it was only given and appropriate to man, in one definite stage of development; and hence, if it endured longer, it must necessarily overlast its time, and become lifeless and dead. From a struggle with those causes of decay, no victorious result could arise here, except a revival in the purer and nobler form of Christianity.

A penetration into the spirit of the Jewish religion was not the necessary consequence of a strict adherence to its letter. The remembrance of God's wonderful dealings with these people, and of their theocratic economy, so pregnant with instructive hints for the development of the whole history of man, with the major part of the Jews served only as the food of a carnal pride. Instead of thinking how they might make themselves worthy of that peculiar guidance which their forefathers had enjoyed, and how they might correspond, in heart and conduct, to that theocratic economy, they fancied themselves the native members of this theocracy, in virtue of their corporal descent from the patriarchs; and in virtue of a mere outward worship of God, they considered themselves as already citizens of the kingdom of heaven, and entitled to the enjoyment of all the rights of such citizens. The idea, which formed the centre-point of the whole theocratic economy, the idea of a Messiah, had only been brought forward with more lively feelings through the oppressions and the sufferings of the latter

period of their history. With the warmest hopes and desires, many were awaiting the promised Deliverer from misery, by whom the fallen theocracy was again to be renewed with greater splendour; but then, the only misery they felt was their temporal misery, and not that spiritual misery, from which the temporal had proceeded, and they expected in their Messiah nothing but a deliverer from their temporal calamities. They were unable to comprehend the idea of the Messiah, and the kingdom which he was to found, in any but a worldly point of view. With heavenly miraculous powers, he was to serve for the gratification of their worldly desires, to free them from the Roman yoke, to execute vengeance on their enemies, and to found a kingdom of earthly splendour, in which they were to delight themselves with the enjoyment of all the pleasures which an imagination, inclined indeed to the wonderful, but still looking only to sensual things, could set before their eyes. The nation was destitute of guides and teachers who could undeceive it, and really instruct it in the true nature of their religion, and of the divine economy. For the most part, their instructors were blind leaders of the blind, who only strengthened the people still more in their fleshly and perverted heart, and in the fancies to which this heart led them. Great harm had particularly been wrought by a blind fanatical zealot, Judas of Gamala, or the Galilean, who came forward about the year fourteen after the birth of Christ, on occasion of the taxing of the people, instituted by Augustus Cæsar. He urged the people to throw off the bondage of Rome at once, and to acknowledge no sovereign but God alone! As if a people, who were as far as the Jewish people from the only true moral freedom, and governed by wild passions and desires, could have been in a condition to enjoy even a mere political freedom! As if they, whose whole heart was estranged from God, and given up to so many idolatrous desires, could have acknowledged God as the sovereign in reality and truth! This fleshly conception of the idea of the kingdom of God, and of the freedom and the rights of its citizens—this mixture of worldly and spiritual things—was, as in all other times, the source of a wild fanaticism among the Jews, which at length brought down upon Jerusalem its temporal destruction. They were, therefore, unable to comprehend what the Son of

God said to them of that true freedom, which he had come from heaven to bestow on man, sighing under the bondage of sin. As they had been unable to know the Father by their earthly-mindedness, so they were also unable to know the Son. They were also unable to recognise in him the Messiah, because they did not understand the voice of the Father, which spoke of him in the wants and desires of the human heart; but they would only listen to the voice of the world and of the flesh, that spoke in their own hearts; and they therefore chose to have a Messiah to whom the voice of their heart called them, as men, not taught by God, but under the influence of ungodly feelings; a Messiah, who would have satisfied their expectations and wishes, founded on earthly considerations. As Christ, whose warning voice they would not hear, predicted to them, to their destruction they became, through this fleshly mind, a prey to the delusive arts of all false prophets who chose to flatter this fleshly disposition in their idle promises. When the Temple of Jerusalem was already on fire, such a false prophet was able to persuade whole hosts of the people, that God, from out of the temple, would show them a way of salvation by some miracle;* and befooled by him, thousands became the victims of the flames or of the Roman sword. Josephus, who was no Christian, but who considered the fate of his people in a more unprejudiced manner than others of his nation, concludes his narration of this circumstance with the following remarkable reflection:—"The unhappy people then allowed themselves to be only deluded by deceivers, who dared to lie in the name of God. But they paid no regard to the clear miracles which announced impending destruction, and believed them not, but like men utterly confounded, and as if they had neither eyes nor understanding, they heard nothing which God himself proclaimed."

Among the Jewish theologians in Palestine, we find the three grand classes, which usually form themselves during the decay of a religion, and oppose each other. One class consists of those who, confusing the inward and the outward things of religion, or rather forgetting the in-

* Such a sign from heaven as they had often required from Him, who wished to show them the way to their true good.

ward in the outward, make a quantity of human statutes, engrafted on the original religion, the chief business of religion, and place its whole essence in a round of lifeless ceremonies, and a dead, common-place orthodoxy. Another class is formed of those who oppose this false pretence to religion, and this falsification of its original excellence; but, inasmuch as they are destitute of a lively sense of religion within, and a hearty desire for it, as well as of a capacity for the perception of Divine things, they overstep the mark in their opposition, because the true spiritual feelings do not accompany and direct with them their critical judgment, and their cold and negative disposition, while it justly attacks many human statutes which give themselves out as Divine laws, throws away at the same time, under the title of additions, many deep truths, which it is unable, with its earthly notions, to comprehend. Lastly, come those more quiet, but more warm-hearted spirits, with whom the power of religious imagination or feeling is too predominant, who withdraw into themselves from the strife of opinions among the learned in Scripture, and seeking the interpretation of the meaning of the old documents of religion in their subjective feelings or imaginations, become mystics sometimes of a practical, sometimes of a contemplative character. These three grand classes of religious characters, which constantly return under a change of form, we here recognise in the three sects of the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes.

The Pharisees* propagated in their schools, by means of oral instruction, a Cabbala, that is to say, a kind of polished speculative theology, composed of a mixture of the Mosaic religion with other eastern religious elements, which they fixed upon the original documents of the religion, by means of an allegorical spirit of interpretation. By means of arbitrary verbal criticism, mystical meanings, and pretended traditions from their ancestors,

they had connected the ceremonial law of Moses with a multitude of new outward precepts, on the rigid observance of which they often laid more stress than on the works of righteousness and charity. They had invented for themselves many external offices of worship, which they considered as works of supererogation, by means of which many who fancied, in the blindness of their hearts, that they had from their youth up fulfilled the law, imagined that they could do even more than the law required, and obtain for themselves a higher degree of holiness. In estimating, however, the character of these Pharisees, as well as that of the monks in later times, we must not put them all in one class, but accurately separate the different classes of men from one another. The greater part of them were, more or less, hypocrites, or mere pretenders to holiness, whose chief care was about their own reputation and dominion over others, and who endeavoured to gain respect in the eyes of the people by their outward observances, while with all this outward show their hearts were full of wicked desires, and like to painted sepulchres, and while in secret they often delivered themselves up to the gratification of their sinful passions. But others, no doubt, were in earnest in their endeavours after justification and holiness; they observed conscientiously what their statutes prescribed, and sought to triumph over evil by their ascetic severities. Their error only consisted in this, that they thought they could, by their own endeavours, take by storm that which the grace of God alone can bestow on humble and on broken hearts. In this struggle many of them probably felt those very experiences which St. Paul, once a Pharisee himself, has painted so naturally in the seventh chapter of his epistle to the Romans.

The Sadducees were, for the most part, rich people living in great comfort, who forgot in the enjoyments of the world the higher desires of their nature; their hearts were not softened by necessity, so often the instructor of man, and compelled to seek the pleasures of a better world, but they were quite right in opposing the self-invented ceremonial of the Pharisees, their troublesome precepts and their vain refinements. But while they opposed these adulterations of the original Mosaic religion, they were alike unwilling to acknowledge that historical development which, under the guidance of God's Spirit,

* This name is derived from the verb פָּרַשׁ, either in the sense of "to interpret," as פֹּרֵשׁ the פְּרִשְׁתָּהּ טַעַם וְנִמְנָם אֶת־עַמְּךָ, which honour the Pharisees claimed, according to Josephus, or in the sense of "to separate," פָּרוּשׁ (which rather more nearly resembles the Greek φαρμακός,) "the man separated from the profane multitude, (from the עַם־הָאָרֶץ) and one who wished to be revered as a holier man."

had been bestowed upon it; and many religious truths, which had first been developed by the prophets, were therefore denied by them. They ascribed Divine authority to the Pentateuch alone, and would acknowledge those religious truths only, which a literal interpretation could deduce from that volume. They therefore denied the doctrine of the resurrection, and of the destination of the soul for an eternal existence. They also, according to Acts xxiii. 8, rejected a belief in angels. We cannot, however, see how they could reconcile this with their belief in the Divine authority of the Pentateuch, unless, perhaps, like other Jewish sects, they considered the apparitions of angels as mere impersonal and transient forms of appearance of the Deity. Although it cannot be directly concluded from the account of Josephus, that they altogether denied the doctrine of a Providence, which extended to the affairs of individuals, it is, however, clear, in conformity to their negative disposition in religion, that they made God as much as possible an inactive spectator of the course of events, and supposed him to take far less interest in human occurrences than was consistent with the spirit of the theocracy. They ascribed a pre-eminent value above every thing besides to an external morality in fulfilment of the law, and hence, perhaps, came their name.* The less they penetrated below the surface of morals, the more they were able to ascribe to man a sufficiency in himself, and to leave every thing to depend on the spontaneous determinations of the human will. The hard, cold, heartless disposition, which Josephus attributes to the Sadducees, is also in excellent keeping with this way of thinking. Although Josephus himself was a Pharisee, yet he shows himself, nevertheless, always unprejudiced in his judgments; nay, he often lays bare and naked the faults of the Pharisees themselves, and there is accordingly no reason to suspect him in this instance of gratifying his enmity at the expense of truth.—We certainly cannot from the nature of the doctrines of the later Karaites, who were moderate enemies of the traditions of the Pharisees, draw any conclusion as to the nature of those of the Sadducees. Indeed, it is a matter of enquiry generally, whether these latter ever

were in open connection with the former (the Sadducees,) although their enemies' zeal for the discovery of heresies was naturally gratified in attaching this imputation upon them.

A company of pious men, much experienced in the trials of the outward and of the inward life, had withdrawn themselves out of the strife of theological and political parties, at first apparently (according to Pliny the elder,) to the western side of the Dead Sea; where they lived together in intimate connexion, partly in the same sort of society as the monks of later days, and partly as mystical orders in all periods have done.—From this society, other smaller ones afterwards proceeded, and spread themselves over all Palestine. They were called Essenes, (Εσσηνοί or Εσσαίται.) They employed themselves in the arts of peace, agriculture, pasture, handicraft works, and especially in the art of healing, while they took great delight in investigating the healing powers of nature. It is probable, also, that they imagined themselves under the guidance of a supernatural illumination in their search into nature, and their use of her powers. Their natural knowledge, and their art of healing, appear also to have had a religious, theosophic character, as they professed also to have peculiar prophetic gifts. The Essenes were, no doubt, distinguished from the mass of ordinary Jews by this, that they knew and loved something higher than the outward ceremonial, and a dead faith; that they did really strive after holiness of heart, and inward communion with God. Their quiet, pious habits also rendered them remarkable, and by means of these they remained quiet amidst all the political changes, respected by all parties, even by the heathens; and by their laborious habits and kindness, their obedience towards the higher powers, as ordained of God, their fidelity and love of truth, they were enabled to extend themselves in all directions. In their society every *yea* and *nay* had the force of an oath; for every oath, said they, pre-supposes a mutual distrust, which ought not be the case among a society of honest men. Only in one case was an oath suffered amongst them, namely, as a pledge for those who after a three years' noviciate were to be received into the number of the initiated. According to the portraiture of them, given by Philo the Alexandrian, in his separate treatise concerning the "True Freedom of the Virtuous," we should take

* [From צֶדֶק, he was just or righteous.—

Others deduce it from Sadoc, a proper name.—H. J. R.]

the Essenes for men of an entirely practical religious turn, far removed from all theosophy and all idle speculation; and we should ascribe to them an inward religious habit of mind, free from all mixture of superstition and reliance on outward things. But the account of Philo does not at all accord with that of Josephus, and the more historical Josephus deserves in general more credit than Philo, who was too apt to indulge in philosophising and idealism. Besides, Josephus had more opportunity of knowing this sect thoroughly, than Philo; for Philo lived in Egypt, and the Essenes did not extend beyond Palestine.—Josephus had here passed the greater part of his life, and had certainly taken all necessary pains to inform himself accurately of the nature of the different sects, among which he was determined, as a youth of sixteen years of age, to make choice, although he can hardly have completely passed through a noviciate in the sect of the Essenes, because he made the round of all the three Jewish sects, in a period of from three to four years. Josephus, also, shows himself completely unprejudiced in this description; while Philo, on the contrary, wished to represent the Essenes to the more cultivated Greeks as models of practical wisdom, and therefore he allowed himself to represent much, not as it really was, but as it suited his purpose. We must conclude that the Essenes did also busy themselves with theosophy, and pretended to impart to those of their own order disclosures relating to the supernatural world of spirits, because those who were about to be initiated, were obliged to swear that they would never make known to any one the names of the angels then to be communicated to them. The manner in which they kept secret the ancient books of their sect, is also a proof of this. And, indeed, Philo himself makes it probable, when he says, that they employed themselves with a φιλοσοφία δια συμβολων, a philosophy, which was supported by an allegorical interpretation of Scripture; for this kind of allegorizing interpretation was usually the accompaniment of a certain speculative system. According to Philo they rejected the sacrifice of victims, because they considered, that to consecrate and offer up themselves wholly to God, was the only true sacrifice, the only sacrifice worthy of God. But according to Josephus they certainly considered sacrifice as something peculiarly holy, but they thought that from its

peculiar holiness it must have been desecrated by the profane Jews in the temple of Jerusalem, and that it could be worthily celebrated only in their holy community, just as mystic sects of this nature are constantly accustomed to make the *objective* acts of religion dependent on the *subjective* condition of those who perform or take part in them. In the troublesome and superstitious observance of the rest of the Sabbath, according to the letter, and not according to the spirit, they went even farther than the other Jews, only with this difference, that they were in good earnest in the matter, while the Pharisees by their casuistry relaxed their rules, or drew them tighter, just as it suited their purpose. The Essenes not only strenuously abhorred, like the other Jews, contact with the uncircumcised, but, having divided themselves into four classes, the Essenes of a higher grade were averse from contact with those of a lower, as if they were rendered unclean by it, and when any thing of this kind did happen, they purified themselves after it. Like many other Jews, they attributed great value, in general, to lustration by bathing in cold water. To their ascetic notions the constant and healthy practice in the East of anointing with oil seemed unholy, and if it befel any one of them, he was obliged to purify himself. It was also a great abomination to them, to eat any food except such as had been prepared by persons of their own sect. They would die rather than eat of any other. This is a sufficient proof that although the Essenes might possess a certain inward religious life, and a certain practical piety, yet that these qualities with them, as well as with many other mystical sects (as, for example, those of the middle ages) were connected with a theosophy, which desired to know things hidden from human reason, (ἰμβατεῦειν εἰς ἃ τις μὴ ἔωρακεν,) and therefore lost itself in idle imaginations and dreams, and were also mixed up with an outward asceticism, a proud spirit of separation from the rest of mankind, and superstitious observances and demeanours totally at variance with the true spirit of inward religion.

The religious and theological character of the Jews who dwelt at Alexandria, that remarkable intermediate spot between the eastern and the western world, was of an entirely peculiar cast. By means of constant intercourse with educated Hellenists in one of the most flourishing seats of Hellenistic literature and civilization, they

must have gradually lost their usual abhorrence of foreign customs. By their sojourn among the Greeks for centuries, separated from their original country, they gradually assumed the Greek language, and much of Greek manners; they became more and more estranged from the language and the habits of their own nation, and many of them were strongly attracted by the charms of Greek literature, and especially of Greek philosophy.*

Under these circumstances two cases might occur. *One* would be the case of those, who became so thoroughly imbued with the spirit of this foreign culture, and Hellenized to such an extent, that they lost even that reverence for the ancient holy institutions of their people, so deeply implanted in the heart of a Jew. A few general superficial ideas, skimmed from Grecian philosophy, and a certain moral cultivation, became to these men their highest law, and after this miserable and false illumination, they dared to condemn and to ridicule the holy history and documents of their people, which they could not understand, because they were deficient in the deep religious feeling and the knowledge requisite for that purpose. We find in Philo traces of this kind of the *Jewish* scoffer in places where we can hardly imagine he is glancing at the heathen. As when he opposes Moses, who remained always true to his people in the seductions of the Egyptian court, to these renegades: "Who transgress the law, in which they have been born and educated, who destroy the customs of their country, to which no blame can be attached, and in their prejudice for that which is new, lose all remembrance of that which is old."† In another place‡ he thus expresses himself against such people; "Who are disinclined to the religious system of their country; who always look on the laws of their religion to blame and accuse them, and use these and similar|| narrations profligately, as a support to their Atheism (ἀθεϊσμός,) and say, 'Do you really think highly of your laws, and imagine that they contain the rules of truth? Behold!

what you call your holy Scriptures, do they not contain myths and fables which you yourselves laugh at when you hear them from others?'"*

Nevertheless, the faith in the Divine origin, and the holiness of their religion, had taken too deep hold on the hearts of most Jews; the seed of religion, which had been sown in their earliest childhood, and had spread over all their life, had made too deep impression on their hearts, to allow of its being thus dissipated and destroyed. Although they were attracted by the Greek philosophy, and especially by that which had chiefly prevailed at Alexandria in later times, and which by its nature would give the best opportunity for a religious spirit to connect itself with, namely, the Platonic, yet still they were far from consciously and intentionally sacrificing their religion and their holy writings to the authority of a human philosophy. They had far rather learnt, by comparing the religious knowledge of their people with that of the Egyptians and the Greeks, day by day to estimate better the distinguished character of their old religion, and to see more clearly the Divine providence which guided their peculiar history, and the influence which these were destined to bear on the whole human race. Philo, whom we may name the representative of these Alexandrians, speaks thus:—"That, which the most genuine philosophy alone is able to impart to its scholars, the knowledge of the Most High, is communicated by our laws and our customs to the whole Jewish people." He declares it to be the destiny of the Jews, inasmuch as they alone were consecrated as a whole people, to the worship of the One true God, and were to spread this to the whole human race, that they were to be priests and prophets for all mankind.‡ Philo was well aware that it is the characteristic of the Divine revelation, to let the light of truth gene-

* [A very elaborate work on the Alexandrian Jews has appeared since the publication of this History. It is entitled, *Geschichtliche Darstellung der Judisch-Alexandrinischen Religions-Philosophie*: verfasst von A. F. Dähne, P. D. &c. Halle, 1834. 2 vol. 8vo.—H. J. R.]

† De vita Mosis, i. 607.

‡ De confus. ling. 320.

|| He is speaking here of the confusion of tongues at the tower of Babel.

* Also, in the passage de Nom. Mutat. p. 1053, where Philo introduces the sarcasms of an ἄθεος, or ἑσθῆς, the bitterness with which he speaks, may well lead us to conclude that this scoffer was an unbelieving Jew. In an heathen this jesting could not have appeared so striking to him. He looks upon it as a punishment of the profligate opinions of this man, that he soon after hanged himself, ἐν ὁμίῳ καὶ δυσχερατίῳ μὲν κινδυνὸν βινάτω τελευτήσῃ. By means of his allegorical explanations Philo wished to remove what had given rise to the ridicule of this man, in order that others might not fall into a similar snare and punishment.

† De Caritate, 699.

‡ De Abrah. 364; De vita Mosis, i. 625.

rally shine before all men, and not to keep it purposely hidden. The more easily the people of Alexandria might be seduced into joining in the traffic in secret things, attendant on the mysteries, the more remarkable, therefore, and pleasing is an expression in an Alexandrian, which shows, that he recognised the character of simplicity and publicity in Judaism, and opposed it to the hatred of the light, incident to the mysteries.* "All mysteries, all such pomp and such tricks Moses removed far from the sacred lawgiving, because he did not desire that those who were educated in such a religion, suffering themselves to be blinded by mysterious matters, should neglect the truth, nor follow what belongs to the night and darkness, neglecting that which is worthy of the light and of the day. None also of those who know Moses, and reckon themselves among his disciples, allow themselves to be initiated into such mysteries nor initiate others; for either to learn or to teach these mysteries, is no slight crime; † for ye initiated! wherefore, if these are honourable or useful things, do ye shut yourselves up in deep darkness, and do service to three or four only, when you might benefit all mankind, if you would communicate in the market-places what might be of use to all, in order that all might be able to take a part in a better and a happier life?"

In order properly to judge of *these* Alexandrians, we must pay due regard to their relation to the various parties, with which they had to contend. On the one hand, they must defend their religion and its documents, which they constantly regarded with reverence, against Jewish and heathen scoffers. This apologetic strife might induce them to penetrate more deeply into the essence of their religion, and the spirit of their Old Scriptures, while they endeavoured to oppose the prejudices of the heathen against them. Hence they might become more free in their own mode of thinking and their own notions, from this very circumstance, that they were obliged to take up a strange position, and from that position endeavour to contemplate the ideas of

their own religion. But as it is universally so difficult for men to keep exactly the right path between the two opposite faults of an abrupt and narrow-minded rejection of every strange impression, and a too great facility in accepting them, these men, while they wished to prove the excellence of their religion to Greeks of education, and especially of a philosophical education, on their own ground, might also easily have been led to introduce into their Old Holy Scriptures some notions foreign to them, and to forget the peculiar, practical spirit of those writings, which differ so decidedly from all other religious and philosophical dispensations. This, at least, happened; they wished to prove to the Greeks, that their Holy Scriptures harmonized with the spirit of the Platonic philosophy, by which they themselves were governed, and that they were the richest source of all philosophical notions. They were, therefore, obliged, although it was decidedly not their intention, to do violence to the Scriptures, in order to be able to find in them something which was entirely foreign to their nature. This would soon conduct them to a false Hermeneutic. And they became still more enamoured of the character of this false Hermeneutic, while they were opposing another and a contrary false tendency of the theological and religious mind among their countrymen, which certainly contributed much to render the Jewish religion contemptible in the eyes of the heathen. There were men who fancied that they were to understand, in a gross and sensual acceptance, the things of the Spirit, which are revealed under the covering of human language, and hence degraded the spiritual into the sensual; they lost themselves in petty refinements about the letter of the Holy Scriptures, which they might have avoided, could they have perceived the spirit in the letter; and while they did not distinguish the anthropopathical images, in which Divine things were brought down to man's understanding in the childhood of human nature, (and, to say the truth, in regard to the Divine nature, we always remain, in this life, as children, we can only conceive, think, and speak as children,) from the ideas which are enveloped in these images, they fell into many misconceptions of God, and of that which belongs to God, which were some of them injurious in a practical point of view. These are those

* De victimas Offerent. p. 56.

† This emphatic warning appears to indicate that already many of the Jews might have allowed themselves to be seduced by the pomp of the mysteries. [There is an able chapter on the mysticism of the Alexandrian school in Heinroth's work on Mysticism.—H. J. R.]

zealots, "so* conceited at their own hair-splitting in the literal interpretation of Scripture," whose sensual anthropopathical representation of God and Divine things, Philo† so often combats. Opposing this sense-bound, literal mode of interpretation, the Alexandrians declared it the loftiest problem of interpretation, in the letter to recognise the hidden spirit, and to free it from this covering. In order, however, said they, to be able to perceive this spirit, we need a spiritual, religious habit of mind, capable of understanding it, and akin to the Divine nature‡; and the errors of those sensuous interpreters of the Bible came from this very cause, that they are without this habit of mind, and are so utterly enthralled by what is sensuous. It was certainly judicious to call the attention of those sensuous-minded men, in the first instance, to that which, within their own hearts, opposed a right understanding of the Holy Scriptures—for they might be impelled by this means to turn themselves to the Spirit, "which maketh free," which alone was able to free their minds from this veil. Philo was also well aware, that without being enlightened from a higher source, man can never arrive at understanding that which is Divine. He was far from the imagination, that man could, by the employment of his own powers, purify that part of his nature which is akin to the Divine, and by that means alone, acquire for himself a knowledge of Divine things. "Every movement of the spirit, (tending towards God,)" says he, (de Migrat. Abraham 414,) "without divine grace, (ἀνευ θείας ἐπιφροσύνης,) is pernicious, and it is better to remain here below, and wander about amidst mortal life, like the rest of the human race, than wishing to raise ourselves up to heaven, to fall by pride." [p. 283, Ed. Turneb.] Justly, indeed, does Philo remark, that as man consists of spirit and of sense, in regard to both of these, that there are two kinds of that conceit which thinks it can dispense with God—the

idolatry of sensuality, and the idolatry of reason that is left to itself, and gives itself out as self-sufficing.* "Never must we believe," says he, (de Somniis, 1111,) "that man himself is in a condition to purify his life, which is full of stains, without God's grace." But, although it cannot be denied that Philo points to God as the source of enlightenment and sanctification, yet it is also certain that he directs our attention more to the necessity of an illumination of the reason, than to that of a complete practical change in the heart; that he did not speak enough of the nature of this practical change, and did not enough show that all illumination in Divine matters can and must proceed only from practical grounds; and this deficiency is in exact harmony with that exclusively prevalent contemplative spirit of his in religion, of which we shall shortly have occasion to speak.

Without that inward sense, indeed, enlightened through the Spirit of God, that which is Divine in the holy Scripture cannot be comprehended; but the enlightening by the Spirit of God by no means excludes the use of those natural and human means, which are requisite to the understanding of any writings whatever, nor does it make them at all superfluous; but, on the contrary, it rather sets them forth as necessary conditions, because the mind, enlightened by God's Spirit, can then first rightly quicken and conduct the use of these human means. But to that carnal pride, which, with an unenlightened mind, would think to have eternal life in the bare letter of Scripture, there was opposed another kind of pride, which made little enough of the letter, and which, by means of immediate illuminations, expected to be able universally to understand the spirit of Scripture without the use of natural and human means. This sort of pride, despising most haughtily the assistance and the rules of logical and grammatical interpretation, was necessarily the source of much self-deceit, and must have punished itself by itself. Where, through simple remarks on the logical connection of the context, and through observance of the Hebrew-Greek idiom, many difficulties in the translation current at Alexandria, in which Philo read the Old Testament, might have been very easily removed, Philo overlooked the simplest ways, and sought deep mysteries

* οἱ τῆς ρητικῆς περὶ πνεύματος σφιστάται λίαν τὰς ὁρμὰς ἀντοπακοῦσι. De Somniis, 580.

† See for instance, de Plantat. Noe, 219, where, in speaking of the representations such people form to themselves from their sensual mode of interpreting Scripture, he says, τῶν ἀνθρώπων μῆτρον ἐστὶ τε καὶ ἀνθρωποπαθὲς τὸ αἰτῆν εἰσαχόντων ἐπ' εὐσεβείας καὶ δούκντων κωιδιμαται μὲλλον ζῆτων ἐκθεσμηματα ὅτα εἰρηματα.

‡ By means of the νῦρος πνευματικῶν in us, we can understand the νοῦτος, θεῖος, which is enveloped in the αἰσθητικῶς, σαρκενικῶς of the Holy Scripture.

* οἱ τὴν τοῦ νοῦ θειωσάται καὶ τῶν αἰσθητικῶν, οἱ μὲν ἔκωνον, οἱ δὲ ταυτὴν θεωπλαστοῦσιν. De Victim. Offer. ib. 858.

in places where there was not the slightest trace of them.* And, therefore, as these Alexandrians did not show proper regard to the letter of the Scripture, as they had no perception of the just relation of the spirit to the letter, they were on that account more likely to run the risk, instead of deducing the spirit of Scripture from itself, of introducing into it a spirit foreign to its nature, but one by which they were captivated, in consequence of their peculiar philosophical habits of mind. Instead of constantly keeping close to the practical aim of the theocratic plan; instead of forming men to a God-devoted life, of representing to them God as Creator, Governor, and Law-giver; and instead of referring every thing in Scripture to this, the highest aim of the Divine revelations, they attributed to them, as their highest purpose, one foreign to their nature, and borrowed from the Platonic philosophical religion: namely, to impart general speculative ideas (*τα ιοντα*) to those who were capable of receiving them. They formed for themselves, in consequence, an idealism in Judaism, similar to that of the new Platonic school of religious philosophers in heathenism, except that they thoroughly recognised the difference between the historical part of the Old Testament and the myths of heathenism. Still they considered the historical part and the letter, only as a covering for those general ideas, which it was the loftiest purpose of the Divine revelations to communicate to men of a spiritual turn; but yet they still altogether decided upon the objective reality and truth of the history and the letter, and ascribed indeed to both their use, as a means of moral and religious improvement for those who were unable to lift themselves up to that height of speculation and contemplation. Only in certain places, where they found things which they could not make to square with their religious philosophy, where they entered into controversy with the sense-bound interpreters of the Bible, (who, it must be confessed, by taking even the minutest matters literally, fell into many very crude notions, as, for instance, in the history of Paradise, and of the fall of man,) they were unable to keep close to this general principle, that the Spirit always appeared clothed in a real body. Instead

of acknowledging an objective fact of deep importance for the development of the whole nature of man, in the symbolical language of the ancient traditions, they saw only a general idea clothed in a mystical dress. Here they considered the letter of the narration only as a fable, entirely devoid of all historical truth (*το ἔητον μυθώδες ἐστι*, according to Philo.) And this they reconciled thus with their principles: in order that spiritual men should not be induced to hold entirely by the bare letter, without searching for the idea enveloped in the covering of the letter, some means of exciting their attention must be resorted to by scattering about a few places, in which the letter gives no reasonable sense (*τα σκανδαλα της γραφης, ἀφορμαὶ τοις τυφλοις τη διανοιᾳ*). This principle naturally admitted of a great laxity and caprice in its application, and might perhaps lead to this result, that every one would allow only exactly so much of the Scripture to hold good, as he could comfortably reconcile with his own subjective habits of thought, although Philo was most undoubtedly very desirous to keep up all respect for the holy Scripture. But this is the manner in which a speculative or contemplative pride punishes itself, which despises history and the letter, while it fancies itself capable of knowing every thing *a priori*.

Philo was perfectly right in combating the sensuous *anthropopathism* of those Jewish rabbis; but here, as it often happens, in avoiding one error, he fell into another of an opposite character, by mistaking and overlooking the objective and real truths, which were at the groundwork of that *anthropopathical* form, in which they were delivered,—a form necessary, not only to the multitude, (*τοις πολλοις*) but to man as man, who can only contemplate the Divine under the analogy, refined indeed and ennobled, but still the analogy, of the human.

Philo suggests the enquiry: How can Moses attribute to God, who is far above all parties and changes, anger, zeal, and other similar human things? and he answers: Moses has here, like a wise law-giver, let himself down so as to meet the wants of rude sense-led men, incapable of the contemplation of pure truth, who must at first be restrained from evil by the fear of punishment. "Let all such persons, therefore," says he, "learn those false things, by which they may be profited, if they are unable to be amended by truth; for the most approved physicians

* A remarkable instance of this occurs in his treatise, *Quis rer. div. hæres?* p. 492, (p. 334, Ed. Turneb.) where the phrase *ἐξαγαν ἐξω* strikes Philo, and he searches for a peculiar and profound sense in the addition *ἐξω*.

dare not tell the truth to those who are dangerously ill, because they know that this will depress them, and the disease will gain strength.”* Philo here did not remember, that the fear of punishment can at most only restrain the open outbreak of vice, while the man remains untouched by that true inward sanctification of the heart, which religion is meant to impart. Like those heathen Platonizers, he did not consider that the Old Testament notion of God’s anger contains a great truth represented in human language, the truth of the reality of sin and guilt, the objective opposition of evil and God’s holiness; a truth to which the voice of the conscience bears witness in the soul of the philosopher, and of the man of highly cultivated mind in a human sense, as well as in the souls of the so-called uncultivated multitude. In the conscience of the philosopher, as well as in that of the despised multitude, the anger of God from heaven reveals itself on all unrighteousness of men (of which every one can find sufficient within himself,) who hold the truth in ungodliness; and therefore, there existed between these Idealists, who spiritualized every thing, and the Materialists, who understood every thing in a sensuous manner,—or, to use Philo’s phrase, between the spiritual man and the man of mere sense,—a controversy which never could be decided, because each stuck fast to his half-truth and to the errors which he had mixed up with it. The Idealists could not bear the representation of God according to our sense. The Materialists could not bear to dilute and wash away, as mere anthropopathism, that which there was of positive in their notions, and which proved itself true in the very deepest foundations of their moral and religious conscience.

Philo, therefore, came to this, that he opposed to each other two different methods of considering God and Divine matters, as taking their origin from two different points of view, namely, the humanizing, and not-humanizing† (or that in which God is represented as a man, and that in which he is not.) In the first, all

human qualities are attributed to God, for the advantage of those men who are to be bettered, but are still incapable of pure spiritual contemplation (προς την των πολλων διδασκαλιαν); in the other point of view, that of pure truth, all positive ideas are removed from the contemplation of God for spiritual men, who are capable of taking such a view. The being of God only, apart from all qualities, here becomes conceived by means of an immediate communion of the spirit with this great Being, and by means of an intellectual contemplation raised far above any definite ideas.*

Philo, who explained himself (see above) so clearly against the mysteries, nevertheless brought himself here to distinguish two points of view in the knowledge of religion from each other, the esoteric and the exoteric. THERE we find an intellectual intuition† of God’s being, which raises itself above all syllogistic‡ thought, and above all positive, historical revelation of God, but which is the first thing that teaches us to recognise the inward sense of Scripture, which is enveloped in the symbol of the letter; an allegorical interpretation of Scripture, proceeding from this point of view; a love of the Most High for himself alone, for his overwhelming perfection, which can dispense with all other sources of religious amendment. HERE we see an anthropopathical conception of God, as the Most High represents himself to the man of sense-led mind, by letting himself down to this point of view; an adherence to the letter of Scripture, without being able to penetrate into its inward spirit; a carnal, literal interpretation of the Bible; the hope of reward, and the fear of punishment, as springs of action and of life to man.§

These opinions, indeed, pushed to extremes, lead to this, that we are to consider positive religion merely as a means of instruction for the multitude, which the wise man may easily dispense with, and which has no meaning as addressed to him. And they were, in fact, really

* Deum. immutab. p. 302, 303, (p. 204. ed. Turneb.)

† Έν μιν, ότι οὐχ ὡς ἑνὸς ὁ Θεός, ἑτέρων δὲ, ὡς ἑνὸς ἑνός. l. c. p. 301. (p. 204, ed. Turneb.) Philo thought he found these two different methods in Numb. xiii. 19, compared with Deuteronomy i. 31: the same difference which later Christian mystics made between a θεολογία ἀπειραγμένη, and a θεολογία καταφατική.

* Οὐδεμία των γυνόντων ἰδέα παρῑβαλλουσι το ὄν, ἀλλ’ ἐκβίβασαντες αὐτό, ὡς πρὸς πεντηκὸς ἡμῶν ἑνὸς χαρακτῆρος την ὑπερῶν καταλαμβανέσθαι, την κατα το εἶναι φαντασίαν μιν ἐνέειξαν, μη μέρεισαντες αὐτό.

† [Anschauung. See Translator’s Preface to the second part of this work. H. J. R.]

‡ [Diskursiv. See Preface. H. J. R.]

§ According to Philo the knowledge of the ὄν as ὄν, the νοῦν καταλαμβάνει του ὄντος; and the knowledge of the ὄν also in the λόγος, makes us υἱοὶ του ὄντος, and υἱοὶ του λόγου.

pushed to extremes by many at Alexandria. "The observance of outward worship," they said, "belongs to the multitude; we, who know that all is only the symbolic garb of spiritual truth, we have all and quite sufficient in the contemplation of this truth, and need not to trouble ourselves about the outward part of religion." But the more moderate, like Philo, by means of the pure feelings of humanity within them, by their desire after religious communion, and by their reverence for the law of Moses, and the dealings of God with their people, were held back from this violent contrast to the religion of the people. Philo says of those stricter and more violent Idealists, "As if they lived for themselves alone in the desert, or as if they were souls without bodies, and knew nothing of social intercourse, they despise the faith of the multitude, and are willing only to investigate pure truth, as it is in itself, and yet the word of God ought to teach them to strive after a good name among the people, and not to violate prevailing customs, which godly men, of a higher grade than we are, have established. As men must provide for the body, which is the house of the soul, so also must they for the observance of the letter of the law. If we keep this, that also of which the letter is the symbol becomes clearer, and we escape, at the same time, blame and reproaches from the people."* It was natural enough, that this prevailing contemplative tendency of the religious spirit should at the same time introduce in Egypt, (afterwards the native land of the anchorite and monkish habits among Christians,) the formation of theosophic and ascetic societies, which withdrew themselves from the world. Philo himself relates that, in order to collect himself within more still and undisturbed, he had often withdrawn into the desert, but that he had learned by experience, that man does not become free from the world, which he carries about within him, by an outward withdrawal from it; nay, that just exactly in outward solitude, where the lower powers of human nature are unemployed, it has from that very cause more power to distract and afflict him. Let us hear his own words. (*Leg. Allegor. B. II. p. 81, vol. i. Mangey's edition.*) "I often left relations, friends, and country, and retired into the desert, that I might raise myself to worthy contemplations; but in this I did not succeed; and, on the

contrary, my spirit either became distracted, or it was wounded by some impure impression. At times, however, in the midst of thousands, I find myself alone, while God represses the tumult of the soul, and teaches me, that it is not the difference of place which creates evil or good, but that it depends on God, who leads the ship of the soul whither he will." Philo felt it necessary, as he considered the union of the contemplative and of the practical life the loftiest purpose of human nature, to caution men against a partial over-estimate of the contemplative.* He was obliged even then to speak against those who, either from laziness or vanity, had retired into the life of ascetics and hermits, and hid their inward baseness under the appearance of holiness, like the later Christian monks. (*De Profugis, 455. p. 309, ed. Turn.*) "Truth may, indeed, with justice blame those who leave the occupations and trades of civil life without having tried them in their own persons, and then say, that they have despised honour and pleasures. They pretend that they despise the world, but they despise it not. A slovenly appearance and a crabbed look, a strict and sparing life, they use as baits, as if, forsooth, they were friends of strict manners and self-command; but they are unable to deceive deep observers, who can look at what is within, and who do not suffer themselves to be deceived by superficial appearances." Philo wished that only those who had been proved by active virtue in civil life, should pass over to the contemplative, just as the Levites were not allowed to leave the active service of the Temple before their fiftieth year.

One particular phenomenon, which resulted from this theosophico-ascetic spirit among the Alexandrian Jews, was the sect of the Therapeutæ.† Their head-

* *De Decalogo, p. 760.*

† [The reader will find a most elaborate discussion on this subject (or rather on the Essenes in general) by Salmasius, in his edition of Solini Polyhistor, vol. i. p. 610; and in Calmet's Dict. of the Bible, Art. Therapeutæ. The headquarters of the Therapeutæ are here placed near the lake Mœris. The word in German is Mœris-see, which, as far as I can see from Mannert (*Geographie der Griechen und Römer*), can only be so translated. From Brucker, *Hist. Philosoph.* vol. ii, p. 780, and from the original passage in Philo de Vita Contemplativa, p. 892, (or in Mangey's Edit, vol. ii. p. 784, and Turneb. p. 611,) I am inclined to believe that the spot was on the marshy lake of Mareotis, which was close to Alexandria.—

H. J. R.]

* *De Migrat. Abrah. 402.*

quarters were at no great distance from Alexandria, in a quiet pleasant spot on the shores of the Lake Mœris, where they lived, like the anchorites in later periods, shut up in separate cells, (συνενοίς, μοναστηρίοις,) and employed themselves in nothing but prayer, and the contemplation of Divine things. An allegorical interpretation of Scripture was the foundation of their speculations, and they had old theosophical writings which gave them this turn. They lived only on bread and water, and accustomed themselves to fasting. They only ate in the evening, and many fasted for several days together. They met together every Sabbath-day, and every seven weeks they held a still more solemn assembly, because the number seven was peculiarly holy in their estimation. They then celebrated a simple love-feast, consisting of bread with salt and hyssop: theosophical discussions were held, and the hymns, which they had from their old traditions, were sung; and amidst choral songs, mystical dances, bearing reference to the wonderful works of God with the fathers of their people, were continued to a late hour in the night. Many men of distinguished learning have considered this sect as nothing but an *offset* of the Essenes, trained under the peculiar influence of the Egyptian spirit. But there was no such connexion between these two sects, that we should necessarily conclude the one to have been outwardly derived from the other. We do not know that the Essenes extended beyond Palestine, and the origin of the Therapeutic sect may very fairly be deduced from the peculiar theosophico-ascetic disposition of the Egyptian Jews. It has, however, been attempted to support this derivation of the one from the other, from the sameness in the meaning of their names, by deriving the Essenes from the Chaldaic **יֵשׁוּעַ**, *physician*, in reference to the healing either of the body or of the soul, or both; and Philo himself deduces the name of the Therapeutæ from the *θεραπεία της ψυχης*, although certainly the other derivation, which Philo gives, is more consonant to the Alexandrian theosophic idiom, namely, from *θεραπεία του Θεου*, *the true spiritual worship of God*, making them thus, *θεραπευται του Θεου*—*του ὄντος*: the worshippers of God, *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, men who dedicate their whole lives to the worship of God in the spirit, and to the contemplation of God.* What Philo says, that the sect of

Therapeutæ had spread much among the Hellenes and the Barbarians, is well worthy of remark, not as if the members of this particular sect of Therapeutæ had been thus dispersed, but as if that general theosophical and ascetic disposition, from which the Therapeutæ derived their origin, had many supporters among the Jews in other districts. Many of the seven Jewish sects, whose names only remain to us, may have derived their origin from this very disposition.

If, from this representation of the religious tendencies of the Jews, we attempt to deduce the result which they would give, as to the reception of Christianity, we shall immediately observe, that with the greater part of the Jewish people, the most serious obstacles to their capability of receiving the Gospel, arose from their carnal disposition, which was anxious to use the heavenly as a means of obtaining the earthly, from the want of an heartfelt thirst for moral and religious things, and from their reliance on their unalienable birth-right, as the children of Abraham according to the flesh, and on the merits and sanctifying power of their ceremonial law. It might easily happen, that where men of this cast, moved by some momentary impressions, embraced Christianity, they should err again in their faith, and fall away again from Christianity, because they did not find their carnal expectations instantly realised, and because, with their carnal hearts, they were unable to receive the witness of the Spirit for Jesus, as the Messiah. And, even if they remained outwardly Christians, they were never taken by the true spirit of the Gospel; they conceived Christianity itself in a carnal manner, mixing it up with all their Jewish imaginations, and they made merely a new sort of *opus operatum* of faith in Christ, without its having any influence on their inward life. These were men who, as Justin Martyr says, in his Dialogue with Trypho, deceived themselves, by supposing that, even though they were sinners, yet if they merely acknowledged God,* the Lord would not

this sort, which are synonymous—Γενος θεραπευτικον, γένος ἱκετικον, γένος ὀρατικον, ὁ Ἰσραηλ—ὡς ἔστιν τὸν Θεον.—De Victim. Offerentib. 854. Ἰκεται καὶ θεραπευται τοῦ ὄντος ὄντος.—De Monarchia, 816. Ἄνδρες ἱκετοῦ καὶ φιλοῦν Θεὸν μόνον θεραπεύειν ἐξικοντες.—De Decalogo, 760.—Οἱ πολλὰ χλαίαν φράσαντες τὰς ἄλλας περικυβητας, ὅταν ἐνέβησαν τὸν βίον θεραπεύειν Θεῷ.—Lib. iii. de Vita Mosis, 681. Τὸ θεραπευτικὸν αὐτοῦ (τῷ Θεῷ) γένος.

* Some such pretended acknowledgment of God, as that against which St. John contends in his first Epistle.

* We frequently find in Philo expressions of

impute their sins to them, the hypocrites against whom St. Paul often speaks, and the mere professors of Christianity, such as we find in the churches to which St. James wrote. It was from this cause that, as Justin Martyr (Apol. II. p. 88, or Apol. I. § 68. ed. Grabe,) says, Christianity found more and more faithful converts (*πλειονας και αληθεσιςτους Χριστιανους*) among the multitude of the heathens, who had less grounds for religious trust, and with whom Christianity must have utterly contradicted all their then notions of religion, than it did among the multitude of the Jews. There were, however, as the Gospel history tells us, many upright men, many who, although they expected in the Messiah the founder of a visible kingdom which should appear with outward tokens, yet had a purely spiritual notion of the happiness of this kingdom, and thought its happiness would consist in an inward communion with God, and the universal dominion of good; men who acknowledged, that a general purification and the healing of moral evil must precede the foundation of this kingdom, and they expected these effects from the Messiah. Such hearts might in Jesus recognise that Son of God, whom they longed for, and once given up to Him, might be made free by the influence of his Spirit. And those also, in whom a carnal mind prevailed, and yet not to the utter extinction of all capability of higher impressions, those in whom hitherto there had only been wanting the means of awakening moral and religious desires, might be led to the Son by the hand of the Father, when they had once seen before them the visible coming of the Son of God and had heard his voice, or even if He spoke to them by the preaching of the Gospel without their seeing Him; and thus, as they received the Son without prejudices, their whole habits of thought and their heart might then be spiritualised.

When we estimate the effects of the different habits of thought among the Jewish theologians, we find that the Gospel could not find any point of union with a system like Sadduceeism, a cold system, which, shut up within itself, extinguished all desires of a more lofty nature. The Gospel might, indeed, work its way to man, even through the covering of Sadduceeism, just as elsewhere; but then the conversion must have been one which his previous habits had no share in preparing, and, on that account, since no point of union, no point of transition appears between the two

systems, we cannot think of any mixture of Sadducee and Christian notions. If it be suggested that such a mixture may have taken place in certain opponents of the doctrine of the resurrection in the apostolic age, we must say that this has been supposed without sufficient reason, because the appearance which it attempts to account for may be deduced from totally different grounds.*

With the Pharisees, in general, the obstacles to an acceptance of the Gospel, were their pride, their belief in their own righteousness, and their want of sincerity. We must here accurately distinguish between the two classes of Pharisees which we remarked above. To those who, although they deceived themselves, did really strive, in some sense, truly after holiness, at length some light of the Spirit might make plain the nothingness of those means, by which they sought to attain it, the covering of their inward corruption might disappear before the power of truth, and their desire after holiness might now become a road to lead them to Christianity. The painful struggle, which St. Paul describes, from his own experience, in the seventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, might be gone through by them, and bring them into a steadfast quietness of belief. But those Pharisees, who came over to Christianity without any such excitement of the inward man, might fall into the temptation of melting down and uniting their former Pharisaic notions with Christianity, and not recognise Jesus as their Redeemer, in the full sense of the term, because they still trusted in their righteousness of works.

Among the Essenes and other similar mystics, the striving after inward religion might lead them to Christianity, but yet in their contemplative life they would, perhaps, take the appearance for the reality, and think they had more than they really had; moving round and round in one narrow circle of ideas and feelings, they were likely to mistake the true business and the true wants of their nature, and to reject all which did not suit that narrow circle, or which threatened to take them out of it. To become poor in spirit was often for men like these the hardest trial, for it compelled them to renounce the belief they cherished of their own intellectual and spiritual perfection. They

* The intermixture of certain philosophic or theosophic notions of the Jews or Greeks with the Gospel.

were the less able to determine on renouncing their outward demeanour and observances, because these were closely connected with their whole mystical religious system; and men of such sects, although their inward religious feelings might be attracted by Christianity, would find it hard to practise such self-denial as utterly to renounce the whole of their former notions, and entirely give themselves up to the new birth under the Gospel. A kind of mixture of their earlier theosophy with the simple truths of Christianity might easily take its rise among them; and be the source of many sects which adulterated Christianity, the seeds of which we see already alluded to in the Epistle of St. Paul to the Colossians, and in the Pastoral Epistles.

Among the Alexandrian Jews the reception of the Gospel was not hindered by the political and temporal expectation of the Messiah, nor by many other prejudices which prevailed among the other Jews. We must not, however, immediately conclude that these Alexandrian Jews were free from all the common Jewish expectations, however much these expectations were spiritualized by them. Even Philo believed that the Temple of Jerusalem, and the temple worship, were destined to remain for ever.* Even Philo believed, that had the Jews once turned to God in any signal manner, they would have been at once, by a miracle from heaven, brought back from all the people among whom they had been scattered and prisoners, and that then, in virtue of their piety, which would command reverence, they would remain unattacked by their enemies or victorious over them, and that a golden age would come forth from Jerusalem. The spiritual tendency of their religious feelings might here make men more capable of accepting Christianity, and Christianity might engraft itself on their attempts to oppose the carnal and literal interpretation of the Bible, and to penetrate its inward sense and spirit. Christianity might announce itself as Gnosis, which had first unfolded the true spirit of the Old Testament. Christianity showed that the golden age which the Alexandrian Jews expected, had already appeared in spirit, and being prepared in spirit, would at some time or other appear also openly to their view. The letter of an Alexandrian Jew, converted to Christianity, which has been ascribed to Barnabas,

gives us an instance, how the religious notions of Alexandria might become a point of communication and prove a means of conversion to Christianity. There were in these notions many other religious ideas, which would be realized by Christianity. But just as the religious idealism of the Alexandrian school might be attracted by that which is ideal in Christianity, so also on the other hand, the diminution of the realistic principle in their religion might hinder the reception of the Gospel. They had no expectation* of a personal Messiah, which had disappeared even among many other Jews, who had received an Hellenistic education, like Josephus, and there was wanting, therefore, an essential ground for Christianity to fasten on. With those of the Alexandrian school, as with those mystics, it might happen, that in their proud religious philosophy they shut themselves up against all new religious impressions, and by their partial, contemplative, and speculative disposition of the heart and spirit, deceiving themselves about the true condition and the real wants of their nature, they tried to become poor in spirit. It might, therefore, happen that although men of this cast were attracted by what Christianity offers of an ideal kind, they could not conquer themselves so as to become *simple* and single-hearted through Christianity and in Christianity. They wished to melt down their religious philosophy and amalgamate it with Christianity; they wished, even in Christianity, to keep their own superiority, and to introduce into the Christian Church the distinction between an esoteric and exoteric religion, against which the very essence of the Gospel, uniting all men through the communion of a higher life, entirely protests,—a distinction which afterwards became the source of so many errors. Thus in the spiritual and idealistic, as well as in the carnal and realistic, spirit of this age, we cannot but observe many obstacles to Christianity, and many grounds for it to work upon, and also many causes which threatened to adulterate its purity by the admixture of *stranger* elements.

Among the wonderful dealings of God, by which the coming of Christianity was prepared, must be placed the spreading of the Jews among the Greeks and Romans. Those among them who belonged to the Pharisees gave themselves much

* De Monarchia, 822.

* We are not, however, justified in concluding that all the Jews of the Alexandrian school thought with Philo on this subject.

trouble to obtain proselytes; and the loss of respect for the old popular religion, and the unsatisfied religious wants of multitudes, furthered their views. Reverence for the national God of the Jews, as a mighty Being, and reverence for the secret sanctuary of the splendid Temple of Jerusalem, had long gained admittance among the heathen. Jewish Goetæ (enchanters, jugglers, &c.) permitted themselves to make use of a thousand acts of delusion, in which they were very skilful, to make an impression of astonishment on the minds of those around them. Confidence in Judaism had in consequence made such wide progress, especially in large capital towns, that the Roman writers in the time of the first emperors openly complain of it, and Seneca in his book upon superstition, said of the Jews—"The conquered have given laws to the conquerors."* The Jewish proselyte-makers, blind leaders of the blind, who had themselves no conception of the real nature of religion, could give to others no insight into it. They often allowed their converts to take up a kind of dead monotheism, and merely exchange one kind of superstition for another; they taught them, that by the mere outward worship of one God, and outward ceremonials, they were sure of the grace of God, without requiring any change of life, and they gave to them only new means of silencing their conscience, and new support in the sins which they were unwilling to renounce; and hence our Saviour reproached these proselyte-makers, that they made their converts ten times more the children of hell, than they themselves were. But we must here accurately distinguish between the two classes of proselytes. The proselytes in the strict sense of the word, the proselytēs of righteousness, who underwent circumcision and took upon themselves the whole of the ceremonial law, were very different from the proselytes of the gate, who only bound themselves to renounce idolatry, to the worship of the one God, and to abstinence from all heathenish excess, as well as from every thing which appeared to have any connexion with idolatry.† The for-

mer often embraced all the fanaticism and superstition of the Jews, and allowed themselves to be blindly led by their Jewish teachers. The more difficult it had been to them, to subject themselves to the observance of the Jewish ceremonial law, necessarily so irksome to a Greek or a Roman, the less could they find it in their hearts to believe, that all this had been in vain, that they had obtained no advantage by it, and that they must renounce their presumed holiness. What Justin Martyr says to the Jews, Dial. cum Tryph. 350, holds good of these proselytes: "The proselytes not only do not believe, but they calumniate the name of Christ twice as much as you, and they wish to murder and torture us who believe on Him, because they are desirous to resemble you in every thing." The proselytes of the gate, on the contrary, had taken many of the most admirable truths out of Judaism, without becoming entirely Jews, they had become acquainted with the Holy Scriptures of the Jews, they had heard of the promised messenger from God, of the king armed with power from God, of whom a report had been spread, as Suetonius says in the life of Vespasian, c. iv., over the whole of the East. Much of that which they had heard from their Jewish teachers, whose writings they had read, had remained dark to them, and they were still to seek in them. By the notions which they had received from the Jews, of one God, of the Divine government of the world, of God's judgment, and of the Messiah, they were more prepared for the Gospel than other heathens, and because they still thought that they had too little, because they had no determined religious system, and were curious after more instruction in Divine things, and because they had not received many of the prejudices which swayed the Jews; they were more fitted to receive the Gospel than many of the Jews. From the very beginning they must have been attentive to the preaching of the Gospel, which secured to them, without making them Jews, a full share in the fulfilment of those promises, of which the Jews had spoken to them. To these proselytes of the gate, (the *φροβουμενοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ*, the *Εὐσεβεῖς* of the New Testament,) passed, therefore, according to the Acts, the preaching of the Gospel, when it had been rejected by the blinded Jews; and here the seed of the Divine word found a fitting soil in hearts desirous of holiness. There were, however, doubtless, among

* *Victoribus victi leges dederunt.*

† The so-called seven precepts of Noah. [Some remarks on the precepts of Noah will be found in Dr. Lardner's Remarks on Dr. Ward's Dissertations. Dr. Lardner contends that there was only one kind of Proselytes. Lardner's Works, in 4to, vol. v. H. J. R.]

the proselytes of the gate, some who, wanting in proper earnestness in their search after religious truth, only desired, in every case, an easy road to heaven, which did not require any self-denial; and who, in order to be sure of being on

the safe side, whether power and truth lay with the Jews or the heathens, sometimes worshipped in the synagogue of Jehovah, sometimes in the temples of the gods, and who, therefore, fluttered in suspense between Judaism and heathenism.*

SECTION I.

THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF CHRISTIANITY WITH REGARD TO THE UNBELIEVING WORLD.

I. *Propagation of Christianity.*

II. *A general view of the Propagation of Christianity, of the obstacles which opposed it, and of the means and causes by which it was furthered.*

CHRISTIANITY, being in its nature only a spiritual religion and only the establishment of a kingdom which is not of this world, is by no means necessarily dependent on any outward worldly circumstances. It can, therefore, find equally free access to men living under institutions and notions the most widely different, and incorporate itself with them, provided they contain nothing which is immoral. This peculiar character of Christianity must always render its propagation more easy wherever, as in its earlier days, the preachers of the Gospel, well aware of its spiritual nature, abstain from intermeddling in the affairs of this world. That Christianity is calculated to enter in all earthly forms of life and relations, and yet raise man by its spiritual influence above the affairs in which he is engaged, is expressly stated by a Christian* of the early part of the second century, when speaking of the life of his fellow Christians. "The Christians," says he, "are not separated from other men, either in their earthly abode, nor by language, nor customs; they never inhabit separate towns, they use no peculiar speech, no singular mode of life.—They dwell in the towns of Greeks, or of Barbarians, just as chance has assigned their abode, and inasmuch as they follow the customs of the country with regard to raiment, food, and other such matters, they show a temper and conduct which is wonderful and remarkable to all men. They obey the existing laws, nay, they triumph over the laws by their own conduct." But as Christianity incorporates itself with every thing that is pure in human nature, so must it, on the contrary, struggle most

decidedly with all that is ungodly in mankind, and with all that has any connexion and relation to ungodliness. Christianity declared itself as a power which should work a reformation in man, and form his character anew, while the world endeavoured to maintain its old ungodly ways. The old man struggled every where against the new creation, and to this did the saying of Christ relate: "I came not to send peace upon the world, but a sword," the sword of the Spirit; and history has fully verified this prophecy in the workings of Christianity among mankind. Christianity, from its very beginning, was opposed on many points to the prevailing opinions, as well as to many of the ruling customs and inclinations, which the spirit of a holy religion could not tolerate. Besides this, the Pagan state-religion was so closely interwoven with civil and social life, that whatever attacked the state-religion must necessarily come into hostile contact with the different relations of civil and social life. This struggle might indeed have been partially avoided, had the early Church, like the Churches of later days, been inclined to humour the world, had they at least accommodated themselves to the prevailing manners, even when opposed to Christianity, merely to obtain more followers. But the first Christians were far more inclined to a haughty abomination of every thing heathen, and even

* Such were the persons painted by Commodianus in his *Instructiones*, the *inter utrumque viventes*.

*Inter utrumque putans dubie vivendo cavere
Nudatus a lege decrepitu luxu procedis?
Quid in synagoga decurris ad Phariseos,
Ut tibi misericors fiat, quem denegas ultro?
Exis inde foris, iterum tu fana requiris.*

* The author of the letter to Diognetus.

of that which had merely an apparent connexion with Paganism, than to any thing like a lax accommodation; and certainly, for the preservation of the purity, both of Christian life and doctrines, any excess on this side was far safer than on the other. The religion, then, which had to combat such deep-rooted notions and manners, which threatened to shake to pieces that which was fast and firmly established by its antiquity,—this religion, I say, came from a people, despised for the most part by the civilized world; it found, at first, its readiest acceptance among the lower classes; and this was of itself a sufficient reason to the Romans and the Greeks, proud as they were of their superior cultivation, to look down with contempt upon it. They recognised as yet nothing but THE SUPERSTITION OF THE PEOPLE, and the RELIGION OF THE PHILOSOPHER. How could, then, man have hoped, in those days, to learn more in the market-places than in the schools of the philosophers? Celsus,* the first writer against Christianity, makes it a matter of mockery, that labourers, shoemakers, farmers, the most uninformed and clownish of men, should be zealous preachers of the Gospel, and that they (especially the first) chiefly addressed themselves to women and children. Of a religion for all mankind, these persons, proud of their own civilization, who would have nothing in common with the mass of the people, had no conception whatever. It was their constant reproach against Christianity, that it required only a blind belief (*πιστιν ἔλογον;*) they demanded philosophical grounds for what was said.

It may, perhaps, be urged, that the old popular religions had been already once shaken by the assault of unbelief and had now lost all their authority. There is some truth in this; but on the other hand, we must consider well that men had betaken themselves, with a renewed fanaticism, to their old religions, and hence arose the bloody combat for their maintenance. The cruel rage of the populace against the Christians, bespeaks decidedly a religious character among the people; and probably superstition, called forth by the opposition of scepticism, now more than ever ruled the people, and some portion of the educated world. With regard to the greater part of persons in those days under the influence of super-

stition, Plutarch justly makes use of the saying of Heraclitus about the dreamers of the night,—“They found themselves awake in open day, in a world of their own:” a world which was closed to all beams of reason and truth. Men of carnal minds, who wished to see their gods with their own eyes, who had been accustomed to carry about with them their gods, either in signets or in little images, to which they generally attributed the power of amulets, how often did men of this stamp cry out to the Christians, “Show us your God!” and to men like this a spiritual religion, which brought with it no worship, no temples, no victims, no images, and no altars, appeared so bare and cold, that the heathen often made it a matter of bitter reproach.

There was, however, as we have above remarked, a spirit of inquiry, and of longing after new communications of heaven, shed abroad in this century; with all the obstinate clinging to the old religion, there were yet manifold capacities at hand for new religious impressions. But this longing, which hardly well acquainted with its own objects and aim, was only led by the blind impulse of feeling, might easily be deceived, and easily be the occasion of every kind of delusion. Celsus, indeed, already imagined that he could illustrate the rapid propagation of Christianity from the fact, that in this time so many enchanters, (*Gøeten*, Greek *Γοῦται*,) who endeavoured to deceive by the exhibition of supernatural powers, found a ready belief among many, and for the moment excited a great sensation, which of course soon subsided again. There was, however, as Origen justly represented in reply to Celsus, a great difference in the manner which those persons used, from that made use of by the preachers of the Gospel. Those deceivers flattered the sinful inclinations of men, and forming themselves upon their then habits of thinking, they required no sacrifices from their followers of any thing dear to them. On the contrary, he who, in the earlier ages, would become a Christian, must tear himself away from many of his darling passions, and be ready to sacrifice every thing for his faith. Tertullian* says, that more persons were deterred from embracing Christianity from fear of losing their pleasures, than from the danger with which their life was threatened. The influence which such enchanters exerted on the

* In Origen, c. Cels. III. 149.

* De Spectaculis, c. 2.

people, was a new hindrance to the operation of Christianity. It was obliged now to reach the hearts and spirits of men, through the delusions with which these imposters had invested the conscience of man; the examples of a Simon Magus, and Elymas, an Alexander of Abonoteichos, show us how this sort of men opposed the reception of Christianity. Visible miracles were needed to detach persons from the influence of such deceptions, to arrest their attention, and to make them capable of higher impressions. The examples from the Acts, (ch. viii.) of the manner in which the disciples of Simon Magus were withdrawn from him, and from ch. xiii., of the way in which the conversion of Sergius Paulus was prepared; so many proofs from the Acts, of the means by which the attention of the superstitious multitude was attracted to the preachers of the Gospel, prove clearly, that the miracles effected what the inward power of the Holy Word, for which these miracles first paved the way to men's hearts, never could have effected—or at least, not so quickly, without the aid of these miracles. Through these signs and tokens, for a time, the Spirit of God supported the preaching of the Gospel, and many thus were conducted through outward things to inward things, and through the Corporeal to the Spiritual. The Fathers often appeal to such appearances in the language of truth, and even before heathens themselves; and even he who discriminates the fact from the views with which it is brought forward, must nevertheless recognise its existence and its influence on the consciences of men. It is, therefore, undeniable, that the spreading of the Gospel was furthered by such means. Let us represent to ourselves some of these circumstances, in lively connection with the nature and circumstances of those times. A Christian meets with an unhappy man, blindly possessed by the superstitions of heathenism, who, being sick in body and mind, has in vain hoped to obtain a cure, both in the temple of Æsculapius, where so many expected a cure by means of dreams sent by the god of health,* and from the mulifarious incantations and amulets of the heathen priests and dealers in enchantment. The Christian exhorts him no longer to seek for help from feeble and dead gods; (or, according to the then prevalent opinion of Christians, at

the hands of evil spirits;) but to turn to the Almighty God, and to trust in Him, who alone can help. He hears those who pray to Him in the name of Him by whom He has redeemed the world from sin. The Christian introduces no magic formulæ, no amulets; but, calling on God through Christ, he lays his hand on the head of the sick man, in firm and faithful reliance on his Saviour. The sick man is healed, and the cure of his body leads to that of his soul. There were besides, in these times of ferment, when the bonds of spiritual and moral life were torn in sunder, a multitude of persons, sick in body and in mind, who found their inward spirits utterly convulsed—persons who felt themselves seized by a strange power, to which their wills were subjected, and blindly impelled hither and thither, they were agitated by an anxiety of which they could give no just account. All the powers, therefore, of darkness and destruction would bestir themselves, where the power of healing godliness ought to enter, and distraction in man's nature, with all its terrible consequences, would naturally there ensue, and rise to the highest pitch, where in man's nature, the peace of heaven, which brings all things into harmony, ought to be revealed. The unhappy man believed himself possessed by evil spirits, and it was then the usually received opinion, that they were the cause of such convulsions. There were many among the heathens and Jews, who pretended, through the means of incense, annointings, simples, amulets, and invocations of the evil spirits, in enigmatical and high-sounding forms of words, to be able to exorcise them. Sometimes such means as had a natural efficacy in healing, sometimes such as, through power over the imagination, which has such influence in these cases, cured the patient of his fancy for the moment, or repressed it by promises for the future. In every case these people only did injury, while they strengthened men in their superstition, and in their whole course of ungodly existence; while they fought against the kingdom of lies only by the power of lies, and drove out one evil spirit by another. Their imposture was unable to touch the inward source of evil, which lay deeper, and by which alone any real cure could be effected. Our Saviour said of such cases:—"How shall one go into a strong man's house and rob him of his goods, unless he first bind the strong man, and then rob his

* See the Orations of Aristides.

house?"* How much credit such exorcists then obtained, we may judge from the thanks which Marcus Aurelius offers up to the gods, because he had been taught by a philosopher not to trust those tales of incantations and exorcisms which were related of miracle workers and Gætæ.† An unhappy man of this kind, after seeking help in vain at the hands of these impostors, comes to a Christian; the Christian considers him possessed, and feels himself by no means called upon to inquire more precisely into the actual cause of the malady. He knows that his Redeemer had overcome the power of the prince of this world, and that to him all the powers of evil must yield, in what way soever they show themselves. He calls upon him, and on the power of the Holy Spirit which is in him. His prayer, which calls down the power of Heaven, works deeply on the distracted heart of the patient. Inward peace follows the turbulent tide which agitated him within; and, conducted by this experience of the influence of Christianity on himself to a belief in it, he becomes now, in every sense, for the first time freed from evil spirits, and healed through the enlightening and healing power of truth so thoroughly and forever, that the evil spirit returns not to his house, to find it swept and garnished for him.

We may now introduce some remarkable intimations from the Fathers of this age relative to such facts. Justin Martyr, in his first Apology, (I. 45) says to the heathen, "That the reign of evil spirits has been destroyed by Jesus Christ, you might ascertain from what happens before your own eyes; for many of our people, of us Christians, have healed, and still heal, many possessed by evil spirits in the whole world, as well as in your city (Rome,) adjuring them by the name of Jesus Christ, whom Pontius Pilate crucified; and these were persons who could receive no relief whatever from all other exorcists." Irenæus says, (adv. Hær. lib. ii. c. 22) "In the name of Jesus Christ, his true disciples, who have received grace from him, work for the good of other men, according as each has received the gifts from him. Some cast out evil spirits, so ra-

dically and completely, that those purified from evil spirits often become, afterwards, themselves believers and members of the community; others heal the sick by the laying on of hands. Already have many even been raised from the dead, and remained among us a tolerable number of years. There are innumerable operations of grace, which the Church has received all over the world from God, and daily brings forth for the advantage of the heathen, in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, while it deludes no one, and seeks no gain; for as it has received freely from God, so does it freely give. It performs nothing by the invocation of angels, nothing through spells and other evil arts, but purely and openly, (not with hidden arts and secret mysteries, as those Gætæ do,) it offers up its prayers to him, who has created all things, while it calls on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ."

Origen considered these manifestations of supernatural power necessary, especially for the *first* foundation of the Church. (See Origen c. Celsum, lib. viii. edit. Hoeschel. p. 420.)* "It is more," says he, "through the power of miracles than through exhortation, that men became inclined to leave the religion of their country, and to take a foreign one: for if we judge from probability, taking into account the education of the first Church community, it is scarcely credible that the apostles of Jesus, unlearned and ignorant men, should have relied on any thing else, in their preaching of Christianity to mankind, than on the power which was bestowed upon them, and the grace of God, which accompanied their preaching; nor that their hearers should have suffered themselves to be detached from the habits of their country, deeply rooted in them by the revolution of ages, had not a commanding might and miracles, entirely opposed to those things among which they had been educated, induced them to become disciples." And in the seventh book of this work, he says also, "In the first times of the teaching of Jesus, and after his ascension, more visible tokens of the operations of the Holy Spirit were revealed, and in later days fewer. There still, however, remain the traces of these operations among some few, whose souls have been purified through the Word of God, and a life corresponding to it."—

* The power of evil over the inmost heart of man must first be broken, and then the individual workings of this evil will cease of themselves.

† I. 6. Το πιστεύειν τοις ὅτι τῶν τετρατύχων καὶ γυναικῶν ἐπαύειν καὶ περὶ δαμνῶν ἀποτίματος καὶ τῶν τελευτῶν λεγόμενοις.

* [The passage occurs p. 408, ed. Spencer, but it is condensed in the above translation. H. J. R.]

Origen appeals also to circumstances of which he was an eye-witness. "Many give proofs to those who have been healed through their power, that they have attained a miraculous power through this faith, while over those who require healing, they invoke no other power than the Almighty God and Jesus Christ, together with the preaching of his Gospel. Thereby have I seen many persons rescued from severe circumstances of delirium and phrensy, and many other evils, which no man, and none of your demons, could cure."* And in another place Origen says these remarkable words :—"Though Celus mocks at it, yet must it be said that many are come to Christianity against their will, because some spirit, through visions which he presented to them, awake or in the dream, led their reason suddenly from hatred against Christianity to a zeal which gave even life for it. Much of this kind could we relate, which were we to set it down, although we were eye-witnesses of it, would be the source of much mockery to the unbelievers; but God is the witness of our conscience, that we have never wished to spread the holy doctrines of Jesus Christ through false reports, but through many undeniable facts."†

Nevertheless, all outward dealings and miracles would have created for this religion no such access to the hearts of men, had it not possessed, in its inward nature, an attractive power for that in human nature, which is related to God, however it may be darkened and overwhelmed, either by false refinements or through carnal grossness.‡ They would have been unavailing, had it not shown itself victorious over all the impostures, which, taking prisoner the human mind, opposed it; had it not shown itself the only true and fundamental source of satisfaction to the religious wants excited in an age of ferment; had it not proved the only thing which would create for the spiritual world peace and tranquillity, in this wild ferment of opposing elements; and had not this religion, as soon as it had once taken root any where, by the activity which showed itself in it, been irresistibly impelled for-

ward in its course. As the Redeemer, in his prayer, had commended the faithful to his heavenly Father, that their communion with him, the glory received from the Father, which he bestowed on them, beaming through their life, might lead men to believe on him, so it came to pass. The witness which genuine Christians gave of their Lord through their conduct, the healing power of the Gospel, which revealed itself in their life, was a most powerful engine in the conversion of the heathen. Justin Martyr appeals to this as matter of experience. (Apol. ii. p. 63; or in Grabe's Edition, Apol. i. § xx. p. 30.) After quoting the words of our Lord, "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven," he adds, "the Lord wills not that we should recompense evil for evil; but he requires of us, through the might of patience and gentleness, to entice all men out of the disgrace of their corrupt desires; this we can prove by many among us, who from violent and tyrannical men have become changed by a victorious might, either by observing how their neighbours could bear all things, or by perceiving the patience of their defrauded travelling companions, or in some way or other by the intercourse of life, came to be acquainted with the life of Christians." The distinguished virtues of the Christian must then have come far more vividly in contrast with the prevailing crimes and vices. The *strictness of Christian virtue*, sometimes carried to excess, in contrast with an universal depravity of manners! How deep an impression in later ages, when public life had taken the form of Christianity, did the strict life of the monks make, when contrasted with the corruption which prevailed in large towns. The inward brotherly love of the Christian,—contrasted with the universal selfishness which divides all men from one another, and makes them distrustful of each other, which prevented men from understanding the nature of the Christian community, and rendered it a source of never-failing wonder to them! "See," said they, "how they love one another." "This surprised them beyond measure," says Tertullian (Apol. c. 39,) "since they are accustomed to hate one another, that one man should be ready to die for another." All could not, therefore, be cold and heartless like the politicians we shall have to speak of, who, accustomed to measure every thing by their own limited measure, were only

* Lib. iii. p. 128. [p. 124, ed. Spencer.]

† C. Celsum, I. v. 35. [Lib. i. p. 35, ed. Spencer.]

‡ Compare with these words of Origen what Tertullian says, de Anima, 47. Major pæne vis hominum de visionibus Deum discunt.

§ In men, hominibus ipsa urbanitate deceptis, as Tertullian says.

distrustful of such an union. The heart, unhardened by prejudice or fanaticism, must have been touched at the impression of such an appearance, and must have made the inquiry, 'What is it that can so bind the spirits of men together?' In a time of slavish cowardice the heroic courage of faith, with which the Christians desired death as soon as any thing against their religion was required of them, worked so powerfully on men, as an appearance quite foreign to the times, that they made this character a matter of reproach to the Christians, as a thing fitted for the heroic days of antiquity, but not for these more polished and more effeminate days.* Though the ordinary class of Roman politicians, though the followers of worldly love which delights in magnificence, though the cold stoic who desires demonstration in every thing, could see only a blind enthusiasm in the spirit with which Christians, who were called upon to give witness to the truth, met their death; yet the sight of the confidence and light-heartedness of suffering and dying Christians must have made an impression on many more yielding or more unprejudiced hearts, must have disarmed the prejudices against the Christians, and have called the attention of the world to that for which so many men were willing and ready to give up every thing, and which was able to nerve them for this sacrifice. Outward violence could effect nothing against this inward power of heavenly truth, it could only cause the might of this godly truth to be more gloriously displayed. Tertullian, therefore, closes his Apology with these words, as to the persecution of the Christians: "Therefore all the refinements of your cruelty can effect nothing, or rather they have brought over persons to this sect; our number augments, the more you persecute us. The blood of Christians is the seed they sow. Your philosophers, who exhort to the endurance of pain and death, make not so many disciples as the Christians through their deeds. That obstinacy which you upbraid us with, is an instructress. For who is not impelled, through the consideration of this, to the inquiry, what this matter can be? Who joins us not as soon as he has inquired? Who wishes not, when he has joined us, himself to suffer for truth?"

* Well enough suited to the *ingenia duriora robustioris antiquitatis*, but not the *tranquillitas pacis*, and the *ingenia mitiora*. Tertull. ad Nat. I. c. 18.

At a season when the earthly glory of the old world was nearly at an end, when all, which had hitherto given a certain impulse to the souls of men, was growing old and fading away, Christianity appeared, and called mankind from the old fading world to the creation of a new one, destined for eternity; from the fading earthly world to an everlasting glory, which in faith and spirit they were even now capable of conceiving. Augustin says beautifully, "Christ appeared to the men of a world, which was growing old and dying, that while all around them faded away, they might receive through him a new and youthful life." And the higher life which was spread abroad by Christianity, required no glittering outward splendour, like all which man had delighted in before, to reveal its glory. This life could find an entrance, even amidst the most confined and oppressive circumstances and conditions, and let its glory shine forth in the most dishonoured and despised vessels, could elevate man above all which tends to bow him to the ground, without making him overstep the bounds which he believed a higher power had assigned to his station in the world. The slave remained in all his worldly circumstances a slave, fulfilled all his duties in that station with greater fidelity and conscientiousness than before, and yet within he felt himself free, and showed an elevation of soul, a confidence, a power of faith and devotion, which must have astonished his master. The men of the lower orders, who hitherto had known nothing of religion but its ceremonies and its fables, received hence a clear and confident religious persuasion. The above cited remarkable words of Celsus, as well as many individual examples of the first times of Christianity, show us how often the wide spreading of the Gospel proceeded from women, who showed forth the light of the Gospel, as wives and mothers, amidst the corruption of heathen manners, from young people, from boys and girls, from slaves, who shamed their masters. "Every Christian handicraftsman," says Tertullian, (Apol. c. 46) "has found God, and shown him to thee, and can teach thee all, in fact, which thou needest to know of God, although Plato (in the *Timæus*) says it is difficult to find out the Creator of the Universe, and when you have found him, impossible to communicate this knowledge to the multitude." And Athenagoras says, "Among us you will find ignorant persons, handicraftsmen,

and old women, who although they could not prove to you by words the healing influence of our religion, yet by their actions show the salutary power of the thoughts which it communicates, for they learn not words by heart, but they show good works; they suffer themselves to be smitten, and smite not; again, when they are robbed, they do not go to law; they give to those who ask from them, and they love their neighbour as themselves."—Christianity was able to lower itself to the sensuous conceptions of those whose spirits were not calculated to receive and develope godlike things in a form suited to them; it fastened itself upon the dross of their earlier and fleshly methods of thinking, as we shall see in the notions of the Chiliasts, while they had nevertheless received the seed of an hidden and godly life, which was destined by and by to penetrate the whole mass of their nature, and also to form, lastly, their habits of thought. The working of Christianity in the life and sufferings of Christians, as well as isolated parts of Christian doctrine, which they heard, called at last to Christianity the attention of philosophically educated heathen, who had run through multifarious philosophical and religious systems to find religious truth, on which they might rely, and which could satisfy the wants of their hearts and spirits—and they found in Christianity what they had sought in vain elsewhere.

[B.] *On the spreading of the Gospel in various Quarters of the World.*

THE commercial intercourse of various nations had already pointed out and paved a way for the propagation of the Gospel. The easy communication between the different parts of the vast Roman empire, the connection of the Jews, who were settled in various districts, with Jerusalem, the connection of all parts of the Roman empire with Rome, of the provinces, with their metropolitan cities, and of the greater part of the Roman empire, with the more considerable capitals, such as Alexandria, Antiochia, Ephesus, Corinth, all tended to promote this object. The latter cities, centres as they were of mercantile, political, and literary communication, became head-quarters, where the first preachers took up their abode, in order to spread their religion; and the general spirit of commercial intercourse, which from early times had never been confined to the mere exchange of earthly commodities, but had

also served for the interchange of intellectual treasures, became now of service, as a means of extending a knowledge of the highest spiritual treasures. In general, the first advances were made by Christianity in towns; for, since it was of the greatest consequence at first to secure established stations for the propagation of the Gospel, it was requisite for the early preachers, in their passage through any country, to preach the Gospel at first in the cities, from which its influence might extend over the country by the exertions of the natives. On the other hand, in the country, they were likely to meet with far greater obstacles, in the general rudeness, the blind superstition, and the heathen fanaticism of the people, as well as from their ignorance in many cases of the language of the country, while in cities, for the most part, Greek and Latin were sufficiently intelligible. We know, however, from Pliny's report to Trajan, from the account of Clemens Romanus, (Ep. I. ad Corinth. § 42) and from the relation of Justin Martyr, (Apolog. II. 98) that this was not universally the case, and that in many situations country communities were formed very early; and Origen says expressly (c. Cels. iii. p. 119) "that many had made it their business to go through not only their towns, but also the villages and farms (*καὶ κωμας καὶ ἱπανλεις*.)" The numerous country bishops, in insulated spots, are also a proof of this.

In the New Testament we find accounts of the spreading of Christianity in Syria, Cilicia, apparently also in the then widely extended empire of Parthia,* in Arabia, Asia Minor, and the neighbouring districts; Greece, and the neighbouring districts, as far as Illyria, and in Italy. We are much in want of authentic accounts of the propagation of Christianity for the times that immediately succeeded; for later stories, which arose out of the endeavour to deduce every national Church from an apostolical origin, deserve no examination. We only bring forward that on which we can rely. The old story of the letters that passed between the Abgarus Uchomo, the king of the small state of Edessa, in Osrhoëne of Mesopotamia, of the dynasty of the Agbari, or Abgari,

* For the circumstance that St. Peter (1 Ep. v. 31) sends a salutation from his wife* in Babylon,

* ["Von seiner frau." Ita Neander. Can seiner be a misprint for eimer? 'from a lady in Babylon.' The passage is ἡ ἐν Βαβυλωνί συνυπάρχουσα, which our translation renders, 'The church that

and our Saviour, whom he prayed to cure him of a severe sickness, deserves no credit, nor does that of the conversion of this Agbarus by Thaddeus, one of the seventy disciples. Eusebius found the documents, from which he penned this narration, in the archives of Edessa, and suffered himself to be deceived by them.* The letter of Christ is utterly unworthy of him, and bears the appearance of a cento from various passages of the Gospels. We cannot imagine either that any thing written by the Saviour himself could have remained unknown to the rest of the world till the time of Eusebius. Again, the letter of Agbarus is not composed in the style of an Oriental prince. Whether the story be in some degree founded in truth, though not true as it now stands, we have no means of determining; one thing is certain, that Christianity spread betimes into these parts, but yet the first traces of it in a prince of that country occur between 160–170, in Abgarus Bar Manu. The Christian sage, Bardesanes, was in high regard with him, and relates, that he forbade, under heavy punishments, the custom of castration for the rites of Cybele, by ordering that those who performed it should lose their hands. It certainly does not follow from this that he was a Christian, but we may remark besides, that on his coins the customary marks of the worship of Baal disappear, and are replaced by the cross.†

If St. Peter‡ preached the Gospel in the

whether it be the then capital of Seleucia, Ctesiphon, or more probably the old ruined Babylon, leads us to suppose that he was residing in that quarter.

* [The observations of Lardner, (vol. iii. p. 594, 4to ed.) and the note of Valesius on the two last chapters of Book I. of Eusebius, are well worthy of attention. Dr. Jones maintains that the whole account in Eusebius is an interpolation. Jones on the Canon, vol. ii. p. 1—26. H. J. R.]

† Bayer, *Historia Edessena e numis illustrata*, l. iii. p. 173. Bayer is, however, wrong in placing him in the year 200. [The name is invariably Agbarus on coins. For this information I am indebted to one, whose extensive and accurate knowledge of Greek coins is only equalled by his readiness to communicate to those who seek for information on Numismatical subjects, the results of his own experience. The name of Mr. Burgen is so well known to the Numismatical world, as scarcely to require mention after the above statement.—H. J. R.]

‡ And St. Thomas also, according to the tradition of Origen, preserved in Euseb. iii. 1.

Parthian empire, some seeds of Christianity may perhaps, in very early days, have reached Persia, which then belonged to that empire, but the frequent wars between the Romans and the Parthians would prevent communication between the Christians of those states. The Bardesanes of Edessa, mentioned above, who wrote in the time of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, mentions* the spreading of Christianity in Parthia, Media, Persia, and Bactria. After the restoration of the independence of the old Persian empire, under the Sassanidæ, the Persian Christians are better known to us in consequence of the attempt of the Persian Mani, in the latter half of the third century, to form a sort of union between the religion of Zoroaster and that of Christ.

In Arabia, the Jews, who were in great numbers, would serve as a starting-point for the preaching of the Gospel. We have no farther account of the activity of the Apostle St. Paul in this country, immediately after his conversion, than what we gather from his own expression, in his Epistle to the Galatians. If Indian and Arabian are used as synonymous terms in an old tradition, we may conclude that St. Bartholomew preached the Gospel in Arabia, for which purpose he took with him a Gospel written in the Hebrew (Aramaic) language. If this supposition is correct, Pantænus, the learned catechist of Alexandria, was the pastor of a part of this nation, in the latter half of the second century. In the early part of the third, Origen, the great Alexandrian pastor, was exerting himself in some portion of Arabia. Eusebius tells us (vi. 19) “A soldier came and brought to Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria, and the then prefect of Egypt, letters from the governor of Arabia, (ἡγεμὲν τῆς Ἀραβίας,) requesting that Origen might be sent as soon as possible to a conference with him.” The language of Eusebius is not such as to lead us to imagine he is here speaking of the chief of a set of nomadic Arabians; and even were it so, it would hardly be probable that such a person should have heard of the wisdom of a Christian teacher. On the contrary, these words naturally point to a Roman governor of the part of Arabia‡ then subject to the Roman empire. He might belong to the class of inquiring heathens, and having heard of the wisdom and the

is at Babylon, elected together with you.’ See, however, Eusebius, H. E. ii. 15, where he observes that St. Peter calls *Rome*, Babylon, and quotes this passage. Vid. Vales. in loc.—H. J. R.]

* Euseb. Præpar. Evang. l. vi. c. 10.

† In later times we find a “dux Arabiæ” in the *Notitia Imperii*.

knowledge of Origen, to which the heathens were not strangers, may have turned his attention to him in particular, as an enlightened teacher. It may well be imagined that Origen made use of this opportunity to obtain the governor's favour for the Gospel. We see Origen afterwards in close connection with the Christian communities in Arabia, but the further propagation of the Gospel there in later times was much impeded by the nomadic habits of the people, and the influence of the Jews, who hated Christianity.

The ancient Syro-Persian community of Christians deduces its origin, we know, from St. Thomas the Apostle, although the first definite account of its existence is to be found in Cosmus *Indicoploistes*, in the middle of the sixth century. Some traces, however, of such a report are found in Gregory Nazianzen, in the latter part of the fourth century, for he says, (Orat. 25) that St. Thomas preached the Gospel in India, but India was then a very indefinite term. Jerome (Ep. 148) understands by it *Æthiopia*, which was commonly included under the name India, as well as Arabia. If the tradition, which is found in Origen, that St. Thomas was the Apostle of the Parthians, be worthy of credit, the other is, perhaps, also credible, for the Parthian empire then touched the borders of India; but these are only vague reports. Eusebius (i. 10) relates, as we remarked above, that Pantænus undertook a missionary journey to the people who dwelt eastward, and proceeded in the prosecution of it as far as India. He there found the seed of Christianity already sown by St. Bartholomew, and a Hebrew Gospel which the same apostle had brought thither. The circumstance of the Hebrew Gospel is no proof that he does not mean East India properly so called; for we may suppose, that the Jews who now inhabit the coasts of Malabar had already settled there. The words of Eusebius seem to indicate that he himself thought of a more distant country than Arabia, and would well suit the notion of East India proper. In order to decide which he most probably meant, a district of Arabia or East India proper, we must here compare some accounts of a later date, namely, of the fourth century. If then the Din, from which the missionary Theophilus came, in the time of the Emperor Constantine, is the Din at the entrance of the Persian Gulf, and if in the history of Philostorgius, (cx. 4, &c.) by India is meant East India proper, then we

must conclude, that before the beginning of the fourth century the seed of the Gospel had been sown in East India, for all which is there mentioned attests the foundation of the Christian Church to have been laid there in olden times.

We proceed now to Africa. In this quarter of the globe, Egypt was the first portion which received the knowledge of Christianity. We have remarked above, that in Alexandria fewer prejudices than elsewhere opposed the introduction of Christianity; and that, in fact, in many respects the turn of their minds there was favourable to it. There appear among the earliest zealous preachers of Christianity, men of the Alexandrian school, as Apollo the Alexandrian, and, probably, also Barnabas of Cyprus. The Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistle ascribed to Barnabas, and the Egyptian Gospel, (*Εὐαγγέλιον κατ' Αἰγυπτίους*), in which the Alexandrian theosophic taste showed itself, the Gnosticism of the first half of the second century, are proofs of the influence that Christianity exerted over the Jewish philosophy of Alexandria. According to an old tradition, the Apostle Mark was the founder of the Alexandrian Church. Cyrene was likely to receive Christianity with great ease from Alexandria, in consequence of their constant communication, and their kindred spirit. Its progress from Lower Egypt, a place filled with Jewish and Grecian colonies, to Middle, and especially to Upper Egypt, whither foreign cultivation had less penetrated, was likely to be impeded by unacquaintance with the Greek language, the prevalence of the Coptic, and the dominion of the priests and the old Egyptian superstition. A persecution, however, of the Christians in the Thebais, under the Emperor Septimus Severus, (Euseb. vi. 1) shows that Christianity had spread even into Upper Egypt in the latter part of the second century. In the first half of the third, this province probably possessed a translation of the New Testament in the old language of the country.

There are no distinct and authentic accounts of the progress of Christianity in *Æthiopia* (*Abyssinia*), during these centuries. History gives us no information as to the consequences of the conversion of the courtier of Candace, queen of Meroë, which is mentioned in the Acts, ch. viii.

The Gospel soon reached Carthage, and the whole of Proconsular Africa, from their intercourse with Rome. This Church

of Carthage is first known to us from the Presbyter Tertullian, in the latter half of the second century, but it was then evidently in a flourishing condition. The Christians were already there in great numbers, and complaints were made "that Christianity was spreading both in town and country among all ranks, and even among the highest."* Not to cite passages, where Tertullian speaks rhetorically, he mentions in his address to the governor, Scapula, (chap. iv.) a persecution of the Christians as having already taken place in Mauretania. Christianity, after the middle of the third century, had made such progress in Mauretania and Numidia, that under Cyprian, the bishop of Carthage, a synod of eighty-seven bishops was held.

If we pass now to the consideration of Europe, we find in Rome the chief, but not the only station for the propagation of the Gospel. Flourishing churches at Lugdunum (Lyons,) and Vienne, become known to us during a bloody persecution in the year 177. The multitude of Christians of Asia Minor, as well as the peculiar connection of these communities with that country, lead to the supposition, that the commerce between the trading town of Lyons and Asia Minor gave occasion to the introduction of Christianity from Asia Minor, where it was spread so widely from the first, into Gaul. The heathenism of Gaul withstood a long time the extension of Christianity. Even towards the middle of the third century there were but few Christian communities in Gaul. According to Gregory of Tours, a French historian, seven missionaries had then come from Rome into Gaul, and founded communities in seven towns; of which they became the bishops. One of these was Dionysius, the first bishop of Paris, whom later legends have confused with Dionysius the Areopagite, who was converted at Athens by St. Paul. Gregory of Tours, who wrote towards the end of the sixth century, when so many fables as to the origin of various churches were in circulation, is, we acknowledge, no very trustworthy witness; but still this account may have some truth for its foundation. One of the seven, Saturninus, the founder of the Church of Toulouse, is known to

us by a far older document, the narration of his martyrdom.

Irenæus, who became bishop of Lyons, after the above mentioned persecution in 177, states the extension of the Gospel into Germany, (adv. Hæres. lib. i. c. 10.) It might easily reach that part of Germany subject to the Romans, the Germania Cisrhenana, from its connection with the province of Gaul, but would experience more difficulty in penetrating among the independent neighbouring tribes of Germania Transrhenana. But the same Irenæus says, in another passage, (iii. ch. 4,) "Many nations of barbarians, without paper and ink, have, through the Holy Spirit, the words of salvation written in their hearts."* Irenæus here justly recognises in the activity of Christianity that peculiar and essential character, in virtue of which it can reach people in every stage of civilization, and through its living power impress its precepts on their hearts. But it is also certain that Christianity can never long maintain its own peculiar character, where it does not lay deep hold of the intellectual and moral habits of a people, and where it does not, while it brings its own peculiar character with it, raise up also and foster the seeds of all human civilization.

Irenæus is also the first to speak of the propagation of Christianity in Spain (*ἐν ταῖς Ἰβηρίαις*.) The tradition in Eusebius, in the fourth century, that the Apostle St. Paul preached the Gospel in Spain, is not sufficient evidence, because it was then too much the fashion to establish facts from incompetent presumptions, conclusions, and suppositions; and so, perhaps, Rom. xv. 24, may have given rise to this report. But since the Roman Bishop Clemens (Ep. i. v. 5,) says that St. Paul went to the very boundaries of the West, (*τέρμα της δυσσεως*,) we cannot imagine this expression to allude to Rome, and our thoughts naturally turn to Spain. Clement was probably himself the disciple of St. Paul, and this is a matter on which we can hardly suppose him to have been deceived. Most certainly, however, we find no place for any journey of St. Paul's into Spain, unless we suppose that he was freed from the imprisonment related in the Acts, and after his deliverance fulfilled the intention which he announces in the above passage. Now the Second Epistle of St.

* Tertullian, Apologet. i. Obsessam vociferantur civitatem, in agris, in castellis, in insulis Christianos, omnem sexum, ætatem, conditionem et jam dignitatem ad hoc nomen transgredi.

* Sine charta et atramento scriptam habentes per Spiritum in cordibus suis salutem.

Paul to Timothy would actually compel us to suppose such a deliverance, and a second imprisonment, unless we take refuge in some very forced interpretation.

Tertullian (adv. Jud. c. 7,) speaks of the spreading of Christianity into Britain, but the passage is entirely rhetorical in its whole cast; and the statement that it had penetrated parts of Britain not subjected to the Roman dominion, may perhaps be exaggerated. Bede, in the eighth century, informs us, that Lucius, a British king, had requested Eleutherus, the bishop of Rome, in the latter part of the second century, to send missionaries to him. But the peculiarities of the later Church in Britain are an argument against its deriving its origin from Rome; for that Church departed from the Romish in many ritual points; it agreed far more with the Churches of Asia Minor; and it withstood for a long time the authority of the Romish Church. This appears to prove that the British received, either immediately or by means of Gaul, their Christianity from Asia Minor, which may have easily taken place through their commercial intercourse.* The later Anglo-Saxons, who opposed the spirit of Church independence, and wished to establish the supremacy of Rome, were inclined generally to trace back their Church establishments to a Roman origin, and from this attempt, the above story, as well as many other false reports, may have arisen.

We proceed now to the persecutions of the Christian Church in the Roman empire.

II. *Opposition to Christianity.—Introduction—its first causes.*

IN order justly to appreciate the nature of these persecutions, it is of great importance to weigh accurately their causes. It has often been remarked as singular, that while the Romans were usually tolerant in matters of religion, they should have shown such impatience, and such a love of persecution towards the Christians; but every statement of Roman tolerance requires much limitation. The ideas of general rights of man, of a general freedom in matters of religion and conscience, were altogether foreign to the notions of antiquity; they were first brought to light by the Gospel, when it set forth not a national God, but a God of all human nature, when it taught us to recognise man

as man, to look on all men as the image of God, with the same destination, the same duties, and the same rights; when it considered man, not as the member of one narrow political circle, but as called to citizenship in God's boundless kingdom; and when, freeing religion from all essential dependence on external and earthly things, it placed its whole essence in the worship of God in spirit and in truth. The men of antiquity were unable to distinguish the man from the citizen, so as to attain to a recognition of general rights of man and rights of conscience. Religion was a state matter; there were only national and state religions, and the laws which related to religion being a part of the general civil code, any violation of them was considered as a violation of the latter.* This was a view which especially suited the Romans, whose ruling passions and feelings were political. Cicero, de Leg. ii. 8, lays it down as a principle of legislation entirely conformable to the rights of the Roman state, that "no man shall have separate gods for himself, and no man shall worship by himself new or foreign gods, unless they have been publicly acknowledged by the laws of the state:" (nisi publice adscitos.) Now although under the emperors the old laws became less strictly observed, and foreign customs every day gained more admission into Rome, there yet arose many new causes for anxiety with regard to the introduction of new religions. In those times there was the greatest dread of every thing to which a political end might be attached, and the jealous character of despotism was apt to fear political aims, even where there was nothing of the kind. Religion, and religious societies, it seemed, might easily become the pretence for political societies and conspiracies. From this feeling arose the well-known speech of Mæcenas to Augustus, in Dio Cassius, who has here at least, whether the speech be genuine or not, expressed the prevail-

* As Varro had already classed theology under three divisions—"theologia philosophica et vera," "theologia poetica et mythica," and "theologia civilis;" so Dio Chrysostom, in the first half of the second century, Orat. 12, distinguishes three sources of religion; the general religious sense in all mankind, the ἡμετέρας ἀποστολὴν ἡθελοῦς ἐπίστα, 21; poetry and customs, which easily extend themselves, 31; and laws which constrain, threaten, and punish, το νομιθετικὴν, το νουθετικὴν, το μεταζημιῶν καὶ ποταλάων, although he justly establishes only the first as the general and original source from which all the rest proceed. Christianity can allow none of these, but the first, to be of avail.

[See, however, Bishop Lloyd on Church Government, p. 48. H. J. R.]

ing sentiment of those times. "Honour the gods," says Mæcenæ, "by all means, according to the customs of your country, and *force* others so to honour them. But those who are forever introducing something foreign in these matters, hate and punish, not only for the sake of the gods, because they who despise them will hardly reverence any thing besides, but also because they who introduce new divinities, mislead many others into receiving foreign laws also. Thence arise conspiracies and secret meetings, which are of infinite disservice to the monarchy. Suffer no man, either* to deny the gods, or to practise sorcery." The Roman jurist, Julius Paulus, states the following as one of the leading principles of Roman law. (B. v. tit. 21.) "Those who introduced new religions, or such as were unknown in their tendency and nature, by which the minds of men might be agitated,† were degraded, if they belonged to the higher ranks, and if they were in a lower state, were punished with death." We see easily how Christianity, which produced so great, and to a Roman statesman, so incomprehensible an agitation in the consciences of men, would fall among the class of "*Religiones novæ*." Here also appear the two points of view in which Christianity might interfere with the laws of the state.

1. *It seduced many Roman citizens from the religion of the state, to the observance of which they were bound by the laws, and also from the observance of the "Cærimoniæ Romanæ."* Many governors, therefore, not personally prejudiced against Christianity, proposed a sort of compromise to the Christians who were brought before them. "They need only outwardly do what the law required, and observe the religious ceremonies prescribed by the state; the law was only concerned with outward conduct; and they were welcome to believe and to honour what they pleased in their hearts." Or else thus: "they were free constantly to honour their own God, provided they joined with his worship that of the Roman Gods."

2. *It introduced a new religion, which was not recognised by the laws of the state among the "Religiones licitæ."* Thence came, according to Tertullian, the usual reproach of the heathens against Christianity—"Non licet esse vos;" and Cel-

sus accuses the Christians of secret meetings, by which they contravened the prevailing laws with regard to religion (*συνθηκὰς παρὰ τὰ νομιμασμένα*.) The Romans had, no doubt, a certain kind of religious toleration; but it was one which, being closely connected with the polytheistic system of philosophy and religion, was not likely to be exercised towards Christianity. When they secured to a conquered people the free observance of their old religion, they expected by that means to win the people to their interests, and also to make friends of their gods. The Romans, who were religiously disposed, attributed their universal sovereignty to this system of making friends of the gods of all nations, as we may learn from the language of the heathen in Minucius Felix, and from Aristides (*Encom. Romæ*.) Even beyond the limits of their own kingdom, the free exercise of their religion was permitted to all nations; and therefore Rome, to which men flocked from all quarters of the globe, became the seat of religions of every sort. See Aristid. loc. cit. and Dionysius Halicarn. (*Archæolog. ii. 19*;) the latter of whom says, "Men of a thousand nations come to our city, and there they must worship the gods of their country according to their own customs." It even happened that much from these foreign systems of worship was incorporated, with some modification, into the state religion of Rome: but then a distinct *senatus-consultum* was requisite, before the Roman citizen could be permitted to join in the celebration of this foreign worship. At this time, when the authority of the old national religion, from the longing after something new, was fast dying away, and strangers came constantly to Rome from all quarters, it was often the case, that even Romans themselves would make use of the ceremonies of foreign religions, which were not yet among the "*Religiones publicæ adscitæ*;" but then this was an irregularity which old-fashioned Romans attributed to the corruptions of the times, and to the neglect of old customs. Much, which was reckoned among those corruptions, was passed over, as well as this, without animadversion. The change was also the less remarkable, because those who had adopted the foreign customs, observed at the same time the "*Cærimoniæ Romanæ*." And yet certainly at times, when matters ran too high, or when some extraordinary zeal for old habits and the old civil virtues

* Ἀθεοφ εἶναι the common term for a Christian.

† De quibus animi hominum moverentur.

was awakened, laws were enacted "ad coercendos profanos ritus."

The free and undisturbed exercise of their religion was secured also to the Jews, by senatus-consulta and imperial edicts; and the Romans could recognise, in the God of the Jews, a national God, deserving of veneration—although, at the same time, they complained of the narrow-mindedness and intolerance of the Jews, who would honour no God but their own, and forbade, with bitter enmity, the worship of any other. Judaism was a "religio licita;" and it was, therefore, made a matter of reproach to the Christians, that they had endeavoured at first, by coming forward as a Jewish sect, to creep in under the cover of an openly-tolerated religion.* But it was by no means permitted to the Jews to extend their religion among the *Roman* heathens; and the latter were forbidden, under heavy penalties, to undergo circumcision. But even then it happened, that from the above mentioned causes, the number of proselytes among the heathen increased exceedingly. This the government sometimes disregarded, but at other times, on the contrary, severe laws were enacted to repress it, as those of the senate under Tiberius, (Tac. Ann. ii. 85.) those of Antoninus Pius, and Septimus Severus.

The case was wholly different with Christianity. Here was no old religion of a country and people, as in all the other cases, but Christianity appeared rather as a falling away from a "religio licita"—a revolt† against an ancient national religion. So Celsus, in accordance with the then prevailing sentiments, thus reproaches the Christians, B. v. 254, (p. 247, ed. Spencer,) and tells them that they are neither Heathens nor Jews: "while the Jews are, at any rate, a peculiar people, and observe a national worship, be that worship what it may: and in this they act like other men. Justly," says he, "are the old laws observed among all nations; and it is a crime to desert them." Hence arose the common reproach against Christians, and their usual appellation, "the new race," which is neither the one thing nor the other, "genus tertium." The notion of a religion which should unite all men with one another, appeared to the ancients an impossibility. "A man must be very weak," says Celsus, "to

imagine that Greeks and Barbarians, in Asia, Europe, and Libya, can ever unite under the same system of religion." B. viii. p. 438. (p. 425, ed. Spencer.) They now saw how Christianity was extending itself irresistibly among all ranks, and threatened to overturn the state religion, and with it the frame of civil society, which seemed bound up in that religion. They, therefore, thought it requisite to oppose inward power by outward violence. It was still further an excitement to jealousy, that the Christians had none of those things, which men are accustomed to look for in religion; nothing that was calculated to strike the eye, as there was in Judaism, the temple and the sacrifices of which were revered even by the heathen. Celsus says against the Christians, B. viii. p. 400, (p. 389, ed. Spencer,) that "their having neither altars, images, nor temple, was the token of an invisible, secret order." And again, the internal feelings of brotherly union, by which every Christian in every city alike found friends, who were more to him than all the pleasures of the world, were beyond the comprehension of the heathen. "What is this?" they would say; "how can the Christians, recognising one another by some secret token, love each other even before they can be mutually known?" (See the heathen in Minucius Felix.) The Roman politicians were unable to understand the bond of feeling which united Christians so strongly, and they looked for political aims, for which, in those days, the jealousy of despotism was forever on the watch. It must, in those days of slavery, have given a bad impression of Christianity, that it gave to men something which elevated them above all fear of man, and enabled them to despise all human power, when that power required any thing from them which was contrary to their conscience and faith. Roman statesmen had no respect for the rights of conscience. When the Christian could not be induced, by any persuasion, any fear, or any violence, to participate in the "Cærimonie Romanæ" enjoined by law, they laid it all to a blind obstinacy which required punishment (inflexibilis obstinatio.) The refusal, however, to sacrifice to the gods, was with many a less crime than their declining, while they showed most conscientious obedience to the government in every thing which was not against the law of God, to pay any of those species of veneration to the emperors, which heathen adulation had invented in

* Sub umbraculo religionis licite.

† It proceeded from a wish of *στασιαζειν προς το κεινον των Ιουδαίων*. Celsus iii. 117.

building temples to them, offering incense to their busts, and numbering them among the gods. The Christian was sure to give the highest offence, when he explained that he had one Lord in heaven that he could not recognise the emperor as his Lord in the same sense as he did God Almighty; and when he would neither offer idolatrous worship of any kind to the busts of the emperors, nor swear by their genius. What a contrast is there between the free and lofty spirit of the Christian, whose conversation was in heaven, and the slavish feelings of the boastful, would-be philosopher, Celsus! when he says to the Christians: * "When they ask you to swear by the Ruler of Men, this is no severe demand, for to him is the earth given, and whatever you receive in this life, you receive from him!" On the anniversary of the emperor's accession, or on some rejoicing for a victory, when every place wore a festal appearance, the Christians shrunk back into their deep seriousness, which appeared to the heathen, compared with their own habits of carelessness and sensual enjoyment of the moment, a misanthropic hatred of the world (odium generis humani); they would take no part in wild and unreasonable pleasures, or at least pleasures which suited not serious habits of thought. Many a Christian, from his own feelings, would have abhorred giving such signs of participation as they might and ought to have done according to the principles of their religion; but the zeal for God's law was always entitled to respect, which induced men to do too much, rather than too little, and which tempted them to draw down upon their heads persecution at the hands of man, rather than to hazard for an instant doing any thing against the law of God. Many were too scrupulous to deck their houses with laurel, or illuminate them, from imagining in their mistaken notions that there would be something heathenish in these compliances. The error of some was easily charged as a crime on all. Hence in those times came the dangerous "crimen majestatis" (accusation of high treason) against the Christians. They were called "irreligiosi in Cæsares, hostes Cæsarum, hostes populi Romani." Many Christians, who thought themselves bound to military duties (for all did not consider a soldier's life incompatible with Christianity,) yet refused to take the military oath. The fault of in-

dividuals was again laid to the charge of the whole body. "Does not the emperor justly punish you?" says Celsus; "for if all did as you do, the emperor would be left to himself, no one would defend him, the wildest barbarians would obtain the power over all the world, and there would not remain a single trace of true wisdom, nor even of your religion, among mankind; for fancy not that your Almighty God would come down from heaven to fight for us."* It was the fashion to attack the Christians by accusations that contradicted one another. While, on the one hand, the intimate connection between the Christians gave rise to a charge of political conspiracies; on the other, they are accused of not paying sufficient attention to civil matters, and the affairs of the state; they are represented as men who are dead to the world, and useless in business (homines infructuosi in negotio.) It used then to be said of the Christians that they were dumb in public, and praters in private (in publico muti, in angulis garruli,) and "what would become of the business of the world if all men were like them?"

Such were the causes which impelled the Roman governors to persecute Christianity, but all the persecutions did not proceed from the government. *The Christians were often the victims of popular fury.* The common people looked upon them as enemies of their gods, and that was equivalent to Atheism. "The Atheists," was the appellation of the Christians in every body's mouth, and of Atheists the vilest and most incredible things would be believed. The same reports, which at different times have been spread about those sects of Christians, which were an object of hatred and horror to the fanaticism of the multitude, were also prevalent among the heathen about the Christians generally, "that they committed unnatural crimes in their assemblies, and were in the habit of slaughtering and eating children." The evidence of abject slaves, or of persons from whom they elicited by torment whatever avowal they wanted, were then used to support these abominable accusations, and to justify the fury of the multitude. When a drought occurred in hot districts, from the want of rain, it was a proverb in the north of Africa, according to St. Augustine, that "if it does not rain, blame the Christians for it," (non pluit Deus, duc ad Christianos;) if in Egypt the Nile did

* Lib. viii. p. 435. (p. 422, ed. Spencer.)

* Lib. viii. p. 436. (p. 423, ed. Spencer.)

not irrigate the fields, if in Rome the Tiber overflowed, if an earthquake, a famine, or any other public calamity took place, the rage of the people was in an instant excited against the Christians. We have to ascribe all this, they would say, to the anger of the gods on account of the increase of Christianity. And can we wonder at this, when Porphyry, a man who wished to be accounted a philosopher, found a cause for the inveteracy of an infectious and desolating sickness in this, that Esculapius could no longer exert any effectual influence on the earth in consequence of the prevalence of Christianity?

There were also individual interests at work, which were anxious to excite the rage of the populace against Christianity; priests, artificers, and others, who derived profit from the service of idolatry, like Demetrius in the Acts; magicians, who saw their trickery laid open by Christians, and sanctified cynics, whose hypocrisy the Christians exposed. When the magician, Alexander of Abonoteichos, in Pontus, whose life Lucian wrote, observed that his arts of deception no longer obtained any credit in the cities, he exclaimed that Pontus was full of Atheists and Christians, and urged the people to stone them, unless they wished to bring upon themselves the anger of the gods. He never began his enchantments before the people, without previously crying out, "If any Atheist, Christian, or Epicurean, has sneaked in here as a spy, let him depart!" To appeal to the might of the multitude appears not to have been unusual with the defenders of heathenism, when they were hard pushed. See Timocles, in Lucian's Jupiter Tragedy. Justin Martyr knew that Crescens, one of the common pseudo-cynics of those days, who were demagogues under the veil of sanctity, had excited the people's fury against the Christians, and threatened death to himself, simply because he had exposed the hypocrisy of Crescens.

From these observations on the causes of the persecutions, it follows as a matter of course, that *till Christianity was received into the class of "religiones licite," by definite enactments, the Christians could enjoy no general and secure tranquillity in the exercise of their religion in the Roman empire, and they were continually the victims of popular fury and individual malice.*

We proceed now to detail the varying circumstances of the Christian Church,

under the various governments of emperors, who were so differently disposed towards it.

[A] *Persecution of Christianity by the hand of power—Condition of the Christian Church under the various emperors.*

TERTULLIAN (Apol. ch. v. and xxi.) relates of Tiberius, that having heard of the miracles and resurrection of Christ from the report of Pilate, he proposed a bill to the senate, "that Christ should be received among the Roman gods;" but the senate rejected this bill, that they might not renounce their old right of determining about "*religiones novæ*" only of their own accord (*e motu proprio*.) The emperor did not, however, wholly renounce his undertaking, and at last threatened severe punishment against any who should accuse Christians merely as Christians. A man of so uncritical a judgment as Tertullian cannot be valid evidence for a tale, which bears every mark of falsehood about it. If we conceive that this is some real fact, which has been exaggerated, and believe a part of it, yet the little we can give credit to, even allowing that the emperor did propose some such bill, cannot prove that toleration was granted to Christianity. If we could believe that Pilate, on whom, from the frivolity of his sentiments, the miraculous events he had beheld can hardly have made more than a transient impression, did actually send a report of this nature, yet we are even then far from having any reason to conclude that a similar impression could have been made on the heart of Tiberius. At all events, it suits ill with the slavish character of the senate under Tiberius, to imagine that it ventured to act in this way; and this could hardly have given rise to *such a law* against the accusers of Christians, because at that time the Christian sect had scarcely obtained any name or respect. The sequel of the history is a clear proof that no such law was enacted in the time of Tiberius. The fact seems to be, that Tertullian has been imposed on by a spurious document, fabricated perhaps in very early times by some of those Christians who hold a "*fraus pia*" to be no sin.*

At first, Christians were confounded

* [Lardner (Heathen Testimonies, ch. ii.) thinks that the story is in part founded on fact. His elaborate discussion of the subject is well worth reading. It is treated in a very different spirit by Gibbon, ch. xvi. p. 666.—H. J. R.]

with Jews, and, therefore, the edict for the banishment of the restless Jews from Rome, in the time of Claudius, A. D. 53, was executed on the Christians also, if there were any there, which may be justly supposed. Suetonius* says the emperor Claudius expelled the Jews from Rome, who were constantly raising disturbances, at the instigation of Chrestus. It might, indeed, be supposed, that some turbulent person of this name then living is here intended. But as none so generally known, as the expression of Suetonius would import, is to be found, and the name Χριστός was often pronounced Χρηστος by the heathen, it is highly probable that Suetonius, putting together what he had heard of the Jewish expectation of a Messiah, and the mere dark and confused accounts which may have reached him of Christ's works, has expressed himself in this indefinite manner.

The first persecution took place under Nero, A. D. 64. Nero wished to remove from himself the suspicion that he was the author of the well-known fire at Rome, and by casting the imputation on the Christians, to give a satisfaction to the fanatical and blood-thirsty populace, while at the same time he gratified his own diabolical cruelty. That Nero ever thought of laying the guilt on Christians, is a proof that they were even then an object of especial hatred to the people, and that such an accusation would then meet with a ready belief, in consequence of the common reports about the assemblies of the Christians. Tacitus was probably induced by *these same* reports to say of the Christians, "quos per flagitia invidios vulgus Christianos appellabat." He condemns also the new sect, which was spreading abroad an un-Roman religion (superstitio,) and probably without any examination, just as in later times many Romans of otherwise good understanding did, when they followed vague reports in their judgment on sects which differed from the prevailing religion. He could see in Christianity nothing but a detestable superstition, "exitiabilis superstitio!"

The Christians who were now arrested, were executed in the most cruel manner, by the command of the emperor; inclosed in the skins of wild animals, they were thrown to dogs, to be torn to pieces; or perhaps their clothes smeared with com-

bustible materials (the "tunica molesta") they were set on fire, to give at night the effect of an illumination. This persecution was, however, by no means a general one; it affected only those in Rome, as the pretended cause of the great fire.* [† It is, however, quite open to inquiry, whether *all*, who were then executed as Christians, were really so. For as they were then following an ignorant cry of the people, as the name of Christian had then become an object of the people's hatred, and was used by them to denote every thing they abhorred; and as the people might easily apply that name to all who, justly or unjustly, had become objects of public hatred, and as there was in this case undoubtedly no regular judicial inquiry, it is likely enough that many, "quos per flagitia invidios vulgus Christianos appellabat," although not Christians, were denounced as Christians. Tacitus (Ann. xv. 44.) says, "those were seized first who confessed," but we are then led to inquire, "confessed what?" was it that they had caused the fire, or that they were Christians? In the first case, we must imagine that they were persons who had actually allowed Nero to make use of them to cause the fire; but then these were no Christians, only men whom the multitude branded as objects of hatred and abomination with the name of Christians. These men had possibly, in the hope of bettering their own condition, given up many others as Christians, some of whom might, and others might not, be really so.] But that which befel the Christians in the metropolis would of course influence their condition in all the provinces. The impression which these persecutions and the truly diabolical character of Nero made upon the Christians, may be judged of from a saying which was spread abroad among the Christian people, and was long remembered, with just the Christian colouring which a heathen saying would obtain among them, namely, that Nero was not dead, but that he had retired beyond the Euphrates, and would return as Antichrist.† This is worthy of remark, as the

* [If the inscription published by Gruter, p. 238, 239, be genuine, this persecution was felt in Portugal. The inscription is given, and its genuineness well discussed, in Lardner, *Heathen Test.* ch. iii.—H. J. R.]

† This passage is incorporated into the work from the addenda to the third volume.

‡ In the pseudo-Sibylline books, *ὅτι· ἐν αὐτῇ μέλει· ἰσχυρὸν θεὸς αὐτὸν.*

* Impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit.

same notion was very often entertained, in after times, of any princes who caused great commotions in the world. Under the despotic Domitian, who reigned from A.D. 81, as he favoured the profession of informers, and was in the habit of removing out of the way, by various pretences, those of whom he was jealous, or whose property he desired, the accusation of conversion to Christianity, already an object of bitter hatred (as we learn from Nero's government,) was probably one of the very commonest counts in a charge of high treason* (*crimen majestatis*.) In consequence of this accusation many were sentenced to death, or to banishment into an island, with the confiscation of their property.†

The emperor was also informed that there lived in Palestine two people from the family of David and Jesus, who were occupied in seditious undertakings. The seditious tendency of the Jewish expectations of a Messiah were well known, and what the Christians said of Christ's kingdom was often misunderstood.‡ He ordered the accused to be brought before him, and satisfied himself that they were poor, innocent countrymen, who were far from having any political designs, and he therefore allowed them to return home in safety.§ But this experience did not impel him to relax the ordinances against Christianity in general, which had other grounds. Tertullian (*Apol. c. 4.*) certainly speaks too generally when he declares that Domitian had only made an attempt to persecute the Christians, which he abandoned again, and recalled the exiled.

The emperor Nerva, A. D. 96, from his justice and humanity, was an enemy to the system of informers, which had wrought such evil under his predecessors. This was of itself an advantage to the Christians, because one of the commonest accusations was that of being a Christian. He declared all free who were condemned on such charges, and recalled those who had been banished; and he ordered all the slaves who had come forward as accusers to their masters to be executed.

He altogether forbade the reception of the accusations of slaves against their masters. This, again, must have been of service to the Christians, for many of the accusations against them proceeded from slaves of indifferent characters. The things which under the preceding government had formed the ground of most charges and sentences, could no longer be brought forward, and probably Christianity was included in this general understanding.* Under the short administration of this emperor, therefore, we see accusations against the Christians at a standstill, but no permanent tranquillity was then assured to them, nor their religion recognised by the legislature as a "*religio licita*." And we are inclined to think that since Christianity during these few years had been able to spread itself farther without impediment, the restrained fury of the people would break out after the death of this emperor with renewed violence. The new law of Trajan (A. D. 99,) against secret associations (*ἐταιρείαι*), might clearly be used against the Christians. Pliny the younger came as governor during this reign (A. D. 110,) to Bithynia and Pontus into districts where the Christians were numerous. Many of them were brought to his tribunal: he found himself in no small embarrassment, in consequence of such proceedings being quite new to him, and no definite law existing on the matter, as well as from the number of the Christians; "For many," he writes, "of every age and rank, of both sexes, are implicated in the danger; for not only in the towns, but also in the villages, and in the country, has the contagion of this superstition spread." The temples were forsaken, and the usual services of idolatry could no longer be maintained, and victims for sacrifice were rarely brought. Pliny did not suffer himself, like his friend Tacitus, to be guided by the vague reports of the people, but took proper pains to inform himself about the question, and interrogated those who had renounced the Christian communion for some years. We must remember that renegades are seldom inclined to speak well of the society to which they formerly belonged. With the usual brutality of Roman justice, which never recognised a human being in

* The joining together of ἱερέματα ἰβνιτισ and ἰουδαίων ἰβνι, in Dio Cassius, l. lxxvii. 14. clearly points out the Christians.

† Besides Dio Cassius, another historian, named Bruttius, in the chronicle of Eusebius, says that many suffered martyrdom under this emperor.

‡ The words of Just. Mart. *Apol. ii. 58*, prove this; ἀκουσάντες βελσικῶν προδόντων ἡμᾶς, ἀκροῦσας ἀνθρωπίνων λόγων ἡμᾶς ὑπακούσμεν.

§ Hegesipp. in Euseb. iii. 19, 20.

* As Dio Cassius mentions the accusation of ἀσεβεία, and also of ἰουδαϊκὸς βίος, along with the "*crimen majestatis*;" although probably we are not to understand either ἀβιτης, or Christianity under the word ἀσεβεία.

a slave, he applied the torture to two female slaves, who had served the office of deaconesses in the Christian community, in order to obtain from them an avowal of the truth; and yet all that he could learn was "that the Christians were accustomed to meet on a certain day (Sunday,) that they then sung a hymn in praise of their God Christ, and that they* mutually pledged themselves, not† to the commission of any crime, but to abstain from theft and perjury; never to break their word, and never to withhold a deposit;‡ that they separated after this, and in the evening met again for a simple and innocent repast.§ And even these latter assemblies they had discontinued in consequence of the imperial edict against the Heteriæ." One would have supposed that such a discovery of the effects of Christianity would have led Pliny, if not to further inquiries as to the origin and nature of a religion, which produced effects so widely differing from those of Paganism, on such a variety of characters, yet, at least, to the toleration of a religion in which nothing, either politically or morally speaking, could be found worthy of punishment. No such thing! Pliny was too completely possessed by the narrow-minded, political views of a Roman, so to judge. Unable to attain to any view but that presented by his philosophical, or his state religion, he saw in that which, differing as widely from the Roman state religion as from his philosophical one, could yet demand and obtain|| so great a power over the consciences of men, only a perverse and¶ extravagant superstition. We may see from this the power of prevailing opinions, even on good men, when they are not counteracted by some higher principle than human systems can give. The noble, tender-hearted Pliny, as he seems to be from his letters, is here unable to distinguish the man from the citizen and subject, to recognise the rights of

man as man, and to perceive the power of free and firm conviction, as well as the regard it must command in every moral feeling heart. He required only a blind obedience to the law of the state. The Christians must deny their faith, invoke the gods! they must offer incense, and pour libations to the statues of the emperor, as well as of the gods, and curse Christ! If they refused, and after the governor had three times, under a threat of death, requested them to abjure their belief, they still avowed steadfastly, that they were and would remain Christians, Pliny condemned them to death, as obstinate confessors of a "religio illicita," which was in direct violation of the laws of the state. Those who complied with the governor's requisition, obtained pardon. It is not to be wondered at, if many who embraced Christianity during its rapid propagation in these regions in the tranquil times of Nerva, had, nevertheless, not thoroughly considered what Christianity really requires, and whether they were ready to give themselves up wholly to God, as he requires, and to sacrifice every thing to him; that is, if there were such persons as our Lord describes, Matt. xiii. 20—22. History often shows us that these sudden conversions have something unsound in them. Many, therefore, we may suppose, there were among the multitude of the Christians, whose faith was not proof against the sight of death. Pliny might perceive, as the effect of his prosecutions, that, while many abjured Christianity from the fear of man, and the "few chosen" became separated from the "many called" by the storm of persecution, the idolatrous worship of the heathen temples revived again in public. Pliny, who judged by appearances, thought that this sect might easily be suppressed, if it were treated with a due mixture of severity and mildness; if the obstinate were punished, to frighten the rest, and yet those, who would like to retract, were not driven to despair, by closing the door of pardon against them.

In his report to Trajan (x. 97.) on this matter, he makes also the following inquiries. Whether he should make any distinction as to age, or deal with the young* just as with the old? Whether he should give room for repentance, or in every case punish every one who had

* The remembrance of the baptismal vow, the "sacramentum militiæ Christianæ," which was often urged upon their minds in practical discourses.

† A plain contradiction to the vulgar reports about the horrible purposes of the assemblies of the Christians.

‡ One who had violated his baptismal vow by such a crime was excluded from the communion of the Church.

§ A clear contradiction to the vulgar reports about the cannibal meals of the Christians, "epulis Thyesteis."

|| Pliny might well think this rather too much of religion.

¶ Superstitio prava et immodica.

* It seems probable that the number of children and young people found among the Christians gave occasion to this inquiry.

ever been a Christian? Whether Christians should be punishable simply as Christians, or only in consequence of other crimes? It appears from the conduct of Pliny, as governor and judge, how, according to his sentiments, most of these inquiries should be answered; and the emperor Trajan approved his conduct, and seems in his decision to coincide wholly with his views. He did not allow the Christians to be classed with common criminals, whom the governors employed their police* to detect. Christians were not to be sought for, but when they were brought up, they should be punished. The emperor does not say *how*; indeed, he avows, that on this part of the subject he could not determine† any thing definite. It appears, however, that the punishment of death was generally understood; while pardon was to be extended to those who would renounce Christianity, and return to the Roman gods.

Tertullian had long ago pointed out a contradiction in this decision. If the emperor thought the Christians criminal, they ought to have been searched for and punished like any other criminals, and brought to punishment. If he thought them innocent, punishment was wrong in every case. This is certainly a just opinion in a moral point of view; but the emperor regarded the matter in a *politico-judicial* light. He thought that it was impossible, in any case, to allow contempt of the "*Cerimonie Romanæ*," the open violation of the laws of the state, to go unpunished, although unaccompanied by any moral guilt.‡ So Trajan thought it necessary to act when any such illegal conduct came before the governor publicly, but he wished then to wink at it as much as possible, in order to *spare* the Christians, as far as was consistent with a due observance of the laws. He, like Pliny, believing Christianity to be a delusion, thought that if mercy and rigour were blended together, and if, without making any great stir, the open offences of this kind were punished, but they were not persecuted, the enthusiastic fancy would pass, and the thing itself would, by and by, die away. Had there been nothing higher in Christianity,

the consequences would have justified the opinion of Trajan.

That which had hitherto been a matter of tacit deduction, namely, that Christianity was not legally received among the religions tolerated by the state, was now expressly declared against Christians by a distinct law, and their condition must, in consequence, very soon have changed for the worse. The only search after Christians which Trajan had in his contemplation, was of a legal kind; but it often happened that Christians, or those suspected to be so, were seized by furious mobs, and so brought to the judgment-seat. There were some governors, to whom blood-shedding was a matter of indifference, and they willingly sacrificed these persecuted creatures to the fury of the populace, in order to make themselves beloved in the province, and some who themselves partook of the violence of the people. Under his successor Hadrian, they might imagine themselves at liberty to act thus with impunity, or even with the emperor's approbation, as he was known to be a zealous supporter of the *sacra* of his country. When he visited Greece, A. D. 124, and was initiated into all the Grecian mysteries, the enemies of Christianity, feeling this a favourable moment, began immediately to persecute it. The two learned Christians, Quadratus and Aristides, were induced by this to offer to Hadrian two treatises in defence of their fellow believers. Whether these induced him to join the side of the Christians, cannot be decided with certainty; but, at any rate, the emperor's zeal for the old religion was not sufficient to extinguish his love of justice. It was impossible that an emperor and governors who loved justice should be satisfied with tumultuous conduct, through which the innocent would often be involved in the punishment of the guilty. The proconsul of Asia Minor, Serennius Gracianus, complained on the subject to Hadrian, and he was induced to send a rescript to his successor in the proconsulship, Minucius Fundanus.*

* The genuineness of this rescript is attested, not only by the citation of it in the Apology addressed by Melito, bishop of Sardis, to the second successor of Hadrian, (see Euseb. iv. 26.) but still more strongly by internal evidence: for it is not to be believed, that a Christian could have contented himself with saying so little in favour of the Christians. The fact of Hadrian's dealing mildly with the Christians, is also attested by the praises bestowed on him in the work of a Chris-

* The εἰρηναῖος, curiosi.

† Neque enim in universum aliquid, quod quasi certam formam habeat, constitui potest.

‡ As Pliny says, quaecunque esset quod fateantur, pervicaciam certe et inflexibilem obstinationem debere puniri.

The emperor declared himself strongly against a conduct, by which the innocent might be disturbed, and which might give rise to false accusations, for the sake of extorting money, by threatening to accuse people as *suspected* Christians.* All accusations against the Christians were to be preferred in the legal forms, and no measures taken against them on mere popular clamour. If Christians were legally charged, and proved guilty of actions† contrary to the laws, they were to be punished according to their guilt; but, at the same time, *false* accusers were to suffer heavy punishment. Similar rescripts were sent by the emperor to other quarters.‡ This edict may have been understood as an edict of toleration with regard to Christianity. Under the name of "false accusers," those may be understood who accused the Christians of nefarious practices from mere common report; and the emperor may have meant that the avowal and exercise of the Christian religion should not be considered criminal, and that only decided crimes should be punished in the Christians just as in other people. Thus the emperor would, in this case, have received Christianity into the number of the "religiones licitæ;" but if that was his intention, there needed a more explicit declaration of what he understood by the words "contrary to the laws." Some particular and express declaration was evidently needed on the subject, after the rescript of Trajan, if the very non-observance of the Roman religion,

tian, who probably wrote not long after these times, i. e. in the fifth book of the pseudo-Sibylline Prophecies.

* Ἀγρυπνεύωντας ὡς τις δ' ἐστρατιὴν οὐκ ἔστιν οὐκ ἔστιν οὐκ ἔστιν,

ἔστιν καὶ παντὶς τοῦ ὄντος καὶ πάντα νοῦν.

* I think that Rufinus had the Latin original before him, but that Eusebius, as often happens, has not translated it accurately. Eusebius says, *ὡς καὶ τὰς συκοφαντίας χρησθῆναι κακουργίας παρασχέει*: Rufinus, "Ne calumniatoribus latrocinandi tribuatur occasio." One cannot very well see how Rufinus could change the general term *κακουργία* into the special one, "latrocinatio," to which the context does not seem at all to point; while Eusebius, on the contrary, was likely enough inaccurately to put a general for a particular term. "Latrocinari" is here synonymous with "concutere" in other places, and the words of Tertullian to Scapula, when he began to persecute the Christians, may serve as a commentary on this passage—"Parce provinciæ, quæ visa intentione tua obnoxia facta est concussionibus et militum et inimicorum suorum cuique."

† Eos adversum leges quicquam agere.

‡ According to Melito of Sardis, loc. cit.

and the exercise of Christianity,* was no longer to be held "contrary to the laws." The only thing which clearly results from this decree is, that it was in opposition to riotous attacks on persons, as being suspected of Christianity, and required legal proceedings in all accusations of them. Only in the case of governors inclined to favour them, the indefinite expressions of the edict might perhaps be turned to the advantage of the Christians.†

Those measures were, however, due rather to his love of justice than to any regard for Christianity or Christians, for Hadrian was, as we remarked above, a zealous and precise observer of the old Roman and also of the Grecian religion, and despised foreign ones (*peregrina sacra*.) See Ælius Spartianus, *Vita Hadriani*, c. xxii. This disposition is shown in the remarkable letter of this emperor to the consul Servianus, concerning the Alexandrians.‡ Although he may, perhaps, in this place be speaking of the curious mixture of the various elements of different religions in Alexandria, rather than of Christianity in general, yet as a friend to Christianity his language would have been different. The relation, therefore, of Ælius Lampridius (*Alexander Severus*, ch. xxiv.) an historian of the early part of the fourth century, is incre-

* Although Melito of Sardis says to Marcus Aurelius afterwards, that his predecessors had honoured Christianity in connection with other religions (*πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας θρησκείας ἐτίμιονσαν*), we cannot conclude much from this; for it is natural enough that a person, who was claiming the protection of the emperor for Christianity, should lay as much stress as possible on any thing in the measures of his predecessors, which either really favoured, or appeared to favour, the Christians.

† Tertullian ad Scapulam, c. iv. brings forward instances of governors who made use of the rescript to save the Christians. One was Vesprius Candidus, who released a Christian who was brought before him, under the plea that it was against the order to obey the cry of the multitude, "quasi tumultuosum civilem" satisfacere." Another was Pudens, who, when he had ascertained from the protocol (elogium, the committal or the proces-verbal,) with which a Christian had been sent to him, that he had been seized upon with threats and in a tumultuous manner, (concessione ejus intellecta) let him go, declaring that without a certain and legal accuser, he could not try him according to law.

‡ Flavii Vopisci Saturnius, c. ii.

* I leave this quotation as I find it, although I cannot construe it. In my edition of Tertull. ad Scap. (Cambr. 1686,) it stands thus: "Quasi tumultuosum civibus suis satisfacere," which is intelligible enough.—H. J. R.

dible, when he asserts that the emperor, in the intention of receiving Christ among the Roman gods, had in all cities temples without statues, which were called *Templa Hadriani*;^{*} but that he was withheld from the fulfilment of his intention by the representation of the priests. How this report arose among the Christian people, without any historical ground, admits of a ready elucidation, if we reflect that nothing was known of the destination of these temples, and that this emperor was looked upon in a very exaggerated light as the protector of the Christians, and so, by putting these two things together, they attributed to this emperor what really was the case with others, as for instance Alexander Severus.

Under this government, which in the Roman empire favoured the Christians, they suffered in another quarter a severe persecution. When Barchochab, whom the Jews believed to be the Messiah, and under whose conduct they revolted from the Romans, could not induce the Christians in Palestine to deny their faith, and take part in the revolt, he executed all who fell into his hands by cruel and painful deaths.

After the death of Hadrian, A. D. 138, the efficacy of his edict against the attacks of popular fury passed away. There arose, besides, under the government of Antoninus Pius, public calamities, which excited afresh the rage of the populace, a famine, overflowings of the Tiber, earthquakes in Asia Minor and Rhodes, and desolating fires in Rome, Antioch, and Carthage.[†] The gentle and humane disposition of the emperor could not view with satisfaction these outbursts of popular wrath, and in different rescripts addressed to the Greek states, he expressly condemned this violent conduct. But this emperor must have done even more for the Christians, if a rescript, ascribed in all probability to him, and not to his successor Marcus Aurelius, were genuine, the rescript to the council of Asia Minor (*προς το κοινον της Ασίας*), for he therein expressly declares, that the Christians should be punished only in case of their being convicted of political crimes; and, on the contrary, any one who accused another simply on the ground of his being a Christian, should himself be liable to punishment. But the language of the rescript is rather that of a heathen emperor, espe-

cially of one whose peculiar praise was "*insignis erga cærimonias publicas cura ac religio*," (Fabretti Marmor.) and the history of the consecutive times does not bespeak the existence of such an edict.*

Under the government of the next emperor, Marcus Aurelius, the philosopher, many public calamities arose which excited the rage of the populace against the Christians, especially a desolating pestilence, which, extending itself by degrees from Ethiopia to Gaul, infested the whole Roman empire. During this time the magician Alexander, in Asia Minor (see above,) excited the zeal of the people for their own gods, from whom he promised miraculous assistance, and thus also he excited the wrath of the people against the Christians. But had there been nothing here but popular fury, and had this emperor been of the same sentiments as his predecessor, this ebullition would soon have been repressed. On the contrary, however, we see under his government the people and the higher officers of the state united together against the Christians. They were so severely persecuted in Asia Minor, that Bishop Melito, of Sardis, their advocate with the emperor, says, "The race of the worshippers of God in Asia Minor, are now persecuted more than ever was the case before, in consequence of *new edicts*, for shameless informers, thirsting after other men's property, now plunder the guiltless by day and night, whenever they can find any grounds for it in the edicts. And we object not to this, if it proceeds from your command, for a just emperor would never decide unjustly, and we willingly bear the happy lot of such a death; and we only make *this* petition to you, that you would acquaint yourself with those who are thus persecuted, and judge fairly whether they deserve punishment and death, or safety and tranquillity. If, however, this new decree and this decision comes *not* from you yourself, a decree such as would be unbecoming even against barbarian enemies, we pray you the more earnestly, not to suffer us to be a prey to such rapacity."[†] These words

* Eusebius, however, says, that Melito of Sardis, in his Apology, addressed to the successor of Antoninus Pius, appeals to this rescript; but it strikes one immediately, that Melito, in the fragment quoted by Eusebius (*loc. laud.*), just exactly does *not* quote the rescript, for that would have been far more favourable for the Christians than the edict quoted by Melito. [See Moyle's works, ii. 236; and Chevalier's Apostolical Epistles, p. 278. —H. J. R.]

† [Dr. Neander is either misprinted, or he has

* *Ἀδελφύνα*, so Aristid. Orat. Suer. 1.

† Jul. Capitolini Vita Antonini Pii, c. ix.

of Melito, where Christian dignity is mingled with Christian prudence, lead us to many observations. Immediately after the publication of Trajan's edict, a *Christian once accused might be punished with death*; and this edict was never officially revoked, although the mildness of the last emperor in this respect may have prevented its severe and literal execution. But Melito informs us that a new and terrible edict had been put forth by the proconsul, *inviting informations against the Christians*. This is the more striking under the government of this emperor, who was by no means inclined to approve of the infamous trade of informers,* and whose principle seemed rather to be to lighten those punishments which the laws denounced against crime.† We can hardly imagine that the proconsul would have ventured to publish a new edict on his authority, and Melito appears to be quite persuaded that it came from the emperor himself; while at the same time he expresses himself doubtfully on the point, in order that he might ask its repeal with a better grace.

Let us now consider generally the sentiments of this emperor towards the Christians, in connection with his philosophical and religious systems, and see what results from it in relation to his actual conduct towards the Christians. His cold, contemplative stoicism, could never make him their friend; the objects of his highest admiration were a calmness that proceeded from philosophical speculation, and a resignation which could coolly contemplate even the annihilation of our personality, as we have above remarked; but he had no sympathy with calmness and resignation, that arose from a living faith, and a hope founded on that faith, and animated by it. The spirit with which the Christian martyrs met death, nay, even in many instances sought it (although the Church in general condemned this latter custom,) appeared to him a mere delusion of enthusiasm; for the faith from which this spirit proceeded, no man could communicate to another by philosophical demonstration. The principle which the Christians acted on, rather to die than to do what was required of them, Marcus Aurelius was as little able to appreciate as

Pliny had been. He also could only see in this a blind opposition to the laws of the state, and his philosophical bigotry would assist in inflaming his political zeal. We shall transcribe here the very words of this emperor in regard to the Christians; they are taken from his *Meditations*, (xi. 3.) "The soul must be prepared when it must leave the body, either to be extinguished, or to be dissolved, or to remain a little longer with the body. This readiness must proceed from free choice, and not from mere obstinacy,* as in the Christians; and it must also be the result of contemplation, and a lofty spirit, without any theatrical effect, so that a man should also be able to persuade another to the same course." In this point of view, therefore, although he might find the Christians guilty of no moral offence, and probably disbelieve the often refuted tales about them, yet he might consider them as enthusiasts, dangerous to the well-being of civil society, and as he remarked that Christianity, under the mild government of the last emperor, was constantly taking deeper root, he might think it necessary to oppose its increase by severe measures. There may be in philosophy, just as well as in any thing else, a bigoted attachment to certain notions and ideas, which renders men intolerant and fond of persecution. It is well, indeed, that Plato's wish of seeing philosophy united with sovereign power, can rarely be realised. Plato would be right, if by his philosophy true wisdom is understood, which never can be learned in a school; but the philosophy of a school, united with sovereign power, would assuredly be a most fruitful source of oppression.

We should, nevertheless, be judging most unjustly, if we represented this emperor to ourselves as a philosopher, whom certain general notions had taught proudly to despise the religious faith of other men. We find in him a certain child-like piety, which he owed, not to his stoicism, but, after his own confession, to the influence†

* Μὴ κατὰ φύσιν παραταξίς; perversity, obstinatio.

† παρα τῆς μὲρος το βεσιβος. [In the *Soirées de S. Petersburg* there is an eloquent passage on this subject, of which it will not be out of place to quote the beginning here:—"It belongs to our sex, no doubt, to form mathematicians, tacticians, chemists, &c., but that which one calls Man, that is to say, the moral Man, is formed perhaps at ten years of age, and if a man has not thus been *formed upon his mother's knees*, he will feel it a heavy misfortune throughout his life. Nothing can stand in the place of such an education. If

mistranslated Eusebius here; he leaves out the negative in this sentence, and thus makes it nonsense. In my edition the negative stands.—II. J. R. The passage is in Euseb. iv. 26.]

* Julii Capitolini Vita, c. xi.

† L. c. c. xxiv.

of a pious mother on his education. And though his child-like piety sometimes attaches itself to the superstition of the popular religion, yet even this child-like piety gives a far more honourable testimony to the disposition of the emperor, than the proud feelings of a haughty deism ever could have done. The following are a few traits of his religious creed. To the same inquiry which was proposed to the Christians, "Where hast thou seen the gods, or where hast thou learnt *their existence*, so that thou shouldst honour them thus?" he answers, "First,* they are visible even to our eyes; besides, I have never seen my soul, and yet I treat it with reverence: so also, when I constantly experience the power of the gods, I learn to recognise their existence, and I honour them."† This experience of the power of God was certainly no delusion. It was the living God, to him an unknown God, whom he might have learned to know from the Gospel, but whom he worshipped under the name of those creatures of his imagination. When he looked back upon the Divine guidance, which had accompanied him from childhood, he said, "As far as depends on the gods, and the influence which descends from them on me, their guidance and their inspiration, I might already have attained to a life conformable to the rules of nature; but that I have fallen short of this aim, is my own fault, and I owe it to my neglect of the warnings, nay, of the express instructions, of the gods."‡ The distinction which he saw between an outward abstinence from evil, and a true inward holiness, and the recognition of the sinfulness of all mankind, must, one would have thought, have led him to the notion of a Redeemer from sin; but he explained these truths to himself by means of his stoic doctrine of fatalism—and in regard to this also he learned to practise a stoic resignation; for he says, "When thou seest another sin, think that thou thyself sinnest oftentimes, and art just such an one thyself. And even though thou abstainest from many sins, yet thou hast within thee the inclina-

tion to such practices, though from fear, from vanity, or some similar disposition, thou avoidest them.* He was honestly devoted to the religion of the state and of the people, although he endeavoured to avoid the abject and extravagant superstition which was in vogue among the heathen of his time.† He believed, for instance, as well as his contemporaries, that the gods proclaim by dreams the means of recovery from diseases, and he thought that he had often experienced their assistance.‡ When the pestilence we mentioned above was raging in Italy, he saw in it a warning to revive the old worship in all its power. He invited priests from all quarters to Rome,§ and delayed his departure to the war against Marcomanni, during the religious solemnities, by which he had hopes of driving away the pestilence. Many even of the heathens vented their sarcastic humour on the number of victims he offered up during his preparation for this war.||

We can from these circumstances, explain the fact how Marcus Aurelius, distinguished as he was for a love of justice, and for the mildness which shines forth, as well in his conduct as in his writings, might nevertheless, while he sought to maintain the old state religion, become, from political and religious motives a persecutor of Christianity, which was then extending itself every where. A law of his is extant, in which he condemns to banishment on an island, all those "who do any thing with the intention of terrifying the light dispositions of men by the fear of the Deity."¶ It is not immediately to be concluded that this law was made against the Christians, because in those days there were many goetæ and impostors, against whom it may justly have been directed. But the emperor, M. Aurelius, may very readily have classed these people and Christians together, as Celsus has done, who wrote against the Christians in his time. This prince was inclined to pardon those who confessed their crimes and showed repentance, even in cases where he might have punished without being considered severe. (See

the mother has made it a duty to grave deeply the Divine character on the forehead of her son, we may be almost sure that the hand of vice will never be able to efface it. Vol. i. p. 215.—H. J. R.]

* It is uncertain whether the emperor here alludes to the stars, as visible divinities, or to the appearances of the gods in visions and dreams. The latter seems the most probable supposition.

† L. xiii. c. 28.

‡ L. 17.

* Lib. xi. 18.

† He desired a *θεοσιβεια* without a *δυσθυμιονα*.

‡ L. 17. § Jul. Capitol. c. xiii. c. xxi.

§ Hence the epigram recorded by Ammianus Marcellinus, L. xxv. c. 4. Οἱ λευκοὶ βῆς Μάρκου τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου νύκτωρ ἐκείνην ἡμέραν παύσασθαι.

¶ "Religandum ad insulam, qui aliquid fecerit, quo leves hominum animi superstitione numinis terreantur." From the Pandects.

the example of Capitolinus, ch. xiii.) But the Christians never would acknowledge that they had done wrong, and only persisted the more in what the laws forbade them to do. On this very account the emperor may have ordered that every means should be tried to force them to recant, and that the punishment of death should be inflicted only in extreme cases, where nothing would move them to give in. But even thus an ill-judged humanity, whose only view was to spare the effusion of blood, may have been the occasion of many cruel tortures.

If we now put together what we find peculiar in the nature of the persecutions of this time, we obtain a result combining two circumstances, *first*, that inquisition for Christians was ordered by the laws, although the fury of the populace frequently out-stripped the legal proceedings of public functionaries. According to the edict of Trajan, no such inquisition was to be made, but now, on the contrary, the Christians, were eagerly sought for, and were often obliged to escape by hiding themselves, as appears from the several accounts of the persecutions, and from the expressions of Celsus.* Up to this time then, the treatment they had experienced was *this*: *the Christians who were accused and would not, after repeated requests, abjure their faith, were executed without the application of tortures!* Now, it was attempted to force the Christians to recant by the use of tortures. An edict which is still extant, under the name of the †Emperor Aurelianus, (which pro-

bably, as Pagi and Ruinart justly suspect, stands for Aurelius,) coincides exactly with this account, and as it bears every mark of genuineness in its language and matter, it is not improbable that it may be the very edict sent by this emperor to the governors of the provinces. It runs thus:—"We have heard that the laws are violated by those who in our times call themselves Christians. Seize these people, and if they refuse to sacrifice to our gods, punish them with various kinds of tortments, in such a manner, however, that justice be mingled with your severity, and that the punishment cease, when the object is attained of extirpating the crime!" This last addition suits exactly the character of Aurelius; the governors were to look steadfastly at *the object* he had in view, namely, to abolish Christianity, which was at variance with the state religion, and to lead back the people to the worship of the Roman gods; but they were not to give themselves up to the dictates of blind passion. The caution might be humane enough, but it was totally insufficient to restrain men from cruel and arbitrary measures.

We shall now proceed to a more detailed consideration of the progress of these persecutions in the provinces, and the conduct of the Christians under them, after the narration of credible authorities. We have, in the first place, a circumstantial account of the persecution in the year 167, in which the Church of Smyrna lost their old and venerable bishop, Polycarp, the disciple of St. John, and of which this Church has given a detailed narrative in a circular, addressed to other Christian Churches.* The then proconsul of Asia Minor does not appear to have been personally hostile to the Christians; but the heathen people, with whom the Jewish rabble joined themselves, were en-

* Celsus says of the Christians, (viii. p. 418,) ἵσταται φερόντες; καὶ κρυπτικμοί, ἢ ἀλισκ. μὲνοι: and, again, (viii. p. 436,) ὅμοιοι δὲ καὶ πλανῶνται τις, ἐπὶ λαυθαίοις, ὡς ζῶνται πρὸς θανάτου δίκην.

† This edict, which is preserved for us in the Acta Symphoriani, of which we shall have to speak hereafter, is thus expressed in the original:

"Aurelianus Imperator omnibus administratori- bus suis atque rectoribus. Comperimus ab his, qui se temporibus nostris Christianos dicunt, legum præcepta violari. Hos comprehensos, nisi diis nostris sacrificaverint, diversis punite cruciati- bus, quatenus habeat distinctio prolata iustitiam et in roscandis criminibus ultio terminata jam finem."

No aim appears likely to be answered by the forgery of such an edict, its language is the official language of the day, and its whole spirit breathes the Roman statesman, so that an unprejudiced person can scarcely believe it spurious. If it belongs to the time of Aurelianus, whose name it bears, the martyr, in whose history it stands, must have died in his reign. But it is difficult to believe, that under this emperor they proceeded to shed Christian blood (see below.) Also the manner in which it speaks of Christians, as not then

being an old sect, appears to suit the time of Aurelius better than that of Aurelianus, in which the Christian sect had so long openly existed. Also, the accusation against the Christians, that the exercise of their religion was a violation of the laws of the state, could hardly be brought forward under the Emperor Aurelian, for Christianity in that case had been recognised as a "religio licita" fifteen years, when this edict appeared. Most undoubtedly, therefore, we must read Aurelius instead of Aurelianus, two names which are constantly interchanged. Lucius Aurelius Commodus was favourable to the Christians, and therefore, he is out of the question; it suits no one but the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antonius.

* Partly quoted in Eusebius, (iv. 15.) but more at large in the collection of the Patres Apostolici.

raged against them, and the proconsul yielded compliance to the fury of the people, and the demands of the law. He endeavoured to move the Christians to recantation by threats, by the sight of the torture, and of wild beasts, to whom they were to be thrown; and if they remained steadfast in their faith, he condemned them to death. In one respect he certainly yielded too far to the savage cruelty of the people, and that was in choosing painful and ignominious kinds of death, such as throwing them to wild beasts, or making them perish on the funeral pile, for the law did not require this from him. But, on the other hand, as the law denounced in general terms sentence of death against obstinate adherence to Christianity, people chose to suppose that persons who were no Roman citizens, must die an ignominious death.* Under the severest tortures, even such as raised the pity of the heathen themselves, the Christians showed great tranquillity and calmness. "They showed us all," says the Church, "that they were absent from their bodies during these torments, or rather that the Lord stood by them, and conversed with them; and, relying on the grace of Christ, they despised the torments of the world." But the difference was here exhibited between the passing intoxication of enthusiasm, which though it seeks danger with rash self-confidence, turns to cowardice at the presence of death; and that resolute devotedness to God, which waits for the call of God, and then seeks strength from him. A certain Quintus, of Phrygia, a nation peculiarly liable to fantastic and exaggerated feelings, with many others who had been seized with this enthusiastic fire from his persuasion, appeared before the tribunal of the proconsul of his own accord, and declared himself a Christian; a conduct which, although always blamed by the Christian Church, gave an opportunity to the heathen to represent Christians, as a set of restless enthusiasts, who ran into danger and death, in the blindness of a

deluded imagination. Now when the proconsul pressed this Phrygian hard, and had affrighted him by the sight of the wild beasts, to which he was to be thrown, he gave in, swore by the genius of the emperor, and offered sacrifices. The Church, after the narration of these circumstances, add this remark: "Therefore we do not approve of those who give themselves up, for the Gospel does not instruct us to do this." How different was the conduct of the aged Polycarp! when he heard the cry of the people who were eager for his blood, his first impression was to remain in the town, and to await God's pleasure in the event; but the prayers of the Church prevailed on him to take refuge in a neighbouring country seat. Here he remained in company with some friends, busied day and night, as he was accustomed, in offering prayers for all communities in the whole world. When he was searched for, he betook himself to another country place, and he had scarcely gone before the police appeared, to whom the retreat of Polycarp had been made known by some of his confidential but unworthy friends. They found two slaves, one of whom, under the pain of torture, betrayed the place to which the bishop had fled. When they came, Polycarp, who was in the upper story, might have retreated from the flat roof to another house, a convenience which the eastern mode of building afforded, but he said, "God's will be done!" He came down to the police-officers, and ordered them as much refreshment as they might be inclined to take, begging only as a favour that they would allow him one hour's undisturbed prayer. The fulness of his heart, however, carried him on for two hours, and even the heathen were touched at the sight of his devotion.

When this interval had passed, he was conducted on an ass to the town, where the chief officer of police (*εἰρηναρχος*) going with his father out of the town, met him, and taking him into his carriage, spoke to him in a kind and friendly manner: "What harm," said he, "can it be for you to say, '*our lord the emperor*,' and to offer up sacrifices?"* Polycarp

* Such punishments were assigned by law to many of the crimes of which the people's blind fanaticism accused the Christians. "Qui sacra impia nocturnave, ut quem obeantarent, fecerint faciendave curaverint, aut cruci suffiguntur, aut bestiis obijciuntur. Qui hominem immolaverint, sive ejus sanguine litaverint, fanum templumve polluerint, bestiis obijciuntur, vel si honestiores sint, capite puniuntur. Magicæ artis consocios summo supplicio affici placuit, id est bestiis obijci aut cruci suffigi, ipsi autem magi vivi exuruntur. Julius Paulus in sententiis receptis."

* We may learn from the words of Tertullian, Apologet. c. 34, what the sentiments of the Christians about such a demand were. "The name *Lord* is also one of the names of God. I am willing to call the emperor lord, but in the common acceptance of language, and then I must not be compelled to call him lord in the same sense that I call God by this name. But I am free from

at first was silent, but when they continued to press him, he calmly said, "I will not do what you advise me." When they saw that they could not persuade him, they grew angry. With bitter and contumelious expressions they threw him out of the carriage, and so roughly as to injure one of the bones of his shin. He turned, and went on his way, as if nothing had happened. When he appeared before the proconsul, the latter said to him, "Swear, curse Christ, and I will set you free!" The old man answered, "Eighty and six years have I served him, and I have received only good at his hands! Can I then curse him, my King and my Saviour?" When the proconsul continued to press him, Polycarp said, "Well, then, if you desire to know who I am, I tell thee freely, *I am a Christian!* If you desire to know what Christianity is, appoint an hour and hear me." The proconsul, who here showed that he did not act from any religious bigotry, and would gladly have saved the old man, if he could silence the people, said to Polycarp, "Only persuade the people." He replied, "To you I felt myself bound to render an account, for our religion teaches us to treat the powers ordained by God with becoming reverence, as far as is consistent with our salvation. But as for those without, I consider them undeserving of any defence from me." And justly too! for what would it have been but throwing pearls before swine, to attempt to speak of the Gospel to a wild, tumultuous, and fanatical mob? After the governor had in vain threatened him with wild beasts and the funeral pile, he made the herald publicly announce in the circus, that Polycarp had confessed himself a Christian. These words contained the sentence of death against him. The people instantly cried out, "This is the teacher of atheism, the father of the Christians, the enemy of our gods, who has taught so many not to pray to the gods, and not to sacrifice!" As soon as the proconsul had complied with the demand of the populace, that Polycarp should perish on the funeral pile, Jew and Gentile hastened with the utmost eagerness to collect wood from the market-places and the baths. When

him. I have one Lord, the almighty and eternal God, who is the Lord also of the emperor." What a contrast between the *free spirit* of this Christian and the slavish adulation of a *Roman senate* since the time of Augustus! Truly, indeed, it is the Son of God who sets us free!

they wished to fasten him with nails to the pile, the old man said, "Leave me thus, I pray, unfastened; He, who has enabled me to abide the fire, will give me strength also to remain firm on the stake." Before the fire was lighted he prayed thus: "O Lord! Almighty God! the Father of thy beloved Son Jesus Christ; through whom we have received a knowledge of Thee! God of the angels and of the whole creation, of the whole human race, and of the saints, who live before thy presence! I thank thee that thou hast thought me worthy, this day, and this hour, to share the cup of thy Christ among the number of thy witnesses!"

The Church recognised, in the example of their bishop, what the nature of a genuine evangelical martyrdom should be:—"for," they write, "he waited to be given up (he did not press forward un-called to a martyr's death,) as also did our Lord, that we might therein follow him; so that we should not look to that which concerns our own salvation alone, but also to that which is requisite for our neighbour: for this is the nature of true and genuine charity—to seek, not only our own salvation, but that of all the brethren."

The death of the pious pastor was a source of temporal advantage to his Church. The fury of the populace having obtained this victim, cooled a little,—and the proconsul, who was not a personal enemy of the Christians, suspended all inquisition, and was willing to be ignorant of the existence of any Christians around him.

The second persecution under this emperor, of which we have any accounts, took place among the churches of Lyons (Lugdunum) and Vienne, A. D. 177. The fanatical rage of the people in these cities resembled, if it did not exceed, that of the people of Smyrna; and there was here also the additional circumstance, that the superior officers of government were infected with this fury. The outbreaks of the rage of the people appeared gradually to increase in violence, and the Christians were reviled and ill-treated whenever they appeared in public, and were plundered in their houses. At length the best known were seized, and brought before the government. When they declared themselves Christians, they were thrown into prison, as they could not be tried immediately, in consequence of the absence of the governor, that is to say, the legatus, or lieutenant. On his

return, he instantly began an inquisition, accompanied by the use of tortures, not only to force the Christians to a recantation, but also to wring from them an avowal of the truth with regard to the horrible accusations of unnatural practices, which were commonly reported against them. In Smyrna the proconsul seems to have been too sensible to lend his ear to such reports. A young man of some rank, by name Bettius Pagatus, although not arrested as a Christian, felt himself bound, on hearing of these accusations, to come forward in attestation of the innocence of his brethren. He asked a hearing, in which he promised to show that nothing criminal took place at the meetings of the Christians; but the legate, without giving him a hearing, only asked if he were a Christian, and on his clear declaration of this, he was cast into prison as the advocate of the Christians (*παράκλητος Χριστιανών*.) Some heathen slaves, under fear of the torture, declared their Christian masters guilty of the crimes which vague rumours laid to their charge. Little as such a declaration was worth, fanaticism was eager to receive it as an evidence of truth, and the people felt that every cruelty was now justifiable. Neither kindred, age, nor sex were spared. The steadfastness and tranquillity of many of these Christians under the most exquisite tortures, showed plainly, to use the words of the account given by the Church, "how they were bedewed and strengthened by the waters of life, which flow forth from the heart of Christ, and that nothing is terrible where the love of God exists, nor painful, where the glory of Christ dwells." Pothinus, the bishop of the community of Lyons, a man of ninety years of age, weak from infirmity and sickness, but filled with youthful vigour from his zeal to give testimony to the truth, was dragged before the tribunal. The legate asked him, "Who is the God of the Christians?" and received the answer which such an inquirer deserved—"You will know him if you prove yourself worthy of such knowledge." All who stood around the tribunal, were now eager to pour out their wrath upon the venerable old man. Half breathless he was cast into prison, where he died in two days. It was of no use now to yield and recant; those who did were thrown into prison, not as Christians, but as being guilty of the crimes which were laid to the charge of Christians—an accusation which probably was supported on the

strength of such crimes having been sometimes confessed in the agonies of torture. Many died in a dark dungeon, the terrors of which many inventions were contrived to augment, while the wretched prisoner was condemned to endure the extremities of hunger and thirst; on the other hand, to use the expressions of the Church, "Many who suffered such severe torments, that it would have seemed impossible for the greatest care to enable them to survive, lived on in the dungeon, deserted by human care, but so strengthened in body and soul by the Lord, that they were able to inspire and comfort their comrades." It happened "by the grace of God, who wills not the death of a sinner, but delights in his repentance," that the persuasions of these heroes of the faith wrought deeply on many of those, who had yielded and denied their faith, and "their Mother the Church had the great joy of receiving again out of the prison as living members, those whom she had cut off as dead."

As the number of the prisoners was considerable, and there were among them *Roman citizens* who could not be tried in the province, the legate thought it best, in regard to all of them, to send his report to Rome, and await the emperor's decision. The imperial rescript was to this effect, "that those who recanted should be set free, and the rest beheaded." It is evident here, that Marcus Aurelius thought on this matter with Trajan, and was far from giving credit to the accusations against Christians. The legate first cited before his tribunal all those, who had been prevailed on to recant during the first inquisition, and were awaiting in the dungeon the decision of their fate. It was, of course, fully expected that they would repeat their denial of the faith, and so obtain their freedom; but the indignation and astonishment of the multitude can scarcely be conceived, when many among them uttered a steadfast confession of their faith, and by so doing signed their own death warrant. Those alone, says the Church, remained apart from us, who retained no vestige of their faith, nor had ever put on the wedding-garment of the Lord, (that feeling of faith working through love by which communion with God is made known,) and such only as had no fear of God, and had already scandalized their religion by their conduct. The legate executed those among the prisoners who had the rights of Roman citizens by the sword, although he caused

Attalus, one of the number, in violation of the laws, to be tortured in various ways, and then thrown to wild beasts, merely to gratify the violence of the people; and when Attalus had endured all the punishments, he allowed the death-blow to be inflicted with the sword. The rest were thrown to wild beasts. Two of the converts, Ponticus, a stripling of fifteen, and a girl named Blandina, whom they endeavoured to frighten by making them witness all the severest sufferings of their companions, excited only general astonishment, at what the power of God could effect in such weak and tender vessels. We allow that these effects do not always proceed from the Spirit of God; most extraordinary effects, we know from history, are often produced by the power of the human will, animated by the feverish intoxication of enthusiasm, which is capable of extinguishing so many of the tender weaknesses of human nature. But haughtiness and pride usually accompany enthusiasm, while that which proceeds from the Spirit of God is distinguished by humility and love, and it was *this sign* which marked the martyrs of Lyons, as disciples of Jesus Christ. When their fellow Christians eagerly sought to show honour to such heroes of the faith, they refused it. Even when they had been conducted back to prison, after enduring repeated tortures, they did not, when they looked only to themselves, feel sure of the victory. As they were no deluded enthusiasts, they felt strongly the struggle between the flesh and the spirit; and they most decidedly blamed those who honoured them with the name of "martyrs." "This name," they said, "belongs properly only to the true and righteous Witness,* the First-born of the dead, the Prince of life; or, at least only to those martyrs whose witness to the truth Christ has already sealed by their death in the faith. We are merely poor and humble confessors of the faith." With tears they implored the brethren fervently to pray for them, that they might bring their work to a glorious conclusion. With tender love they received those of their companions, who had fallen away from the faith and were sent into their prison, and prayed to God with many tears, that He would restore these dead to life. They looked even on their persecutors without one feeling of revenge, and only prayed to God that He would

forgive those who had inflicted the most cruel tortures upon them. To the brethren they left behind them, not contention and wrath, but peace and joy, harmony and love.

The rage of the populace was satisfied with the mutilation of the body and its consumption on the funeral pile, but even then the ashes and the miserable remains that escaped the fire, were thrown into the waters of the neighbouring Rhone, that no remnant of these enemies of the gods might pollute the earth. Neither tears nor money were availing to the Christians, to procure the remains of martyrs so dear to them, for interment. The ignorant and blinded heathen thought they should thus bring the hope of Christians to confusion. "We shall now see," said they, "whether they will rise again, and whether God can help them, and save them from our hands." At length, however, as the Christians were so numerous, men became weary of bloodshed, and there still remained a branch of the Church even under this bitter persecution.

In places where only a few Christians dwelt, their existence was more easily concealed, and the rage of the people was not so easily attracted to them. The governors did not think it necessary to establish a search for them, except where individuals, from peculiar circumstances, made themselves notorious as enemies of the state religion, which happened about this time in a town not very far from Lyons, called Autun.* There was no intention of persecuting the Christians there, as they were in small numbers, and but little known, when a Christian first attracted public notice to himself. The noisy multitude, with great solemnities, were celebrating a festival in honour of Cybele, whose worship appears to have come hither from Asia Minor, by the same route which Christianity afterwards followed, and she appears also to have been held in great respect at that time. An image of Cybele was carried round in one of her usual cars, and accompanied by a great multitude of people. All fell on their knees; but Symphorianus, a young man of high family, conceived that his conscience would not allow him to participate in this rite, and most probably on being taken to task for it, took occasion to speak of the vanity of idolatry. He was instantly seized, and conducted

* *Magrue*. Rev. i. 5.

* *Augustodunum, Ædua*.

before the governor, Heraclius, a man of consular dignity, as a disturber of the public worship, and a seditious citizen. The governor said to him, "You are a Christian, I suppose. As far as I can judge, *you must have escaped our notice, for there are but a few followers of this sect here.*" He answered, "I am a Christian; I pray to the true God, who rules in heaven, but I cannot pray to idols; nay, if I were permitted, I would dash them to atoms, on my own responsibility." The governor, on this avowal, declared him guilty of a double crime, one crime against the religion, and another against the laws of the state; and, as neither threats nor promises could induce Symphorianus to abjure his faith, he was sentenced to be beheaded. As they led him to execution, his mother cried out to him, "My son, my son, keep the living God in thy heart; we cannot fear death, which leads so certainly to life; up, my son! let thy heart be up, and look to him who rules on high. Thy life is not taken from thee to-day, but thou art conducted to a better. By a blessed exchange, my son, thou wilt pass this day to the life of heaven."*

If we may credit a report which has been current among Christians from the beginning of the third century, the emperor Marcus Aurelius was induced to adopt a different conduct towards them by an event of a miraculous nature. During the war against the Marcomanni and the Quaddi, A. D. 174, his army was reduced to great distress; a burning sun lay upon it in front, and it was then suffering the extremities of thirst from a drought, and expecting every instant in this unfavourable condition an attack of the enemy. In this extremity the twelfth legion, which consisted entirely of Christians, fell upon their knees. At their prayer a rain descended, which quenched the thirst of the Roman soldiers, and a storm arose which frightened the barbarians. The Roman army gained the victory, and in commemoration of this event the emperor gave the legion the name of Legio Fulminea. He ceased to persecute the Chris-

tians, and although he did not go so far as to receive their religion into the class of "religiones licitæ," he published an edict inflicting heavy penalties on those who accused Christians merely on the score of their religion.* Truth and falsehood are blended together in this narration. The emperor cannot have been induced to suspend his persecution of the Christians by any event of this date, for the persecution of Lyons took place three years later. The twelfth legion also had borne this name ever since the time of Augustus Cæsar.† The fact, that the Roman army was at that time saved from imminent danger by some such remarkable occurrence, is undeniable; and even the heathen acknowledged in it the hand of God. They ascribed it, however, not to the God of the Christians, nor to their prayers, but to their own gods, to their Jupiter, and to the prayers of the emperor or the army; not to mention a foolish superstition, which attributes the descent of the storm to the incantations of an Egyptian magician.‡ It is said that the prince prayed to Jupiter, stretching out his hands towards heaven, and saying, "This hand, which never yet shed human blood (for I reckon not the blood of the enemies of the gods,) I stretch forth to thee!" There were pictures where he was represented praying, and the soldiers catching the rain in their helmets.§ The emperor himself expresses this belief in a coin, where Jupiter is represented as hurling down his lightning on the barbarians stretched upon the ground;|| and perhaps, also, in his meditations at the end of the first book, where among the things for which he has to thank, not himself, but the gods, he names, in the last place, the occurrences among the Quadi.¶ It is also quite cer-

* Tertullian, *Apologet.* c. v.; and ad Scapulam. c. iv. Euseb.: *Lib.* v. c. 5.

† Dio Cassius, in his table of the Legions existing in the time of the emperor Augustus, B. lv. ch. 23: το δωδεκάτον (στρατιωτικόν) το ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ, το κεραινοφόρον. Also, in the fifteenth century, in the "notitia dignitatum Imperii Romanii," § 27, the "præfectura legionis duodecimæ fulminæ Melitenæ" is assigned to the Dux Armeniæ; the province of Melitena lying on the borders of Armenia and Cappadocia.

‡ Dio Cass. *Lib.* lxxi. p. 8.

§ Themist. *Orat.* 15, τῆς ἡ βασιλευμένης των ὀρεων, p. 191, ed. Hardouin.

|| See Eckhel *Numism.* B. iii. 64.

¶ Τα ἐν Κουαδικὸς πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ. It has here been supposed, that M. Aurelius indicates by these words the place in which he wrote this book; but

* The relation of the martyrdom of Symphorianus is so simple in essentials, so little deformed by the customary exaggerations of later days, and so suitable to the circumstances of the times, that we cannot doubt that it is entirely founded on facts, although, perhaps, in some passages it may be laboured and rhetorical. Every thing, however, conspires to prove that the event itself took place at a time not far distant from that of the persecution at Lyons and Vienne.

tain, that this remarkable event can have had no influence on the emperor's sentiments towards the Christians: but, at the same time, we have no right, on this account, to accuse the latter of a fiction. The thing is very easily explained; there may have been many Christians in the Legio Fulminea, for it is quite certain that only a part of the Christians condemned the profession of a soldier, and even though it may be difficult to imagine that the Christians generally (and especially under such an emperor as Marcus Aurelius) could withdraw themselves in the Roman army from participation in heathen ceremonies, yet, under peculiar circumstances, this may have been the case. The Christian soldiers, under the pressure of this distress, took refuge, as they were accustomed to do, in prayer; they looked upon their deliverance as the answering of their prayers, and on their return home told their story to their fellow-believers. These naturally would not fail to remind the heathen of what they owed to the Christians whom they so persecuted. Claudius Apollinaris, bishop of Hierapolis, in Phrygia, might have heard it soon after the event from the mouths of the soldiers themselves of this legion, which returned to winter-quarters in Cappadocia, and he made use of it in an apology, which he addressed to this emperor, or in his other apologetic works.* As to the letter, to which Tertullian appeals, from Marcus Aurelius, apparently addressed to the Roman senate, in which he ascribes this deliverance to the Christian soldiers, if the words are accurately quoted, the above remarks will prove that the letter must be a forgery. The inquiry, however, is still open, whether the words are accurately cited, or whether the emperor using the word "soldiers" simply, Tertullian, putting his own interpretation

as such an addition is only found in the third book, we may, perhaps, more aptly interpret these words as an allusion to some events in certain places, the mention of which has some connection with what goes before.

* We must avow, that where Eusebius makes Apollinaris say, that the legion received the name of "fulminea" from this event, there is reason to suspect that he read his account in great haste, for it is difficult to think that so gross a blunder could have been made by a contemporary, living in the neighbourhood of the winter-quarters of that legion. Perhaps Apollinaris only says, that the emperor might now, with justice, call the legion "fulminea," or something of this sort. [Is not the distance of Cappadocia from the Quadi an objection to that part of Dr. Neander's explanation, which speaks of "winter-quarters?"—H. J. R.]

upon it, makes him speak of *Christian* soldiers. At all events, Tertullian expresses himself doubtfully.* Another relation of this same event by Tertullian, will plainly show us how the Christians explained the religious deliverances of the heathen from their own belief, and not without reason—for they well knew *who* the unknown God was, whom the heathen worshipped under the name of Jupiter. These are his words: "Marcus Aurelius also, in the German expedition, received rain after a drought at the prayers of a Christian soldiery. How often have the droughts of countries been removed by our kneeling† and fasting! In such cases, even the people gave our God the honour; for they cried out to the God of Gods, the only mighty one, under the name of Jupiter."‡

There is the less reason to look for any definite cause for the cessation of the persecutions, because rage naturally in time expends itself; and besides, in this case, only a few years after the last bloody persecution in France, every thing at Rome was changed with the change in the government. The insignificance of the abandoned Commodus, who succeeded his father in the year 180, little as he can have cared for Christianity, must have been of advantage to the Christians in procuring for them a time of refreshment and repose after their sufferings under Marcus Aurelius. Marcia, who lived in illicit commerce with Commodus, was, we know not how, a friend to the Christians, and influenced the emperor in their

* Christianorum forte militum.

† Days of prayer and fasting, commonly joined together by the Christians.

‡ [Those who are desirous of further information on the subject of the Legio Fulminea, will do well to consult the remarks made on the early miracles by the bishop of London, in the notes to the volume of Sermons which he has lately published. See also Mosheim, cent. ii. part 1, § 10. Jortin is flippant on the subject, as usual, and Gibbon sneers at the Christians, as usual also; but in all the writers whom I have consulted, I find that the conclusion is nearly similar to that drawn by Neander, which seems indeed to be the only reasonable one. They all admit the fact to be undeniable, but they mostly deny that any miraculous interposition is due to the prayers of the Christians. Why, however, the account of the Christians is not at least as credible as that of the heathen, who attribute a miracle to Jupiter, Mr. Gibbon leaves us to make out for ourselves. See also the works of Mr. Moyle, where this question is discussed in a very elaborate manner. Moyle's Works, vol. ii. p. 81—390. Mr. Moyle, however, does not admit some of the facts assumed by the explanation of Dr. Neander.—H. J. R.]

favour. The law which we cited above from Tertullian, as favourable to the Christians, may have proceeded from this emperor, who was well inclined to them, and have been falsely attributed to the latter years of his predecessor. There were really events in the reign of Commodus, in which the working of such a law has been supposed visible. One is, however, led to inquire whether the conclusion as to the existence of the law from these events is not a hasty one, and whether it does not proceed from a mistake. It certainly does appear in the highest degree improbable, that accusations against the Christians should have been received just as before, the Christians sentenced to death by Trajan's law, and yet their accusers, at the same time, have been capitally punished! An example will, perhaps, clearly illustrate this. Apollonius, a Roman senator, having been accused before the *Præfectus urbis* as a Christian, his accuser was instantly sentenced to death, and executed; but Apollonius himself, having most courageously avowed his faith before the senate, was also beheaded by a decree of that body. This is the tale: but Jerome, who can hardly have mistaken the words of Eusebius, and is likely to have a more accurate knowledge on the matter, says, that this accuser was the slave of Apollonius, and that this is proved by the ignominious punishment which he suffered, his legs being broken previous to his execution (*suffringi cura*.) He was, therefore, executed, not as an accuser of a Christian, but as a slave who was faithless to his master. From hasty conclusions on such circumstances, it is possible that the story of a law favourable to Christianity may have derived its origin. As, therefore, this emperor most probably did not alter the condition of Christians by any express edict, as the law of Trajan had never been expressly repealed, and as all depended entirely on the change in the emperor's sentiments, the situation of Christians must then have been very precarious. They were constantly exposed to persecution from any governor, who might individually be hostile to Christianity. Thus the proconsul of Asia Minor, Arrius Antoninus, began a persecution, but a great multitude of Christians from the town in which the persecution began, flocked to the tribunal in order to deter the proconsul from this measure by their numbers, a consummation they might fairly hope for under a government where

the persecution proceeded from individuals, and not from the imperial throne. The proconsul was really frightened, and contenting himself with sentencing a few to death, he said to the rest, "As for you, miserable creatures! if you choose to die, you have rocks to dash yourselves from, and ropes to hang yourselves with!"* Irenæus, who wrote during this reign, says that the Christians frequented the imperial court, and that they were part-takers in all the usual advantages of the Roman empire, that they might go by land and by sea wherever they were inclined;† and yet this same Irenæus also affirms that the church at all times, from which he does not except those in which he wrote, was constantly sending many martyrs to the Father in heaven.‡ This apparent contradiction is easily solved by the above remarks on the nature of the persecutions in this reign.

The political storms which followed the murder of Commodus, A. D. 192; the civil war between Pescennius Niger from the east, Clodius Albinus from Gaul, and Septimius Severus, which ended in the sovereignty of the latter, like all other public calamities, could not be favourable to the Christians. In these political convulsions the fury of the populace, or the malice of individual governors, had many opportunities of wreaking vengeance on the Christians. Clement of Alexandria, who wrote shortly after the death of Commodus, says, "We see daily many martyrs burnt, crucified, and beheaded before our eyes."§ When Septimius Severus had obtained the victory, and found himself in secure possession of the empire, he showed himself favourable towards the Christians, and it is very possible that this disposition may have arisen from the circumstance to which Tertullian attributes it, viz. that Proculus, a Christian slave, had cured him of an illness; and that he took Proculus to the palace, and

* We are acquainted with two proconsuls of Asia Minor of this name in the second century, Antoninus Pius, who was afterwards emperor, and his grandfather, as well as a third during the reign of Commodus. *Æl. Lampridii Vitæ Commodi*, c. vi. and vii. We are naturally inclined to suppose it the contemporary of Tertullian, for otherwise he would give one to understand that he was speaking of an older one. We learn from Lampridius, that this proconsul was in great favour with the people. It was, perhaps, to court popular applause that he persecuted the Christians.

† *Lib. iv. c. Hæres. c. 30.*

‡ *Lib. iv. c. 33, v. 9.*

§ *Lib. ii. Stromat. p. 414.*

always kept him near him. He knew that men and women of the highest rank in Rome, senators and the wives of senators, were Christians, and he protected them against popular fury. As, however, the old laws had never been repealed, severe persecutions might take place in particular districts—as for example in proconsular Africa—as we may see in many of the works of Tertullian, written during this very period. The festivals in honour of the emperor, at which the Christians attracted attention by withdrawing from them (see above,) gave an opportunity for these persecutions. There was besides a law enacted by this emperor, A. D. 202, in which conversion to Christianity, as well as to Judaism, was forbidden under heavy penalties; but then this law presupposed that the old laws against Christianity had now generally fallen much into disuse. Inasmuch as this law, it is probable, opposed only the *further* extension of Christianity, and inasmuch as it does not expressly condemn all Christians as such, it implies some relaxation of the older laws. And yet, coming from an emperor who had hitherto shown himself personally favourable to the Christians, this distinct declaration must have excited the spirit of persecution still more against them. In many places* the persecutions were so sore, that they were believed a token of the speedy appearance of Antichrist. In Egypt and in proconsular Africa, this was especially the case, but these persecutions were certainly not general. It happened now in several districts that many Christians and Christian Churches purchased for themselves, from the higher state-officers, permission for the free exercise of their religion, and for holding their assemblies. But this measure did not give universal satisfaction; in some cases the Christians thought it derogatory to the honour of their name, and in others it only served to excite the cupidity of avaricious officers, and to induce them to begin new persecutions for the sake of extorting money.† The Christians continued in this condition throughout the reign of the capricious Caracalla; although cruel as he was, he did not set on foot any particular persecution against them. All depended on the individual characters of the governors; many sought expedients to save the lives of the Christians brought before them

without a violation of the laws; others treated them with violence, either from personal enmity, or to gratify the popular voice; and others again contented themselves with keeping to the very letter of Trajan's law. Tertullian in his letter to a persecutor of Christianity, the proconsul Scapula, tells him that he might fulfil all that the law required from his office, without indulging in cruelty, if he would *only use the sword against the Christians according to the provisions of the original law*, as the Præses of Mauritania, and that of Leon, in Spain, were still in the habit of doing.

We shall now relate a few characteristic anecdotes connected with the history of the persecutions of these times. Some Christians from the town of Scillita, in Numidia, were brought before the tribunal of the proconsul Saturninus, A. D. 200. He said to them, "You may receive pardon from our emperors (Severus and Caracalla,) if you will only return in good earnest to our gods." One of them, by name Speratus, answered, "We have done no evil to any man, we have spoken no evil against any man; nay, for all the wrongs which you have inflicted on us, we have only thanked you. We praise for all his dispensations the true Lord and King." The proconsul replied, "We too are pious, and we swear by the genius of the emperor, our lord, and we pray for his welfare, which you must also do." On this, Speratus said, "I know of no genius of the ruler of this earth, but I serve my God in heaven, whom no man hath ever seen, nor can see. I have never stolen any thing from any man; I pay scrupulously all the taxes and tributes which are due from me, for I acknowledge the emperor as my ruler, but I can worship only my Lord, the King of kings, the Lord of all nations." The proconsul upon this ordered the Christians to be reconducted to prison till the next day. On the next day, when they appeared again, and he was unable to persuade them, he granted them three days more for deliberation. Speratus, however, answered in the name of the rest, "I am a Christian, we are all Christians, and we will not depart from the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ. Dispose of us as you will." They were now, as they had avowed themselves to be Christians, and refused to show the emperor the honour which was required from them, condemned to be beheaded. On receiving their sentence they thanked God, and on arriving at the

* Euseb. ii. 7.

† Tertullian, de Fuga in Persecut.

place of execution they fell on their knees, and again thanked God.

A few years afterwards three young men, named Stevocus, Saturninus, and Secundulus, and two young women, named Perpetua and Felicitas, were seized in Carthage, while they were all catechumens. Their confinement and their sufferings present many lovely traits of the power of Christian faith, united with Christian tenderness of disposition. Perpetua was a woman of two-and-twenty years of age, and the mother of a child, which was still hanging on her breast. Beside the common struggles of flesh and blood against the hand of death, she had other and tenderer feelings to contend with, those pure feelings of human nature which Christianity recognises in all their strength, and which genuine Christianity even heightens, while at the same time it requires the sacrifice of them to the One to whom all must yield. The mother of Perpetua was a Christian, but her aged father was a heathen. Besides the bitterness of losing a beloved daughter, he feared the ignominy which her execution as a Christian would bring upon him. As soon as she was taken into custody, her aged father came to her to say, that she might recant. She pointed to a vessel which lay upon the ground—"Can I," said she, "call this vessel any thing else than what it really is?" "No." "Well, then," she added, "as little can I aver that I am not a Christian." In the meantime she was baptized, as it appears that spiritual persons in the execution of their official duty were able to buy free access to the prisoners from the keepers of the prisons at a very cheap rate; but in this case the purchase of such a permission may not have been necessary, as they were not then under such rigorous custody. Perpetua said, "The Spirit prompted me to ask at my baptism nothing else than patience." A few days after they were all thrown into the dungeon. "I was terrified," she said, "because I had never before been in such darkness. O what a wretched day! The stifling heat from the number of the prisoners, the rude treatment we suffered from the soldiers, and to add to all this, my anxiety for my child!" The deacons* who gave the

communion to them in the dungeon, purchased for the Christian prisoners a better residence in the prison, where they were separated from other criminals. Perpetua now took her child to her breast in prison, and commended it to her mother; she comforted the rest, and felt herself revived by having her child near her. "The prison," said she, "now became a palace to me."

The report that they were about to be tried having reached her aged father, he hastened to her and said, "My daughter, pity my grey hairs, pity thy father, if I am worthy to be called thy father! I have brought thee up to the bloom of thy age; I have preferred thee to all thy brothers; give me not up then to such shame among men! Look upon thy mother and thy aunt! look upon thy infant son, whose death must shortly follow thine! Lay aside thy haughty spirit, lest thou exterminate our race! not one of us can again speak with the freedom of a man, if thou come to such an end." As he spoke, he kissed his daughter's hand, and throwing himself at her feet, called her not his daughter, but his mistress. "The grey hairs of my father," says Perpetua, "gave me pain. I lamented that he alone, of all my family, would not rejoice in my sufferings." She said to him, "When I stand before the tribunal, God's will must come to pass! for remember, we stand not in our own power, but in that of God." When this decisive moment came, her father also approached, to try his last efforts with his daughter. The governor said to Perpetua, "Take pity on thy father's grey hairs, take pity on thy tender child. Offer sacrifices for the prosperity of the emperor." Perpetua: "That I cannot do." Gov.: "Art thou a Christian?" Perpetua: "I am a Christian." Her fate was now decided. "His unhappy age pained my heart," says Perpetua, "as deeply as if I myself were in his case." They were all condemned on the ensuing festival of Geta's accession* to be thrown to wild beasts, and thus afford a cruel sport to the soldiery and people. They returned to their prison rejoicing; the tenderness of a mother's feelings did not overwhelm Perpetua, she sent to her father for her child that she might give it suck, but the father would not part with

* ["Diacones qui nobis ministrabant." Acta Martyr. ap. Ruinart. p. 94. I suppose Dr. Neander to mean that they brought the consecrated elements to the Christians, a practice well known not to be unfrequent. See Mosheim, Hist. Eccles.

Sec. ii. Part ii. cap. iv. § 12. et alib. See also Justin Martyr, Apolog. I. § 85. (Ed. Grabe. Oxon. 1700, p. 128.) and Hieronymi Epist. 4, near the end.—H. J. R.]

* Natales Cæsaris.

it. Violent suffering* having come on Felicitas at her return to prison, the jailor said to her,—“If thou canst scarcely bear these sufferings, what wilt thou do when thou art cast before wild beasts? and yet thou despisest them by thy refusing to sacrifice!” She answered, “What I now suffer, I suffer myself, but then it will be another who will suffer for me, because I shall suffer for Him.” As it was usual in those days, in compliance with some of the customs which had been retained from the times in which human sacrifices were offered to Baal, to clothe those condemned to die by wild beasts in priestly garments, they wished to dress the Christian men as priests of Saturn, and the women as priestesses of Ceres. Their free and Christian spirits, however, revolted against this. “We have come here voluntarily,” said they, “that our freedom might not be taken away from us. We have given up our lives, that we might not be compelled to these practices.” The heathens themselves recognised the justice of their demand, and gave up the point.

Before these martyrs received their death-blow, after being torn by the beasts, they mutually took leave of each other for the last time, with the brotherly kiss of Christian affection.

With the reign of Heliogabalus, A. D. 219, a more tranquil season for the Christian Church began, although the indulgence of this emperor towards the Christians proceeded from no virtuous motives. He was no follower of the old Roman religion, but was himself devoted to certain foreign rites, that is, to the Syrian worship of the sun, a service consisting of the most abominable impurities. He wished to establish this as the prevailing form of religion in the Roman empire, and to blend all others into it, and with this view he tolerated Christianity as well as other foreign religions. Had he been able to carry his intentions into execution, the Christians would certainly have been his most zealous opponents.†

His successor, the noble and pious Alexander Severus, (from A. D. 212—235,) was a man of wholly different character from his vicious predecessor; and his favourable disposition towards Christianity and Christians, proceeded from entirely different grounds. The sensibilities of

this excellent prince were alive to all that is good, and he felt a reverence for every thing connected with religion. In his religion he was addicted to the then prevailing fashion of eclecticism, and he included Christianity among those religions from which he drew his stores. He recognised Christ as a Divine Being, together with other gods; and in his *lararium*, or domestic chapel, where he offered his morning devotions, among the busts of those men whom he regarded as beings of a higher order, such as Apollonius of Tyana, and Orpheus, there was placed also a bust of Christ! Now this must have been with the intention of receiving Christ among the Roman gods. He was constantly in the habit of using our Saviour's saying, in Luke vi. 31: “What ye will that men should do unto you, do ye likewise unto them;” and he caused it to be engraved on the walls of his palace, and on public monuments. While Julia Mammæa, the mother of this emperor, who had great influence over him, was resident at Antioch, she sent for Origen, the great pastor of the Alexandrian Church, and Origen, who was of all men the most capable of recommending Christianity to habits of mind quite foreign to it, no doubt made use of this opportunity to do so with her, and Julia Mammæa may, in return, have worked upon the disposition of her son. Since this emperor was, therefore, so favourably inclined to Christianity; since he gave the world to understand that he recognised the existence of a lawful association in the Christian community, by new-modelling the appointments to state offices, after the regulations in use among Christian Churches, and by assigning to the Christian Church in Rome a piece of ground, which they disputed with the corporation of cooks [or rather, perhaps, restaurateurs;] all this tends to show the more strongly with how great reluctance the Roman emperors published any new edicts in matters concerning religion; for, as far as we know, he enacted no law by which Christianity was received among the “*religiones licitæ*.” Indeed, Domitian Ulpianus, the celebrated civilian in the reign of Alexander Severus, (for it was probably this same Domitian,) collected the rescripts of former emperors against the Christians* in his work “*De Officio Proconsulis*.”

The rude Thracian, Maximinus, who,

* [“The pains of labour,” according to the original Latin.—H. J. R.]

† *Æl. Lamprid. Vit. c. 3. 6, 7.* [See Gibbon, vol. i. ch. vi.—H. J. R.]

* *Lactant. Institut. Lib. v. c. xi.*

after the murder of the excellent Alexander Severus, A. D. 235, raised himself to the imperial throne, hated the Christians because his predecessor had been on friendly terms with them, and especially persecuted those bishops who had been the most connected with Severus. (Eusebius vi 28.) In many districts, as in Cappadocia and Pontus, desolating earthquakes assisted in waking again the fury of the populace against the Christians. Under such an emperor, this fury would have full play, and in many cases it was also backed by the governors of the provinces. But it was only in particular districts that the Christians were persecuted, and they were able to escape by flight into others; and yet this persecution, though less severe than those of former times, made a greater impression, because the long interval of repose had left men unprepared to expect hostile measures.*

A more favourable season for Christians again appeared on the accession of Philip the Arabian, A. D. 244. This emperor, it is said, was a Christian himself.† It is expressly related, that when he wished to join a Christian congregation on Easter-eve, the bishop‡ of the Church met him at the entrance, and declared to him, that in consequence of the crimes which he had committed,§ he could not be allowed to approach till he had submitted to the penance of the Church, and that the emperor really pledged himself to the observance of it. This narration, however, does not harmonize well with what we learn of this emperor from other sources. In all his public life, for instance, in the money which he coined, there is not a single trace of Christianity; but, on the contrary, he always appears as a follower of the heathen state religion. Origen, who was in communication with the royal family,|| and wrote his work against Celsus in this reign, gives us to understand, indeed, that the Christians were then in a very comfortable condi-

tion; but we do not find a single thing in him to induce us to believe that the ruler of the Roman empire was a Christian, although he had certainly some occasion to mention such a circumstance. It will, perhaps, be said, that the emperor kept concealed his conversion to Christianity from political grounds; but, then, it does not suit with this view, to suppose that he visited a Christian church, especially at such a time, and still less, that he submitted to the penance of the Church. We find, indeed, the first trace of the story of his conversion to Christianity in an author of reputation, who wrote in the time of Valerian, who reigned very shortly after Philip. Dyonysius of Alexandria* says of Valerian, "He showed himself even better inclined towards the Christians than those who were themselves Christians." We cannot understand, by these words, any other emperors than Alexander Severus and this Philip; and the well-informed Dionysius apparently classes them together. Philip may, probably, have included Christianity in his religious eclecticism, and then an exaggerated report made him out a Christian. The murder of his predecessor, however, and much besides about him, corresponded very ill with the supposition of his Christianity; and in order to reconcile these conflicting accounts, the report added the fiction about Easter-eve.

Instead of dwelling longer on this exaggerated story, before we pass over to the next struggle of the Christian Church, we shall consider the remarkable works of the great Christian pastor, Origen, who wrote in these days, concerning the persecution which the Church had hitherto endured, its then external condition, and its future prospects. He says, in regard to the earlier persecutions,† "Although the Christians, who were commanded not to defend themselves by violence against their enemies, complied with this tender and humane precept; yet that which they never could have obtained, however powerful they might have been, had they been permitted to go to war, *that they have received from God*, who has always *fought for them*, and who has at times imposed tranquillity on those who opposed them, and would extirpate their religion: for, as a kind of warning and memorial to them, that when they saw some few contend for their religion, they might become

* See the Epistle of Firmilianus Cæsariensis in Cyprian, No. 75, and Origen, Comment. in Matth. vol. iii. 857, ed. de la Rue.

† Eusebius uses the expression, *κατεχετο λόγος*, in his Church History; but in his Chronicle he expressly names him as the first Christian emperor.

‡ By a later tradition it would appear that it was Babylos, bishop of Antioch.

§ This must have been an allusion to the murder of his predecessor, Gordianus.

|| He wrote letters to the emperor and his wife Severa, which are now lost.

* Euseb. vii. 10.

† Lib. iii. p. 119. [p. 116. Ed. Spencer.]

stronger, and despise death, a few (*so few that they may easily be numbered*) have at times suffered death for the Christian religion;* and thus God has prevented a war of extermination against the whole body of Christians; for he wished their continuance, he wished that the whole earth should be filled with their salutary and most holy doctrine. And, on the other hand, that the weaker brethren might take breath, and be relieved from the fear of death, God cared for the believers, by so scattering, through his own mere will, all assaults upon them, that neither emperor nor governor, nor the multitude, should prevail against them further." He says, in reference to his own times, "God hath constantly caused the number of Christians to increase, their number is still daily on the increase, and he hath already given to them the *free exercise of their religion*,† although a thousand obstacles opposed the propagation of the doctrine of Jesus in the world. But since it was God who willed that the doctrine of Jesus should become a blessing to the heathen, all the assaults of men against other Christians have been brought to shame. And the more the emperors, the governors, and the multitude, have sought to oppress the Christians, the more powerful have these latter become."‡ He says, that among the multitude of those who embraced Christianity, were also many rich people, many in high offices, and rich and well-born women;§ that now a Christian pastor might obtain honour and respect, but, nevertheless, that the contempt with which others treated him was greater than the reverence with which he was regarded by believers.|| He remarks, that notwithstanding all this, even yet the horrible accusations against the Christians obtained belief with many, who abominated holding the slightest intercourse with Christians, even speaking to them.¶ He writes, that through God's will the persecutions against the Christians had now long since ceased; but casting a glance into futurity, he adds, that this tranquillity would readily cease* in its turn, whenever the calumniators of Christianity should again have spread abroad the opinion, that the cause of the numer-

ous seditions (during the later years of this emperor,) was the great number of the Christians, who had increased so much from not being persecuted.* He foresaw also, that the persecutions had not yet reached their limit, and that the opinion, "that the downfall of the state-religion, and that the irresistible propagation of Christianity, were bringing disaster on the Roman empire, would, sooner or later, again revive the flames of persecution;" but he adds, "when God wills, we enjoy in a wonderful manner peace in a world which hates us, and we confide in Him who says, 'Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world.' He has, indeed, overcome the world! Inasmuch, then, as He who hath overcome the world wills that we should overcome the world, since He hath received power from the Father to overcome the world, we confide in his victory. But if he wills that we should again contend and battle for the faith, let the adversaries come, and we will say to them:—'We are able to do all things through Him that makes us strong—Jesus Christ our Lord!'" He was persuaded that hereafter all other religions would fall to the ground, and Christianity alone would prevail, as even then it was constantly gaining more souls.†

What the sharp sighted Origen predicted, soon happened; nay, while he was writing this in Cæsarea of Palestine, it had already taken place in another district. In Alexandria, an enthusiast or an impostor, who appealed to special revelations, which he had individually received from the gods, excited the rage of the people against the Christians.‡ As it had often happened before, that a persecuting government had followed a favourable one, as Marcus Aurelius had followed Antoninus Pius, and Maximin the Thracian, Alexander Severus, so it happened now also, when Decius Trajanus, after conquering Philip the Arabian, A. D. 249, had ascended the imperial throne. It is exceedingly natural that when an emperor zealously devoted to Paganism, followed one favourable to the Christians, he should feel himself bound, on that very account, to renew with redoubled strictness and severity, and to execute most thoroughly, the older laws, which had fallen into disuse, against the Christians, who, during his predecessor's reign, had increased so widely. And we can here also with Origen recognise an

* Όλην κατὰ κυρίως καὶ σφοδρὰ ἐναγώνια ἵππη τῆς Χριστιανῶν θείας ἐκείνης τοῦ θανάτου.

† Ἦδη δὲ καὶ παρρησίαν ἐπέδωκεν.

‡ Lib. vii. p. 359.

§ τῶν τῶν ἐν ἱερωσίᾳ, καὶ γυναικὰ τα ἄλλα καὶ ἄλλα.

¶ Lib. iii. p. 120. ¶ Lib. vi. p. 302.

* Lib. iii. p. 123. † Tom. viii. 436-7.

‡ Euseb. vi. 41.

especial precaution of God's providence; since in the long interval of repose many Christians, unmindful of their call to combat for the faith, had suffered themselves to grow slothful, since so many, who were destitute of vital Christianity, had crept into the Christian Church, or remained in it because they were descended from Christian parents, it would seem that the power and truth of faith must be awakened and proved by some new terrible struggle, the Church at the same time purified, and the real and genuine members of it separated from the pretended. In many provinces the Christians had enjoyed an undisturbed repose of thirty years, in others even a longer time. Cyprian, the bishop of Carthage, on this account, (in his *Sermo de Lapsis*,) complains that this peace had had a soporific influence on a part of the Christians, and that much worldly mindedness had taken root in consequence among both laity and clergy. The Church, therefore, needed again to go through the purifying influence of the fire. So Cyprian, after the first storm of persecution had subsided, taught his Church to view the matter. "When the cause of the sickness," says he to his flock, "is once known, then the remedy for the wound may be found. The Lord wished to prove his people, because the course of life which God commands had been destroyed in the long time of our tranquillity. A divine chastisement hath, therefore, roused the Church, fast sinking as it then was, into sleep and carelessness. Although by our sins we deserve more, yet the merciful God has so managed that all which befel us appeared to be rather a trial than a persecution. While men forgot what the believers did in the time of the apostles, and what they ought always to do, they gave their minds, with insatiable desire, to the increase of their temporal possessions. Many of the bishops, who ought by example and exhortation to lead the rest, neglected their divine calling, and busied themselves with the administration of worldly affairs." Since such, therefore, was the state of many Churches, it is easy to see that a persecution, which in its first course seemed likely to be very severe, must have made a great impression on persons unaccustomed to persecution.

It was certainly the intention of the emperor *entirely to crush Christianity*. He ordered* (A. D. 250) strict inquiry to

be made about all persons suspected of non-observance of the state religions—and Christians were to be required to comply with the ceremonies of the Roman state-religion. If they refused, threats, and afterwards tortures, were to be made use of, to induce them to give in. If they stood steadfast in the faith, then, especially against the bishops, whom the emperor hated the most, sentence of death was pronounced: but the intention was at first to try how far they could succeed with the Christians by commands, by threats, by persuasion, and light punishments; they proceeded gradually to more severe measures, and the persecution gradually extended itself into the provinces from the metropolis, where the presence of the emperor, a declared enemy of the Christians, made the persecution at first the most severe. Wherever the edict of the emperor was carried into execution, the first step was publicly to appoint a day, before which, all the Christians of any place were to appear before the magistrate, abjure their religion, and offer sacrifice. Those who fled their country before this day, escaped with the confiscation of their property, and a prohibition of their return, under the penalty of death. But with those who were unwilling to sacrifice at once their earthly possessions to a crown of glory in heaven, and waited for something that might open a middle path for them, when they did not appear of their own accord on the appointed day, the court of inquiry,* composed of the magistrate and five of the principal citizens, began its operation. After repeated tortures, those who remained steadfast were thrown into prison, where hunger and thirst were employed to weaken their resolution. It does not appear that the punishment of death was very commonly resorted to. Many magistrates, who were more interested in extorting money than in executing the laws, or who wished to spare the Christians, agreed with them, that although they really did not offer sacrifice, yet they would suffer a certificate (*libellum*) to be set forth, declaring that they had complied with the regulation of the edict.† Others, while they were anxious to escape the putting forth

* [V. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. vi. 39. Pearson, Annal, Cyprian. ad ann. 249, No. 12. H. J. R.]

* Cyprian, Ep. xl. (Ep. xliii. ed. Ox.) "Quinque primores illi, qui edicto nuper magistratibus fuerant copulati, ut fidem nostram subruerent." The expression "edicto" renders it hardly probable that this regulation was confined to Carthage.

† Those who received such certificates were called "Libellatici."

such a certificate, yet, without ever even appearing before the magistrates, obtained the entry of their names in the magisterial protocol, or register, among those who had been obedient to the edict. (*Acta facientes.) Many erred ignorantly, thinking that they remained true to their faith when they did nothing which was contrary to their religion, (neither offered sacrifice nor burnt incense, &c.) but only allowed others to say that they had done so. The Church, however, always condemned this as a tacit abjuration of their faith.

Let us now take a picture of the effects of this bloody persecution among the Christians in the large cities, such as Alexandria and Carthage, from the hands of Dionysius,† the bishop of Alexandria, whose very words we are now about to quote. "All were thrown into consternation by this terrible edict, and many of the higher classes of citizens† presented themselves from fear immediately, partly of their own accord, partly brought by the public necessity, which was imposed upon them, and partly as they were brought by their relations and friends. And, as each was called upon by name, they approached the unholy sacrifices, *some of them* pale and trembling, not as if they were to *perform a sacrifice*, but as if they were to be themselves victims slaughtered to the idols; so that the multitude around treated them with bitter scorn and ridicule, and it was clear to all that that they were alike afraid, either to die or to sacrifice. Others, however, voluntarily ran up to the altars, boldly averring, that they never had been Christians—in whom the saying of our Lord was verified, that 'the rich can hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven.' The rest of the Christians partly followed the example of these two classes of persons of condi-

tion—some fled, and others were arrested. Among these latter, some went as far as to endure the fixing of the chains and the arrest; others bore the confinement for a few days, and then abjured, even before they had been sent for to judgment: others, after enduring the tortures up to a certain degree, gave in; but the blessed and steadfast pillars of the Lord, who were strengthened by Him, and received might and steadfastness from Him, as they were worthy of their firm faith, and acted up to it, became wonderful witnesses of his kingdom." Among these, Dionysius mentions Dioscoros, a boy of fifteen years of age, who, by his excellent answers and his firmness under torture, extorted such admiration from the governor, that he let him go free, declaring to him that he gave his tender years time to repent.

There appeared in most districts glorious traits of Christian faithfulness and devotion to the cause. At Carthage, we read of a certain Numidicus, whom Cyprian, the bishop, took into the presbytery, because he had so highly distinguished himself during the persecution. After encouraging many others to a martyr's death, after seeing his own wife expire on the funeral pile, he was himself, half-burnt and almost crushed with stones, left for dead. His daughter sought the corpse of her father under the heap of stones, in order to bury him. How raptured must she have been to find some signs of life about him still, and to succeed in her dutiful attempt to revive him! A woman had been brought to the altar by her husband, and they compelled her to offer sacrifice by holding her hands, but she cried, "I did it not! I did it not!" and she was accordingly condemned to banishment.* We read of confessors of the faith at Carthage, who were in prison, and whom they had endeavoured for eight days to bring to recantation through heat, through hunger and thirst, but who still looked death by starvation in the face unmoved.† Some confessors from Rome, who had endured a year's confinement, wrote to Cyprian thus:‡ "What can happen to a man more glorious and more blessed, than amidst tortures, and even in the sight of death, to acknowledge God the Lord, and with lacerated body, with a departing but a free spirit, to acknowledge Christ the Son of God, and to become a fellow-sufferer of

* Cyp. Ep. xxxi. "Qui acta fecissent, licet præsentibus cum fierent non adfuissent—ut sic scriberentur mandando."

† Euseb. vi. 41.

‡ Οι περιφανισται, the "personæ insignes," to whom the attention of the heathen was first turned, and who were in greater danger than all others.

§ Οι δε δημαιοιουντες υπο των προξενων ηγορευ. I think these words are a translation of the Latin law phrase, "Actis publicis conveniri." The translation of Rufinus also favours this supposition, as well as the antithesis of the passage.

[The note of Valesius on this passage rather supports this interpretation, and is worth consulting. He makes it mean, that "some being in public offices, were obliged to appear at the reading of the edict.—H. J. R.]

* Cyprian, Ep. xviii.

† Ep. xxi. Luciani, ap. Cyprian.

‡ Ep. xxvi.

Christ in the name of Christ. We have not yet shed our blood, but we are ready to shed it! Pray also, dearest Cyprian! that the Lord may daily more richly confirm and strengthen every one among us with the powers of his might, and that He, our great leader, may at length lead to the battle-field of the fight that is set before us, his warriors whom He hath hitherto practised, and proved in the camp of a prison. May He bestow upon us those divine arms, which never can be conquered!"*

The bishops were the especial objects of the emperor's hatred, and possibly it was only against them that the punishment of death was expressly decreed. At the very first outbreaking of the persecution, Fabianus, the bishop of Rome, suffered martyrdom. Many bishops, till the first fury of the persecution had subsided, retired from their communities, not from cowardice, but because, as their presence inflamed the fury of the heathen, they esteemed it their duty to secure the repose of their communities by a temporary absence, as well as by all means not inconsistent with their Christian faith and pastoral duties, to preserve their lives for the future service of their flocks, and of the Church. Among the number of those who retired for a season, was the bishop Cyprian: and although he was by many reproached as having done this from cowardice, yet his subsequent conduct clears him from this imputation, and the openness and the tranquillity of conscience with which he speaks of it, are creditable witnesses in his favour, when he writes thus to the Roman Church:† "Immediately on the first approach of trouble, when the people with loud outcries constantly demanded my death, I retired for a time, not so much from care for my own life, as for the public tranquillity of the brethren, that the tumult which had begun might not be further excited by my presence, which was offensive to the heathen."‡ He acted after the principle which he recommended in regard to all other persons also. "Therefore, the Lord commanded us to yield and fly in case of persecution; He commanded this, and practised it himself. For as the martyr's crown comes from the grace of God, and can only be received when the proper time is come, so he denies not the faith,

who, still remaining true to Christ, retires occasionally, but he waits his time." There was, however, certainly a difference in the case of ordinary Christians, and of one who had the administration of the pastoral office on his hands, and duties to fulfil towards the souls confided to his care; but even this Cyprian neglected not; he might fairly appeal to his Church and say, that though absent in body he had been present with them constantly in spirit, and sought to guide them by counsel and by deed, according to the commandments of the Lord.* The letters which he wrote from his retreat, through the means of clergy, who travelled about, and were connected with his Church, show with what right he could say this of himself, and with what anxiety he sought to preserve discipline and order in the Church, and how desirous he was, that the necessities of the poor, who were prevented by the persecution from plying their customary employments, should be attended to, and that the prisoners should be relieved by all possible means. The same principles of Christian resolution, which moved him to yield to the momentary danger, were shown in his exhortations to his Church, when in exhorting them to Christian steadfastness, he endeavoured to warn them against all enthusiastic and exaggerated feelings. He thus writes to his clergy† (Ep. iv.): "I pray you not to allow your prudence and care for the maintenance of tranquillity to fail; for, although the brethren, in the spirit of love and charity, are desirous to visit those glorious confessors of the faith, whom the grace of God has rendered illustrious by such a glorious beginning, yet this must be done with precaution, and not in great numbers at a time, lest we provoke the jealousy of the heathen, and all access be forbidden; and so while we seek for much, we lose every thing. Take care also that due moderation be kept here for greater security, so that the individual priests who go to administer the communion to the confessors, and the deacons who accompany them, may change after some regular succession, because a change of persons, and a change in those who visit the confessors, will excite less jealousy; and in every thing we must gently and humbly, as becomes the servants of God, humour the times, and provide for the safety and tranquillity

* Ephes. vi. 11.

† Epist. xiv.; [Ep. xx. in Bishop Fell's edition, Oxford, 1682.—H. J. R.]

‡ De Lapsis.

* Ep. xiv. [Ep. xx. Ed. Ox.]

† [Ep. v. Bishop Fell's edition.—H. J. R.]

of the Church." He desires his Church to consider this persecution as an exhortation to prayer. (Ep. vii.) "Let each of us pray to God, not only for himself, but for all the brethren, as the Lord taught us to pray; who does not command each individual to pray for himself alone, but all generally for all. When the Lord shall see that we are humble and peaceable, united among ourselves, and rendered better by these present sufferings, then will He free us from the persecutions of the enemy."

By a comparison of the various letters of Cyprian, written at this time, with the letter of Dionysius of Alexandria, it appears probable that, without any further edicts of the emperor Decius, the persecution had gradually become more severe. As so many had shown weakness at the first threats, it was hoped that the Christians might easily be entirely crushed, without proceeding to extremities, if they could only manage to deprive them of their bishops, who were constantly inflaming their zeal for the faith. At first all the dealings with the Christians in this business were committed to those local authorities in the different provinces, who were the best acquainted with the individual citizens, and best knew how to set about the matter, and who would know how to discover the means most likely to work upon and influence each man according to his individual character and private relations; the most severe punishments at first made use of, were imprisonment and banishment. When, however, the heathen saw that the hopes excited by their success at first, were deceived, the proconsuls themselves took the thing into their own hands; and those, therefore, by whose firmness these hopes had been dispelled, were now far more harshly dealt with, in order to force them to give way, as the others had done. They tried hunger and thirst, exquisite and increasing tortures, and in some cases death, even on those who were not spiritual persons. It was, however, natural, that in the course of time people should grow weary of their fury, and their passion should gradually cool. It might also happen that the change in the provincial government, when the old proconsuls and præsides laid down their office in the beginning of the year 251, might be favourable to the Christians. At length Decius was called away from the persecution of the Christians, by more important political events, the rebellion in Macedonia, and the

Gothic war. He himself lost his life in this war towards the end of the year. The tranquillity which this change procured for the Christians, lasted also during a part of the following year 252, under the government of Gallus and Volusianus. But a desolating pestilence, which having broken out under the former government, was now spreading itself gradually into all parts of the Roman empire, with droughts and famine in various districts, again excited, as usual, the fury of the populace against the Christians.* An imperial edict was published, requiring all Roman subjects to sacrifice to the gods, in order to obtain salvation from so great a public calamity.† Men were again struck by the numbers who withdrew themselves from these sacrifices, because they were Christians. Hence arose new persecutions, in order to increase the number of the sacrificers, and generally to further the interests of the old religion.

At the approach of this new persecution, Bishop Cyprian wrote a letter of exhortation‡ (Ep. lvi.) to the North African Church of the Thibaritans, in which he thus expresses himself: "Let none of you, my beloved brethren, when he sees how our people are driven away and scattered from fear of the persecution, disquiet himself, because he no longer sees the brethren together, nor hears the bishops preach. We, who dare not shed blood, but are ready to allow our blood to be shed, cannot, at such a time, be collected together. Wheresoever, in those days, any one of the brethren may be separated for a while by the necessities of the time, and absent in body, not in spirit, let him not be agitated by the dreadfulness of that flight; and if he be obliged to retire and hide himself, let not the solitude of a desert place terrify him. He, whom Christ accompanies in his flight, is not alone; he is not alone, who preserving God's temple constantly, wheresoever he is, is not without God. And if in desert places, and on the mountains, a robber shall assault the fugitive, a wild beast attack him, or hunger, thirst or cold destroy him; or if, when he passes over the sea in haste, the fury of the storm shall sink his vessel, yet Christ, in every place, beholds his warrior fighting!"

* See Cyprian's Defence of the Christians against the accusations of Demetrianus.

† Cypriani Epist. lv. ad. Corrul. Sacrificia, quæ edicto proposito celebrare populus jubebatur.

‡ [Ep. lviii. ed. Ox. 1682.]

The bishops of the metropolis, under the very eyes of the emperor, were naturally the first objects of the persecution, for how could people hope to put down Christians in the provinces, while they suffered their Bishops to remain in Rome? Cornelius who had entered on his office under Decius, at the danger of his life, was at first banished, and then condemned to death. Lucius, who had the Christian courage to succeed him in his office, at this time of danger, was soon also his follower in banishment and in martyrdom.

Nevertheless, the war and the rebellion, with which Gallus was busied, prevented him from carrying through with vigour a general persecution of the Christians in the provinces, and these events, which ended with his murder, in the summer of the year 253, at length restored universal repose and tranquillity to the Christians.

The emperor Valerianus, in the first years of his reign, from 254, showed himself very favourable to the Christians, but from the year 257, he changed his conduct, and began to persecute them. The persecution, however, was at first by no means a bloody one, and only required the removal of teachers and pastors, and especially bishops, from their flocks. We have before observed the notion which in the former persecution prevailed among the heathen governors, that if they could first remove the bishops out of the way, they should have less difficulty in strangling Christianity; then the assembling of the congregations was forbidden, and it was hoped that thus their aim might be attained without bloodshed. The course of proceeding in this first persecution under this emperor we ascertain immediately by an inspection of the minutes of the trials of the bishops Cyprian and Dionysius.* The proconsul Paternus brought Cyprian before his tribunal, and said to him, "The emperors Valerianus and Galienus have sent me a rescript, in which they command that all those who do not observe the Roman religion, shall now take upon them the Roman ceremonies. I therefore ask what are you? what do you answer?" Cyprian: "I am a Christian and a bishop; I know no God but the one true God, who created the heaven and the earth and the sea, and all that is in them. This God we Christians serve; to this God we pray day and night for ourselves; for all mankind, and for the prosperity of the emperor him-

self." The proconsul: "Is this, then, your fixed resolution?" Cyprian: "A good resolution, which proceeds from the knowledge of God, can never change." The proconsul on this, in compliance with the imperial edict, pronounced a sentence of banishment upon him, and added instantly, "this rescript relates not only to the bishops, but also to the priests." I desire, therefore, to know from you, who the presbyters are who dwell in this city?" Cyprian: "Your laws have justly condemned the laying of informations; I cannot, therefore, give them up; but in the places over which they have authority, you will be able to find them." The proconsul: "I am speaking now of this place, and in this place, this very day, will I begin the search." Cyprian: "As our doctrine forbids men to give themselves up, and it is also contrary to your orders, therefore they cannot give themselves up; but if you seek them you will find them." The proconsul released him with a declaration, that the assembling of the Christians, be it where it might, and the visiting Christian places of interment (which usually inflamed the zeal of Christians,) were forbidden under pain of death. The intention was now wholly to separate the bishops from their churches, but the bond of the Spirit would not suffer itself to be broken by earthly power. We very soon after find the bishops and the clergy, and not only these, but laymen also, and even women and children, condemned, after being ill-treated and beaten, to imprisonment and to labour in the mines: we suppose they had been found at the graves, or in congregations. The bishop Cyprian, from Curubis, the place of his banishment, was most active in providing for their temporal and spiritual wants, and in proving, by words and deeds of love, his sympathy with them. While he sent large sums from his own revenues and from the church-chest, for their support, and for the relief of their distresses, he wrote thus to them (Ep. lxxvii. :)* "In the mines the body is not refreshed by bed and couches, but by the refreshment and the consolation of Christ. The limbs, weary through labour, lie upon the earth, but it is no punishment to lie there with Christ. Though the outward man be covered with filth, yet the inward man is the more purified by the Spirit of God.

* [Ep. lxxvi. cd. Oxon, 1682. This is by a misprint in the edition here referred to made lxxxvi., but in the Index it is given as it should be, as the lxxvith.—H. J. R.]

* [Passio Sti Cypriani.—H. J. R.]

There is but little bread, but man lives not by bread alone, but by the word of God. There is but little clothing for the cold, but he who has put on Christ, hath clothing and ornament enough. * * * * Even in this, my dearest brethren, your faith can receive no injury,* that you are unable to celebrate the communion. You do celebrate the most glorious communion, you do bring God the most costly offering, for the Scripture says, 'The sacrifice of God is a broken spirit; a contrite heart God doth not despise.' You bring yourselves as holy and pure offerings to God. Your example," he writes to the clergy, "the greater part of the Church has followed, who have confessed with you, and with you been crowned, being bound to you by the ties of the strongest love, so that prison and the mines could not separate them from you, and there are among you even girls and boys. How great now among you must be the strength of your victorious conscience! What a triumph in your hearts, to walk among the mines, with imprisoned body, but with a heart conscious of power, to know that Christ is among you, and delights himself in the patience of his servants, who tread in his footsteps and walk in his ways to the kingdom of eternity!"

The emperor must soon have found, that nothing could be accomplished by these measures. The local separation of the bishops could not break up their connection with the Churches; by letters, by clergy travelling backwards and forwards, they were active among their people, as if they had been in the midst of them, and their exile only rendered them dearer to their Churches. Wherever they were banished, they collected a little congregation around them; in many places, where as yet no seed of the Gospel had been sown, the kingdom of God was first erected by these banished persons, whose lives, and not their lips alone gave witness to their faith. So the Bishop Dionysius was able to say of his banishment to Cephars, a remote place of Libya,† "At first we were persecuted and stoned, but then not a few of the heathen left their idols and turned to God. By us the seed of the word was first brought thither; and, as if God had brought us thither only for

that purpose, he led us away again as soon as we had fulfilled that purpose." Valerianus, therefore, believed that to suppress Christianity, he must resort to more decided and severe measures. In the following year, 258, appeared this edict:—"The bishops, priests, and deacons, shall immediately be put to death by the sword, the senators and knights shall lose their dignities and property, and if, after this, they remain Christians, they shall suffer the same punishment of death. Women of condition, after confiscation of their property, shall be banished; the Christians in the service of the imperial court, especially slaves and freedmen, who have formerly made profession of Christianity, or do so now, shall be considered as the property of the emperor, and shall be distributed in chains to labour in the various imperial public works." We see by this rescript,† that the emperor's peculiar object was, *to deprive the Christians of their clergy, and to stop the spread of Christianity among the higher orders.* He did not wish to use unnecessary cruelty; but clearly the people and the governors did not always abide by the spirit of these instructions, as we learn from some of the martyrdoms of this persecution, against

* A various reading here gives the sense of *branded* besides. [See the next note.]

† The original rescript of the emperor to the senate, is found in Cyprian, Ep. lxxxii. ad Succesum, (Ep. lxxx. ed. Ox.) "Ut episcopi et presbyteri et diacones in continenti animadvertantur, senatores vero et egregii viri et*" (the second *et* is a spurious addition, for the *egregii viri* are the *equites* as the *senatores* are *clarissimi*) dignitate amissa etiam bonis spolientur, et si, ademptis facultatibus, Christiani esse perseveraverint, capite quoque multentur; matronæ vero, ademptis bonis, in exilium relegentur; Cæsariani autem quicunque vel prius confessi fuerant vel nunc confessi fuerint, confiscentur et vincti in Cæsarianas possessiones descripti mittantur." Instead of *descripti* (allotted or distributed,) there is a various reading; *scripti* or *inscripti*, *branded*. We see by the following passage in Pontius's Life of Cyprian, that in the persecutions of Decius, Christians had been branded on the forehead: "Tot confessores frontium notatarum secunda inscriptione signatos." The "prima inscriptio" was the "inscriptio cruris," *χαρκτης, σφραγίς του σταυρου* received in baptism. In the passage of Cyprian the collocation of the words rather favours the common reading.

* [I find the passage thus printed in both editions of Dr. Neander. It appears that the printer must have left out the words "*equites Romani*," which follow the second *et* in the passage of Cyprian. This will make Dr. Neander's remark in the parenthesis quite intelligible. But he may, perhaps, mean to condemn the words *equites Romani* also.—H. J. R.]

* [Dr. N. has here only paraphrased the original, "quad illic nunc sacerdotibus Dei facultas non datur offerendi et celebrandi sacrificia divina," and so throughout this passage the original is much abridged.—H. J. R.]

† Euseb. vii. 11.

the genuineness of which no cogent arguments can, upon the whole, be produced.

Sextus, the bishop of Rome, and four deacons of his Church, were the first who, in consequence of this edict, suffered martyrdom, on the 6th of August, A. D. 258.

The new governors in the provinces had in the interim recalled those who had been banished by their predecessors in office, and they allowed them in the retirement, in which they were obliged to remain, to await the decision of their fate by the new rescript which was expected from Rome. Cyprian kept himself at a small country place near Carthage, until he heard that he would be conducted to Utica, in order to receive his sentence from the proconsul, who happened then to be staying there. Like a true shepherd, he was most anxious to give his last testimony by word and by suffering in the presence of his own flock; and he, therefore, complied with the entreaties of his friends who urged him to retire till the return of the proconsul. From the place of his concealment, he wrote his last letter to his Church. (Ep. lxxxiii.)* "I allowed myself to be persuaded to withdraw for a time, because it becomes the bishop, in that place where he is set over the Church of the Lord, to confess the Lord, that all the Church may be rendered glorious by the confession of their pastor. For whatsoever the confessing bishop declares in the moment of confession, that he declares by the inspiration of God from the mouths of all. Let me, in this retired spot, await the return of the proconsul to Carthage, to hear from him, what the emperors have commanded in relation to the Christian bishops and laity, and to speak to him what the Lord in that hour will that I should speak. But you, dearly beloved brethren, keep peace and tranquillity in conformity with the discipline which you have always received at my hands, according to the commands of the Lord; let no one of you bring the brethren into trouble, nor give himself up of his own accord to the heathen. Every man must then only speak, when he is apprehended, for in that hour the Lord who dwells in us, speaks in us." When Cyprian, on the return of the proconsul on the 14th of September, received from his mouth the sentence of death, his last words were "God be thanked."†

This persecution ended with the reign of him from whom it proceeded. Valerianus, by the unfortunate issue of the war, having been taken prisoner by the Persians, A. D. 259, his son Gallienus, already joined in the government, obtained the undivided sovereignty. He was more indifferent than his father, as well with respect to all public affairs, as with regard to the maintenance of the state religion. He instantly published an edict, by which he granted to the Christians the free exercise of their religion, and commanded that all the burial grounds belonging to their Churches, and the other houses and grounds, which had been confiscated under the foregoing government, should be restored to them. He thus recognised the *Christian Church as a legally existing corporate body*, for none but such a body could, according to the Roman constitution, possess a common property. As, however, Macrianus had set himself up for emperor in the east, and in Egypt, in these countries it was only till after his fall, in A. D. 261, that the toleration edict of Gallienus could come into effect.* Hence, while the Christians in the West were already in the enjoyment of repose, persecutions may have lasted in those countries in compliance with the edict of Valerianus. Eusebius relates a remarkable instance of this, which took place at this time in Palestine. Marius, a Christian soldier at Cæsarea Stratonis, was to receive the place of a centurion. Just as the centurion's staff (the *vitis*), was about to be entrusted to him, another soldier, who had the next promise of this promotion, stepped forward and declared that, according to the old laws, Marius could not hold any Roman military rank, because he was a Christian, and did not sacrifice to the gods and to the emperor. On this they granted Marius a delay of three hours, in the course of which he must decide *whether he would remain a Christian*. In the meantime the bishop Theotecnus led him to the Church, he pointed on the one hand to the sword which the soldier bore upon his side, on the other to the book of the Gospel, which he laid before him. "He must choose between the two, between the

Romanis et sacris legibus." [So Pontius in Vita Cypr. p. 13. Comp. also the Passio Cypriani.—H. J. R.]

* Eusebius, vii. 13, has preserved to us, not the original edict of this emperor, but the rescript, by which the edict was introduced also into Egypt, after the conquest of Macrian.

* Ep. lxxxi. ed. Oxon.

† He was condemned as an "inimicus Diis

military rank and the Gospel!" Marius, without hesitation, lifted up his right hand and laid hold of the Gospel. "Now," said the bishop, "hold fast on God, and mayest thou obtain what thou hast chosen. Depart in peace." After a most courageous confession he was beheaded.

The law of Gallienus must necessarily have wrought a change in the condition of the Christians, most essential in itself, and fraught with most important consequences. The important step, which many emperors, more favourable to Christianity than Gallienus, who can hardly have had any peculiar religious interest in the case, had never hazarded, was now made. Christianity had now become a "religio licita;" the Christian Church had now received a legal existence; and many a governor who, in former times, under the then existing laws, would have had no scruples in persecuting the Christians, would now dread laying his hands on a corporate body, constitutionally recognised. This was exactly shown in the case of Lucius Domitius Aurelianus, the next emperor but one to Gallienus, in the year 270. This emperor sprung from the lower orders; and, educated in heathen superstition, had, from the beginning, scarcely any but hostile feelings towards the Christians; for he was not only most fanatically devoted to the eastern worship of the sun, with which he might easily have blended a toleration of many foreign sacra, but he was in every respect a blind supporter of the old heathen worship. The welfare of the state appeared to him to be most intimately connected with the proper performance of the old sacra. When, during the threatening danger of the war with the German tribes, some of the members of the Roman senate had proposed in that body, that, after the old custom, the sybilline books should be opened, and their counsel asked, some of the senators said that there was no need to take refuge there; the power of the emperor was so great, that there was no need to ask counsel of the gods. The matter dropped for this time, and was afterwards again taken up afresh. But the emperor, who might very well have heard of these transactions in the senate, expressed his displeasure, and wrote to these people thus: * "I wonder that you should have hesitated so long to open the

sybilline books, as if you had been consulting in a Christian Church, and not in the temple of all the gods." He called upon them to support him by religious ceremonies of every kind; for it could be no shame to conquer with the help of the gods. He offered to defray all costs incurred by the offering of every kind of victim, and *also to give towards it prisoners from all nations, and thus also, human victims.** We can easily perceive, from these circumstances, that this emperor was not disinclined to shed the blood of Christians to the honour of his gods; and that from the dictates of his own spirit, he would be disposed towards harsh and severe measures. In the first years of his reign, however, he undertook no persecution of the Christians. He even showed by his conduct on one occasion, in the third year of his reign, that he considered the Christian Church as a legally existing corporation; for when a contention having arisen among the Christians of Antioch, who should be the bishop of that place, the Church appealed to the emperor himself, and requested that the bishop, Paulus of Samosata, who had already been displaced on account of his doctrinal opinions, but had hitherto found support in Zenobia, (who was now conquered by Aurelian,) might be *compelled at last* to lay down his office, this emperor decided that *he, whom* the bishop of Rome, his court, recognised, should be the bishop.

It was in the year 275, when he was busied with the warlike preparations in Thrace, that he first determined (probably to show his thankfulness to the gods, who had hitherto, he thought, so favoured him, and to win their further favour,) to banish all his scruples, and to proceed to extremities against the Christians, but he was murdered in a conspiracy before he could carry his plan into execution.†

The Christian Church remained in this state of repose and tranquillity above forty years, and the number of Christians in this interval increased among all classes; but among the multitude of those who

* Flavius Vopisc. c. xx.

† Eusebius says in his Ecclesiastical History, that Aurelianus died at the very time that he was about to publish an edict against the Christians. In the book *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, the story runs, that the edict had been published, but that it could not reach the distant provinces of the empire before the death of the emperor. Other writers make the persecution already begun. The account of Eusebius, who says the least, is by far the most probable, and the other part of the story may have arisen from exaggeration.

* These words seem to convey a suspicion, that there might be some Christians even among the senators themselves, and that they had influenced the deliberations.

embraced Christianity at a time when it required no struggle to be and to remain a Christian, there certainly entered also into the Christian Church many counterfeit Christians, who brought with them heathenish crimes. The outward form of the Christian Church was also changed, in consequence of their greater prosperity, and in the large towns splendid churches succeeded the former modest and simple houses of assembly. The emperor Diocletian, who reigned from the year 284, at first alone, but from the year 286 in conjunction with Maximianus Herculius, showed himself, at least as far as external appearances go, no other than favourable to Christians, for the relations of the persecutions in the earlier years of this emperor's government, are at variance with credible historical documents, and are altogether unworthy of credit. Christians were employed in offices of importance in the imperial court; some were found among the eunuchs and chamberlains (*cubicularii*;) from which, however, we are not entitled to infer that the emperor had any particular partiality for the Christians; for there had been for a long time some Christians among the *Cæsariani*, and if at first only one of these was a Christian, yet he would probably use his influence, as well as that Lucius, who having obtained the confidence of the emperor, was made by him the *Præpositus Cubiculariorum*, to extend Christianity among the people of the court.* These Christians

* Theonas, bishop of Alexandria, who gave this Lucius much excellent advice as to the duties of his office, charges him particularly not to be lifted up and to pride himself, because many in the palace of the prince had been brought to a knowledge of the truth through him, but far rather to give God thanks that He had made him the instrument of a good work. But we cannot here determine with certainty that this emperor was Diocletian. At all events it is quite clear that the emperor, in whose court he was, was no Christian; it is not even clear, that he had any prevailing inclination to Christianity, but only that there were hopes of winning him over to the cause by means of his chamberlain. The Christians, about the court were recommended to use the utmost precaution, not to offend the heathen emperor. If a Christian was appointed librarian, he was to take good care not to show any contempt for worldly knowledge and the old authors; he was to recognise the excellence of the poets, philosophers, orators, and historians of old, taking into consideration the condition under which they lived, but then he was sometimes to take an opportunity of praising the Scriptures, to mention Christ, and by degrees to hint that He is the only true God. *Insurgere poterit Christi mentio, explicabitur paulatim ejus sola divinitas. Omnia hæc cum Chriti*

immediately around the emperor might also have great effect in rendering him favourable to their fellow-believers.

It was always a notion near the heart of the Roman statesman, that the old political glory of the Roman empire was closely dependent on the old state religion, and that the former could never be restored without the latter. As Diocletian, therefore, wished again to renew the former splendour of the Roman empire, it might appear to him necessary for that end, to restore the old religion, which was daily sinking into neglect, and to extirpate the un-Roman religion, which was constantly spreading wider and wider, and which threatened at last to attain an undivided sway in the world. In a later inscription, in which the emperor prides himself on the annihilation of Christianity, the Christians are accused of destroying the state.* In the edict by which Galerius, the instigator of the persecution, afterwards countermanded it, he declares that it had been the intention of the emperors to correct every thing after the old laws and the public constitution of the Roman state.† Persuaded as the emperor was of this, he cannot have been restrained from persecuting the Christians by any just notion of the general rights of man, of the limits of the power of the states in matters of conscience, nor by more just views of the nature of religion. This is proved by the principles which he declares in a law against the sect of the Manichees, A.D. 296, which was especially obnoxious to him on account of its being derived from his enemies the Persians. "The immortal gods," says he,‡ "have, by their providence, ordained and established that which is true and good. Many wise and good men are united in the opinion that this must be maintained without alteration. These we dare not oppose, and no new religion ought to venture to blame the old; for it is an enormous crime to pull down that which our forefathers established, and which has dominion in the

adjutorio provenire possent. Galland. Bibl. Patr. T. iv.

* Christiani, qui rempublicam evertabant.

† Nos quidem volueramus juxta leges veteres et publicam disciplinam Romanorum cuncta corrigere.

‡ This edict, which was known to Hilarius, the author of the Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul, bears every internal mark of genuineness, and one is at a loss to imagine any motive, which should induce either a Christian or a heathen to invent such an edict. The extension of the religion in Africa, which it declares, is not at all a matter of impossibility.

state.”* Must not the principles here professed have made Diocletian an enemy and a persecutor of Christianity?

The grounds, however, on which, (according to the judgment of the book *de Mortibus Persecutorum*) the emperor afterwards opposed his son-in-law on their meeting at Nicomedia, which was just about to take place, might, perhaps, in conjunction with the personal influence of people immediately about him, have withheld him from a persecution of the Christians; namely, that the Christians had now long since become a legally existing religious society, that they were so widely spread, that so much blood would necessarily be shed, that the public tranquillity would immediately be disturbed, and that all former bloodshed had rather had the effect of furthering the progress of Christianity, than of repressing it. Although Diocletian wished to restore the old Roman religion, he would probably never have overcome these objections, had not a more powerful motive carried him on.

The heathen must have seen the season of the downfall of their old temples, and of the dominion of Christianity, which they detested, daily approaching nearer and nearer, and they must have set all their engines to work to obtain this latter determination, (the determination to persecute Christianity.) This last struggle of heathenism against Christianity would necessarily, from the very nature of things, become the most violent and passionate. The heathen party, to which statesmen and priests, and men who aspired to be philosophers, as Hierocles,† belonged, required only a powerful instrument to obtain their ends. They found one in the son-in-law of Diocletian, the emperor Caius Galerius Maximianus. This prince had raised himself, by his military abilities, from a low condition; he had been educated in blind heathen superstition, and was devoted to it, and attached great virtue to sacrifices and auspices. When he made use of these in war, and Christian officers were present, they were accosted, from the persuasion that the heathens in their idols worshipped evil spirits, which seduce men from God, to sign themselves with the cross in order to

ward off the influence of evil spirits, by the presumed supernatural power of this token of Christ's victory over all the empire of evil. The heathen priests also agreed to this notion of the Christians, but on wholly different grounds inasmuch as they said “that the gods were no longer present at the sacrifices, not because they feared the cross, but because this hostile and profane sign was hateful to them;” an argument which they may have used, because they believed it, or perhaps have made use of only as a pretence to excuse auguries and predictions that had failed, and to embitter the emperor still more against the Christians. By these, they said, the good fortune and success of all heathen “sacra” were prevented.*

There had been, till now, many Christians in the army, both in the higher and lower ranks, and they had never been compelled to do any thing against their conscience. This is clearly shown from what Eusebius relates, as well as from a remarkable circumstance which, as we can determine with certainty from the name of the consul given in a narration prepared by eye-witnesses, took place in the year 295.† It is one of the instances of an absolute refusal of a part of the Christians to enter into military service, on the plea that it was, by its very nature, incompatible with their religion; instances which, although their force was weakened by many others on the opposite side of the question, might very easily serve as an argument to the enemies of Christianity, to support their assertion that Christianity was detrimental to a state. At Sevesta, in Numidia, a young man of the name of Maximilian was brought before the proconsul, as bound to serve in the army; as he entered, and was about to be measured, to see if he had the stature required, he declared at once, “I cannot be a soldier. I can do nothing wicked, I am a Christian!” The proconsul, without noticing his protestations, coolly ordered him to be measured, and when he was found to be of the standard height, the proconsul said to him, “Let them put the insignia

* *Neque reprehendi a nova vetus religio debet. Maximi enim, criminis est retractare quæ semel ab antiquis tractata et definita sunt, statum et cursum tenent et possident.*

† Not the author of the Commentary on the Golden Verses.

* *De Mortib. Persecut. c. x.; comp. with Lactant. Institut. iv. c. 27. Constantin. in Euseb. Vit. Const. ii. 50.* [In our own times the Papists at Naples have attributed the delay in the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius to the presence of heretics, i. e. English people.—H. J. R.]

† [This account is found in Ruinart. *Acta Sinc.* p. 299—302. See also Gibbon, ch. xvi. p. 680, 4to ed.—H. J. R.]

of the military service round your neck, and become a soldier;" without taking any further notice of his profession of Christianity. The young man said, "I will bear no such badge, I bear already the badge of Christ, my God." The proconsul, who was an heathen, sarcastically threatened him, "I will send you instantly to your Christ." The young man said, "I hope you may, this would be a glory to me." The proconsul, without further debate, ordered them to put the soldier's leaden badge upon his neck. The young man struggled against this, and answered in the ardour of youthful faith indeed, but with some deficiency of Christian humility and consideration, "I will not take upon me the badge of the world's service; and if it be put upon me, I will break it, for it is unavailing. I cannot bear this leaden token about my neck, after once receiving the saving badge of our Lord Jesus, of whom ye know nothing, who died for us." The proconsul, though a cold heathen statesman, showed, nevertheless, humanity in this instance, by endeavouring to persuade the young man by kind arguments; he himself endeavoured to represent to him, that he might become a soldier without violating his duty as a Christian, that there were Christians, who performed military service without scruples, in the body-guards of all the four emperors, Diocletian, Maximianus Herculius, Constantius Chlorus, and Galerius. As, however, this young man of one-and-twenty years of age would not submit his own conviction to the example of others, he was sentenced to death; yet in his sentence of death,* no notice was taken of his Christianity, and his non-compliance with the duty of military service was alleged as the only ground. This is a clear proof, that the soldiers also might openly profess their Christianity, and that if they would only fulfil their other duties, it would not be expected of them to participate in heathen ceremonies.

But a few years after this occurrence the case was different. Religious and political reasons determined Galerius to banish from the army all those who would not offer sacrifices. An order in the army, that every soldier should offer sacrifices, could easily be procured by him. Possibly the festival of the fifteenth year, the nomination of Maximianus Herculius to the imperial dignity, the "dies natalis

Cæsaris,"* in the year 298, was selected for the purpose of issuing such a command to the army; for this time would be exactly adapted to the purpose, as sacrifices and feasts would be held for the celebration of the festival, in which all the soldiers might be compelled to participate. According to Eusebius, (viii. 4.) many gave up their military rank, both high and low left the service, that they might remain true to their faith. Only a few were sentenced to death; probably only in those cases, where other peculiar circumstances were added, so that they might find occasion, at least in appearance, not merely to cashier them as Christians, but also to punish them under a charge of high treason. Among people, who, in their honest indignation at the suspicion to which they were exposed, were unguarded in their language and other behaviour, it was not difficult to find such occasions, and to represent them, under the military code, as mutineers, deserving of punishment. An instance of this is afforded to us in the case of the centurion, Marcellus, at Tingi, in Africa (now Tangier.)

When the festival in honour of the emperor, after the Pagan custom, was accompanied by sacrifices and banquets, the centurion, Marcellus, stood up from the soldiers' table, and, throwing down his centurion's wand, his belt, and his arms, he declared, "From this moment I cease to serve your emperors as a soldier. I despise praying to your gods of wood and stone, deaf and dumb idols. *If the condition of a soldier requires this, that one must offer sacrifice to the gods and to the emperors*, I throw away my wand and my belt, I renounce the colours, and I am a soldier no more." All was now put together,—that Marcellus had publicly cast away the military insignia, and that he had spoken, before the whole people, much that was injurious to the gods and the emperor,—and he was sentenced to death.

This was the first token of the persecution. Throughout many years, Diocletian could not be prevailed on to do more than this. But when Galerius met his old sick father-in-law, who had al-

* *Eo quod indevoto animo sacramentum militiæ recusaverit, gladio animadverti placuit.*

* [The "dies natalis Cæsaris" was the accession-day. The accession of Diocletian took place A. D. 284, but it is a very disputed point whether Maximianus Herculius was associated with him during that year, or in the year 286. Tillemont. *Hist. des emp.* vol. iv. p. 7, and 595, (2d ed.) decides for the later date, and is followed by Gibbon, ch. xiii.—H. J. R.]

ready designed shortly to lay aside the government, at Nicomedia in Bythynia, in the winter of the year 303, he made use of all his powers of persuasion, backed by many zealous heathens in state offices of importance, to obtain a general persecution against the Christians. At length Diocletian gave way, and a great heathen festival, the *Permiralia*, on the 2d February, was selected as the time for the commencement of operations. With the first dawn of day, the beautiful church of this city was broken into, the copies of the Bible found in it were burnt, the whole church was given up to be plundered, and utterly destroyed. On the following day, an edict to the following effect was posted up:—"The assemblies of the Christians for divine service shall be forbidden, the Christian Churches pulled down, and all copies of the Bible burnt; those who have offices of honour and dignity shall lose them, unless they abjure. In the judicial investigations, the torture may be applied against all Christians, of any rank whatsoever, and the Christians of lower ranks shall lose their rights as citizens and freemen, and Christian slaves, as long as they continue Christians, shall be incapable of receiving their freedom." How far the Christians of lower condition were to lose the enjoyment of their freedom, is certainly here not sufficiently defined, but considerable latitude is left in the application of this edict to individual cases. It is certain from the edict, by which the emperor Constantine afterwards annulled all the consequences of this persecution in the east, that, at times, freeborn Christians were converted into slaves, and sentenced to those kinds of slave-labour, which were at once the lowest and the most despised, and to which they would be the least adapted from their former habits of life.* (See Euseb. Vit. Constant. book ii. ch. 32, &c.)

* In order to understand the meaning of the edict as far as possible, we must compare the two imperfect and inaccurate statements given by Eusebius, H. E. viii. 2, and the writer of *Mortib.* as well as the translation of Rufinus. No positive interdict of assemblies for the worship of God is expressly given in any of these places; but the nature of the case shows that it was tacitly implied in the edict: but it is, moreover clear, from credible and official documents relating to this first time of the persecution in Proconsular Africa, that such an interdict was positively expressed in the edict. The words of Eusebius, which have caused much dispute, are difficult enough: *τις ἐν οἰκίαις ἢ ἐν ἐκκλησίαις τῇ τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ πρέσβεις, ἐκδούλους*

A Christian, of respectable condition, allowed himself to be carried on, by a somewhat inconsiderate zeal, to violate that reverence towards the government, which the Gospel prescribes. He publicly tore down the edict, and tearing it to pieces, cried out, in a sarcastic manner, "Behold, these are new victories over the Goths and Sarmatians, which are posted up! The emperor treats the Christians, his own subjects, no otherwise than if they were the conquered Goths and Sarmatians!" This was a ground which the enemies of Christianity were glad to avail themselves of, that they might condemn him, not as a Christian, but as one who had injured the majesty of the emperor.

This edict must have made a more terrible impression from its having been promulgated in many provinces just about the time of the festival of Easter, and in many districts on the very festival itself.* When they attempted, by burning all the copies of the Bible, to annihilate Christianity, with its sources, forever, they

σπερμιόβηται. By the words *ἐν οἰκίαις* we cannot, according to the common use of language, understand any thing but persons in the condition of servants, slaves. We must, therefore, if we wish to put any reasonable sense on the passage, seek for some other meaning for the word *ἐκδούλους*, than that which first offers itself. The words, "shall be deprived of their freedom," may mean, "shall be put into chains and into prison." Compare above the edict of Valerianus against the *Cæsariani*. But it is safest to follow Rufinus, who may have seen the original of the edict: "*Si quis servorum permansisset Christianus, libertatem consequi non posset.*" If this be correct, the translation of Eusebius is very defective.

* Eusebius and Rufinus set the publication of it in the month of March, which suits perfectly with the time of its publication in the then imperial residence. In Egypt, (which also just suits,) it was published, according to Coptic accounts, on the first Pharmuth, *i. e.* according to Ideler's Tables, the twenty-seventh of March. See Zoëga Catalog. codd. Copt. Romæ, 1810. Fol. 25; or the fragments of the Coptic *Acta Martyrum*, edited by Georgi. Romæ, 1793. *Præfat.* 109, (where Georgi proposes a needless emendation,) and in other places also. But when these Coptic accounts, which are full of fabulous circumstances, make the persecutions follow immediately on the conquest of the Persians, as Diocletian's expression of thanks to the gods for his victory; we must conclude that this is an anachronism, unless the first persecution of the soldiers is confused with this second. The cause assigned by these Coptic accounts for the persecution, namely, that a Christian metropolitan had set free the son of the Persian Sapor, who had been entrusted to him as an hostage, can hardly in any way be reconciled to what we know of history.

certainly made choice of a means which was more efficacious than the extirpation of the living witnesses of the faith among mankind; for their example only excited a greater number of followers. On the contrary, if they could succeed in annihilating all the copies of the Bible, they would by that means have suppressed the *very source* from which true Christianity and the life of the Church had constantly risen up, afresh and unconquerable. Let them execute as many preachers of the Gospel, bishops and clergy, as they would; nothing was done as long as this book, which could always form new teachers, remained to the Christians. Considered in itself, indeed, the transmission of Christianity was not necessarily dependent on the letter of Holy Writ. Inscribed, not in tables of stone, but in the living tablet of the heart, the Divine doctrine, once established in the consciences of men, by its own Divine power might maintain its ground, and make further progress; but as human nature is at present constituted, the testimony of history declares, that Christianity, separated from its source, the word of God, from which it may always be recalled to its purity, would soon be overwhelmed by the mixture of falsehood and corruption, and become so disguised, as not to be recognised. This means, therefore, after the laws of human calculation, was well chosen; if only the wilfulness of man could have defied the almighty power of God, who wished to preserve the treasure of the Holy Word as the best possession of man, and could have brought its deep-laid schemes to effect. But how could it ever be imagined possible, according to the usual rules of human calculation, to find and to annihilate, by human power, all the copies of the Scriptures, which were not only deposited in the churches, but were also in existence in so many private houses? We here trace that blind policy which the empire of lies always makes use of, while it expects that nothing can escape its search, and that it can annihilate by fire and sword, what is protected by a higher power! The blind zeal for the support of the old religion went so far in many cases, that the heathen would willingly see many of the most glorious monuments of their own literature perish with the writings of the Christians, those at least in which a testimony was raised against the superstition of the popular re-

ligion, which were constantly used by the Christians in their controversy against heathenism; and they would gladly have drawn up a whole index "*Librorum prohibitorum,*" and "*expurgandorum.*"* One is immediately led to suppose, that where people of this description, or those who would gladly earn imperial favour by doing too much rather than too little, were commonly to be found among the governors and magistrates of provinces; many acts of violence and cruelty must have been committed against the Christians, by the fulfilment of that first edict, in which the delivering up of the Holy Scriptures and the discontinuance of congregations were commanded, and especially since by this edict Christians of all classes were subject to judicial investigations with the use of tortures.

But many magistrates, who were free from this fanaticism, and this spirit of base flattery, which was ready to sacrifice all higher objects, and who had more humane feelings, endeavoured, as far as possible, to soften the rigour of these measures, and acted with as much lukewarmness as they could without openly violating the imperial edict. They either suffered themselves to be deceived by the Christians, or put the means into their hands of evading the edict, and fulfilling it only in appearance. Bishop Mensurius, of Carthage, used the precaution to bring all the copies of the Scriptures from the churches of Carthage to his own house, to preserve them there, while he left in the churches only the writings of heretics. When the inquisitors came, they took these writings and went away satisfied. They were assuredly religious writings of the Christians, and in the edict nothing was said of what holy writings, and of what party among the Christians it meant to speak. But some senators of Carthage discovered the imposition to Annulinus, the proconsul, and required him to institute a search in the house of the bishop, where he would find all the

* Arnobius, who wrote exactly about this time, says in book iii. ch. iv.: "Not a few abhorred the work of Cicero de Natura Deorum, and could not prevail on themselves to read a book, which contradicted their ancient prejudices." Others said, in the greatest indignation, that a "*Senatus-consultum*" ought to be published, that those writings might be annihilated, by which Christianity was confirmed, and the authority of antiquity was undermined. "*Aboleantur ut hæc scripta, quibus Christiana religio comprobetur, et vetustatis operimatur auctoritas.*"

writings. But the proconsul,* who was willing to be deceived, would not comply with this request. When Secundus, another Numidian bishop, refused to deliver up the holy writings, the inquisitors asked him why he could not deliver up some useless extracts, or at least give them something, any thing he pleased.† With the same intention, probably, must the legate of the proconsul have asked the Numidian bishop Felix, as he did more than once, “Why, then, do you not give up your superfluous writings?”‡ So also in the case of Felix, the African bishop, when the Præfectus prætori asked him, “Why dost thou not deliver up the holy writings? or perhaps, thou hast none:” it is evident enough that he meant to put the latter assertion into his mouth.§

In the conduct of the Christians at this critical time, we find the opposite results which, under such circumstances, the different inclinations and imperfections of human nature are apt to bring about: some, in the dread of martyrdom and death, gave up their copies of the Bible, which were then burned in the public market-place; these men were excommunicated under the name of traditores: others—of which we find examples more particularly in North Africa, where an enthusiastic disposition was natural to the people—without any necessity, but in a blind zeal, into the composition of which something of earthly warmth entered, gave themselves up to death by declaring that they were Christians, that they had holy writings in their possession, but that nothing should induce them to give them up; or else they rejected with scorn the means of evasion proffered by governors of humane feelings: in this latter case, we ought to give high honour to a tender conscientiousness, which did not act thus out of a delusive enthusiasm to become martyrs, but because they held it unchristian to deceive in this manner, or because it appeared to them a tacit denial of the faith, if they delivered up these writings to the heathen, and allowed them to think that these were the Holy Scriptures of the

Christians. Others believed it to be their duty to remain true to their faith with the simplicity of doves, and with Christian prudence to accommodate themselves to the times. They used every precaution which was not incompatible with the profession of Christianity, to save from danger their own lives, and at the same time, the copies of the Scriptures; and in order to divert the jealousy of the heathen, they endeavoured to temper the violent zeal of their brethren. It was likely enough that these men should be condemned by the other party, as men with whom the fear of man and human considerations had too much weight, and as cowardly traitors to the faith—a feeling which proved in after days the source of many convulsing struggles in the North African Church. The prudence, however, of this party in the Church, at least had this advantage, that it withdrew from the fanatical fury of the people many copies of the Bible, which otherwise would have been a prey to the flames.

We shall now, as we have before done, consider some individual traits of Christian faith and courage, as they are told in credible accounts. In a country town of Numidia, a body of Christians, among whom was a boy of very tender age, were seized in the house of a reader, where they were assembled for Scriptural instruction, and for the celebration of the communion. They were led away to Carthage to the tribunal of the proconsul, singing on the road songs of praise to God. Torture was employed on the greater part of these, in order to wring an avowal from all. In the midst of his torments one of them cried out, “Ye sin, unhappy men, ye sin, ye punish the innocent, we are no murderers, we have deceived no man; God have mercy on thee. I thank thee, God! and give me strength to suffer for thy name! Free thy servant from the slavery of this world, I thank thee, and yet I am unable to thank thee.* To the glory of God! I thank the God of the kingdom. The eternal, the incorruptible kingdom is at hand: oh! Lord Christ, we are Christians, we are thy servants, Thou art our hope!” On his praying thus, the proconsul said to him, “You ought to have obeyed the imperial edict;” and he answered with a spirit full of power, though his body was weak and exhausted, “I now revere only the law of God which I

* Augustin. brevicul. collat. c. Donatist. d. iii. c. 13. Optat. Milev. ed. du. Pin. p. 174, [vol. i. p. 183, ed. Oberthur.—H. J. R.]

† Aliqua ex illis aut quodcumque.

‡ “Quare Scripturas non tradis supervacuas?” is, perhaps, intentionally ambiguous, so that the words might be understood to mean that the Christian writings in general were something useless.

§ See the Acta Felicis in Ruinart.

* [“Zur Herrlichkeit.”—NEANDER. Ad gloriam. Act. Sat.]

have learnt. For this law will I die, in this law do I become perfect, and besides it there is no other." Another, in the midst of the torture, prayed thus: "Help me, O Christ! I pray Thee, have pity on me; keep my soul, preserve my spirit, that I may not be brought to confusion. O give me strength to suffer." To the reader in whose house the assemblages had taken place, the proconsul said, "You ought not to have received them." He replied, "I could not decline to receive my brethren." The proconsul: "But the imperial edict ought to have outweighed these considerations." The reader: "God is more than the emperor." The proconsul: "Have you then Holy Scriptures in your house?" The martyr: "Yes, I have them, but it is in my heart." There was among the prisoners a girl named Victoria, whose father and brother were still heathens. Her brother, Fortunatianus, took care to be present to move her to an abjuration, and thus obtain her freedom. When she steadfastly avowed that she was a Christian, her brother gave out that she was of unsound mind; but she declared, "It is my firm and steadfast conviction, I have never changed." When the proconsul asked her whether she would go with her brother, she said, "No, for I am a Christian, and they are my brethren who obey God's commands." The proconsul thought that he should easily frighten the boy Hilarianus by threats alone, but even in this boy the power of God showed that it was mighty. "Do what you will," he said, "I am a Christian."*

When the persecution had once begun, it was impossible to stop halfway. If these measures failed, they must go further. The first step towards attacking the Christians was the most difficult to make, the second followed quickly upon it. There were also now many additional circumstances of a peculiar nature, which cast a disadvantageous light on Christianity, or at least, might be made use of to do so. A fire having broken out in the imperial palace at Nicomedia, it was natural enough that this circumstance

should have been attributed to the revengeful spirit of the Christians, and the accusation might have still been true, without attaching any general disgrace to the whole Christian Church. Among so numerous a body as the Christians, there might very likely be many who allowed themselves to be carried away by passion, which they would palliate under the semblance of religion, so far as to forget what manner of spirit they ought to be of as disciples of Christ. It is certain, however, that they were unable to prove any thing of the sort against the Christians. The impassioned author of the work on the judgments which befel the persecutors, says, that Galerius himself caused the fire, in order to be able to accuse the Christians of the crime; but his authority is insufficient to render this credible. Constantine attributed the fire to lightning, and sees in it a judgment of God. The truth is, as Eusebius justly confesses, that we do not know the real cause; it was enough that the Christians were accused of a conspiracy against the emperor, and that many of them were arrested without any distinction as to whom suspicion could attach to or not. Most terrible tortures were used in order to obtain a confession, but to no purpose. Many were burnt, beheaded or drowned. It is true that fourteen days after, a second fire broke out, which was very soon extinguished, and that this may make it more probable that the first was intentional.*

Seditions, which soon after arose in Armenia and Syria, again excited political jealousy towards the Christians; to this the clergy would, of course, as the heads of the party, be more especially obnoxious, and hence, under this pretence, an imperial edict was issued, "that all the clergy should be seized and put into chains;" the consequence of which was that the prisons were soon filled with clergy. Many circumstances conspire to show how ready men were to charge the Christians with political crimes; and on the other hand, they did not use all the precautions they might have done to avoid pretences for such charges as men wished to lay against them. A young Egyptian, when the Roman proconsul, at

* The sources from which these accounts are derived are the "Acta Saturnini Dativi et aliorum in Africa." See Baluz. Miscell. vol. ii., and Ruinart, and du Pin, in the collection above quoted. These writings have not descended to us in their simple, original state, but with a preface, interspersed remarks, and a conclusion, which were the work of some Donatist; but it is clear that the groundwork of the whole is the "Acta Proconsularia."

* Lactantius de Mortib. relates this circumstance, but no other writer mentions it. But Lactantius, who was probably resident in Nicodemia, would know these things more circumstantially than any one besides. But it is quite possible, we admit, that he should have been deceived by some report then prevalent in the city.

Cæsarea in Palestine, where he was arrested, inquired, "What was his country?" answered: "Jerusalem, which is where the sun rises, the land of the pious." The Roman, who probably scarcely knew of the existence of the earthly Jerusalem, unless perchance he knew it by its Roman name *Ælia Capitolina*, and who knew still less about the heavenly Jerusalem, imagined nothing else than that the Christians had founded a town some where in the east, from which they meant to raise a sedition. The thing seemed to him of great importance, and accordingly he set on foot many inquiries, accompanied by the use of torture.* A priest of the name of Procopius, of Palestine, on being required to offer sacrifices, declared that he acknowledged only one God, to whom we must bring such sacrifices as he commands. When on this they required him to offer his libation to the four rulers of the state, the two Augusti and the two Cæsars, he replied, merely to show that men must worship only one God as Lord, by the Homeric verse, *οὐκ ἀγαθόν πολυκοιρανίῃ*, &c. It appears, however, to have been taken up in a political sense, and to have been construed into a crime, as a calumny on the reigning tetrarchy.†

When the prisons were thus filled with Christian clergy, a new edict appeared, ordering that those among the prisoners who offered sacrifice should be set free, and the rest compelled by all means to sacrifice. And at last, in the year 304, appeared the fourth and most severe edict, which made the same regulation in regard to all Christians.‡ In the towns, in which the edict was carried into effect in all its rigour, it was proclaimed through all the streets, that all the men, women, and children should repair to the temples. Lists were formed, and they were called over by name; all were carefully examined at the town gates, and those who were known as Christians were detained. In Alexandria even the heathens themselves hid the persecuted Christians in their houses, and many would rather sacrifice their property and their freedom than betray those who had taken refuge with them.§ The punishment of death was not expressly pronounced against the Christians, but an edict which proclaimed that the Christians *should be compelled* by every means to offer sacrifice, was

surely more calculated than a merely unconditional death warrant against all confessors of the faith, to render them the victims of all the cruelty which the fanaticism of a governor, or his adulation of the emperor, might tempt him to inflict. Every one was perfectly aware that, let him go as far as he would against the Christians, he incurred no responsibility by it. The persecutors already believed, in their blindness, that they were able to triumph over Christianity and suppress it; already in inscriptions the titles of honour of the emperors were augmented by the annihilation of Christianity and the restoration of the worship of the gods: "*amplificato per orientem et occidentem imperio Romano, et nomine Christianorum deleto, qui rempublicam evertebant. Superstitione Christiana ubique deleta et cultu Deorum propagato.*" At the very time, however, at which they were indulging in these feelings of triumph, the circumstances were already prepared by Providence, from which an entire change in the condition of the Christians was about to result.

One of the four rulers, Constantius Chlorus, to whom, under the title of Cæsar, the dominion of Gaul, Britain, and Spain was assigned, from his kind and humane character was not disposed to persecution. Hence, although not decidedly a Christian, he was yet avowedly a friend to Christianity and to Christians. We may suppose that he really, as Eusebius says, acknowledged the futility of heathenism, and was a thorough Monotheist, without being a Christian, or that, like Alexander Severus, he was an eclectic in his religion, which is more probable. To those around him, who proved themselves true to their faith as Christians, he showed especial regard, and placed great confidence in them; for he used to say, "that he who was untrue to his God would be far less likely to be true to his prince;" although the anecdote which Eusebius relates of his method of trying their faith does not appear probable. As he could not exactly show himself, in his character of Cæsar, disobedient to the edict issued by the Augusti, he had some churches pulled down for the sake of appearances. In Gaul, where he himself usually resided, the Christians enjoyed perfect repose and freedom in the midst of their persecutions in other provinces.* In Spain he might

* Euseb. de Martyribus Palestine, c. xi.

† Ibid. c. i.

‡ Ibid. c. iii.

§ Athanasii Hist. Arianor. ad Monachos, § 64.

* This is stated by the writer De Mortib. Persecutor. c. 16; and in a letter of the Donatists to the emperor Constantinus, in which they begged for

not be able to effect as much, but certainly in none of his provinces was there a persecution of the same character as those in other districts. This prince, so favourable to the Christians, was nevertheless able to serve them more effectually, when on the resignation of Diocletian and Herculus, in the year 305, he was raised from the dignity of Cæsar to that of Augustus, in conjunction with Galerius.

But, on the other hand, there entered into the number of the Cæsars a person whose blind heathenish superstition and cruelty were in perfect keeping with the character of Galerius, who chose him as Cæsar; namely, Caius Galerius Valerius Maximinus. It was naturally to be expected that in the provinces assigned to him in Syria, and the adjoining parts of the Roman empire, and in Egypt, the persecutions should be renewed with fresh vigour. At times, however, men became weary of their own violence, and as their efforts proved unavailing, the execution of the imperial edict slackened of itself, the persecution slumbered, and the Christians began to enjoy a little repose; but when their enemies perceived that they had taken breath again, their anger arose afresh, because they felt that they had been unable to extinguish Christianity, and again set up heathenism, and then a new and more violent storm arose. Thus, after much bloodshed in the dominions of Maximinus, after his accession to the throne, a season of tranquillity, about the eighth year of the persecution, A. D. 308, arose for the Christians. Those condemned to labour in the mines began to experience milder treatment and more consideration. But again, on a sudden, the storm of persecution broke out, and startled the Christians from their temporary repose. A new and more strict imperial edict was issued to all the officers of government, from the highest to the lowest, both in the civil and the military service, requiring that the fallen temples of idolatrous worship should be restored, and that all free men and women, all slaves, and even little children, should be compelled to offer sacrifice, and eat the meats offered to idols. All the eatables exposed in the markets were to be sprinkled with water or with wine, which had been used in sacrifice, in order to force the Christians into contact with idolatry in their food. So far did despotism and fanaticism

go! New bloodshed and new tortures were the consequence.

Then again, a cessation took place till the beginning of the year 319. The Christians in the mines were enabled to assemble for the worship of God; but when the governor of the province, on coming thither once, had observed this, he made a report of it to the emperor. The prisoners were on this separated from one another, and compelled to more severe labour. Nine-and-thirty confessors, who after enduring a great deal, had obtained a respite from persecution, were at once beheaded. This was the last blood which was spilled in this persecution, while in the western countries the Christians had already earlier obtained repose.

The exciter of the persecution himself, the emperor Galerius, was softened by a severe and painful illness, the consequence of his debaucheries, and perhaps, he may have thought that, after all, the God of the Christians might be a powerful being whose anger had punished him, and whom he was bound to appease. It might also strike him that all his sanguinary measures had failed in injuring the cause of Christianity. In the year 311, the remarkable edict appeared, by which this last sanguinary struggle of the Christian Church was ended in the Roman empire.

It was declared that the purpose of the emperors had been, to recall the Christians to the religion of their fathers; for in deserting this religion they had, according to their own fancies, created to themselves peculiar laws, and founded various sects. This is the reproach which was commonly made to Christians: See! ever since you have departed from the unity of the old traditional religion and the authority of our ancestors, you have completely followed your own devices, one innovation rising up after another, and hence comes that great variety of sects among you.* As, however, most of the Christians were now obstinately fixed in their opinions, and it was clearly perceived, that they could not honour their own God, and yet at the same time pay due homage to the gods, so the emperors

Gallic bishops as judges, on that very account. Optat. Milevit. de Schismate Donatistar. l. i. c. 22.

* The Latin words are: "Siquidem quadam, ratione tanta eosdem Christianos voluntas (such caprice, ἰσχυροβροχία) invasisset et tanta stultitia occupasset, ut non illa veterum instituta sequerentur, quæ forsitan primi parentes eorundem constituerant; sed pro arbitrio suo atque ut hisdem erat libitum, ita sabinet leges facerent, quas observarent et per diversa varios populos congregarent." Compare the objection in Clemens Alexandr. Stromat. vii. 753. [Sylb. p. 320. Potter p. 866.]

wished to extend to them accustomed mercy, so that they might again be Christians, and hold their assemblies, but only on the condition that they abstain from contravening the discipline of the Roman state (ita ut ne quid contra disciplinam agant.)* "They must also, after this clemency experienced at our hands, pray to their God for our prosperity, the prosperity of the state and their own, that the state may remain well maintained in all respects, and they may live quiet in their homes."

Now that we have considered the attack of mere external power on the Christian Church, we shall give a glance at those who opposed Christianity by their writings, men who often at the very time that Christianity was suffering from the arm of temporal power, attacked it on grounds which, though they were only objections in appearance, might be sufficient to blind the natural man, and with all the weapons which ridicule and sophistical acuteness could supply them.

SECTION I.—PART II.

The opposition which Christianity met with from Heathen Writings.

THE hostile sentiments of the heathens towards Christianity were different, according to the difference of their philosophical and religious views. There entered then upon the contest the two classes of men, from two opposite points, who have never since ceased to combat *the pure Gospel*. These were the superstitious, to whom the honouring God in spirit and in truth was a stumblingstone, and the light-minded unbeliever, who, unacquainted with all feelings of religious wants, was accustomed to laugh and to mock at every thing which proceeded from such feelings, whether rightly directed or mistaken, and at all which supposed such feelings and proposed to satisfy them. Such was Lucian. To him Christianity, like every other remarkable religious phenomenon, appeared only as a fit object for his sarcastic wit. Without giving himself the trouble to examine and to discriminate, he threw Christianity, superstition, and fanaticism into the same class. It is enough, in any system which lays deep hold on man's nature, to find out some side open to ridicule, if a man brings forward only that which is external in the system, abstracted from all its inward soul and meaning, and without either understanding or attempting to understand this soul and meaning. Can the richest wine escape receiving some taste from the impure vessels into which it is poured? How then shall the spiritual and godly influ-

ence, which strives to form the heart of man, not mingle itself, before it has fully effected its work, with some earthly failings, and thence exhibit some strange excrescences. When Christianity first attempted to act on human nature, as the new principle of life, to attract man's heart with a magnetic force, and set all its powers in motion and ferment, we must expect to find that, before all had been brought into harmonious union, the existing tranquillity could not be destroyed without creating some jarring and discord.

He, therefore, who looked on Christianity with cold indifference, and the profane every day feelings of worldly prudence, might easily here and there find objects for his satire. The Christian might, indeed, have profited by that ridicule, and have learned from the children of darkness to join the wisdom of the serpent with the meekness of the dove. In the end the scoffer brings himself to derision, because he ventures to pass sentence on the phenomena of a world, of which he has not the slightest conception, and which to his eyes, buried as they are in the films of the earth, is entirely closed.

Such was Lucian. He sought to bring forward all that is striking and remarkable in the external conduct and circumstances of Christians, which might serve for the object of his sarcastic raillery, without any deeper inquiry as to what the religion of the Christians really was. And yet even in that at which he scoffed, there was much which might have taught him to remark in Christianity no common

* The emperor had apparently expressed himself more distinctly on this point in a rescript which has not been preserved.

power over the hearts of men, had he been capable of such serious impressions. The firm hope of eternal life, which taught them to meet death with tranquillity, their brotherly love one towards another, might have indicated to him some higher spirit which animated these men; but instead of this he treats it all as delusion, because many gave themselves up to death with something like fanatical enthusiasm. He scoffs at the notion of a crucified man having taught them to regard each other as brethren, the moment they should have abjured the gods of Greece; as if it were not just the most remarkable part of all this, that an obscure person in Jerusalem, who was deserted by every one, and executed as a criminal, should be able, a good century after his death, to cause such effects as Lucian, in his own time, saw extending in all directions, and in spite of every kind of persecution. How blinded must he have been to pass thus lightly over such a phenomenon! But men of his ready wit are apt to exert it with too great readiness on all subjects. They are able to illustrate every thing out of nothing; with their miserable "nil admirari," they can close their heart against all lofty impressions. With all his wit and keenness, with all his undeniably fine powers of observation in all that has no concern with the deeper impulses of man's spirit, he was a man of very little mind. But hear his own language:* "The wretched people have persuaded themselves that they are altogether immortal,† and will live forever; therefore they despise death, and many of them meet it of their own accord. Their first lawgiver‡ has persuaded them also to regard one another as brethren, as soon as they have abjured the Grecian gods, and honouring their crucified Master, have begun to live according to his laws. They despise every thing heathen equally, and regard all but their own notions as profaneness, while they have yet embraced

those notions without sufficient examination." He has no further accusation to make against them here, except the ease with which they allowed their benevolence towards their fellow-Christians to be abused by impostors, in which there may be much truth, (see below in the Third Section,) but there is, nevertheless, some exaggeration.

As for the self-righteous Stoics, the advocates of cold tranquillity, of an apathy founded on philosophical persuasion, they saw, as we have already observed in the case of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, in the religion of the people, nothing but blind fanaticism, because the influence which it exerted over man's spirit did not repose on philosophical grounds of demonstration and argument. Arrian, in his *Diatribes*, (B. iv. c. 7,) inquires "whether a man could not, by the inquiries of reason into the laws and order of the world, obtain *that* fearlessness which the Galileans attained by habit and by mad enthusiasm."

The Platonists were the nearest of all philosophers to Christianity, and they might find in their religious notions and their psychology many points of union with Christianity. Hence it happened that many of the early teachers of the Church had been prepared by the religious idealism of Platonism for Christianity, as a spiritual religion, and used their philosophical education afterwards in its service. But it was only natural that many, deeply rooted in their philosophical and religious system, (which they considered perfect and finished once for all,) should struggle the more eagerly against the new doctrines of Christianity, because in what they once possessed they had the complete advantage over the rest of the heathens. It would be a bitter draught to them to drink the waters of humility and self-denial, as they must have done, had they consented to form their habits of thought on a revelation given as a matter of history. But there were besides decided differences in their habits of thought and those which the Gospel requires. They must renounce their superiority in religion, and unite themselves with the multitude,* whom they despised, in *one faith*, and they must limit their love of speculation by the definite facts of a revelation! They must find pure truth in one only religion, and give up their fanciful heathenism, open as it was to specu-

* De morte Peregrini.

† He is passing a sarcasm on the doctrine of the resurrection, which, when St. Paul brought it forward at Athens, had met with the same reception.

‡ We must here understand Christ, if we judge from the context, and not St. Paul, for we never find Lucian distinguishing two different founders of Christianity from each other, and indeed, it was impossible that with so superficial a view as his, he should make any such distinction. And here, too, he appears to be thinking of the exhortations of Christ to his disciples to love each other, of which he was likely to have heard.

*The πολλοί, the ὄχλος.

lation, and decked with all the graces of poetry and rhetoric! and exchange an imaginative polytheism for a dry and empty monotheism! Uninstructed Jews must become more to them than their godlike Plato! Instead of the God of their contemplative conception, their *δὲ*, from forth of which all existence eternally flows by a necessity, agreeably to the dictates of the Reason, from the highest world of spirits down to the very lowest *ἀν*, that bounds all the varied developments of life, and stands on the extreme limit between existence and non-existence—instead of this god of their speculative conception [speculativer Begriffs-Gott] they were to recognise a personal God, who created all things from nothing, by the act of his own freewill, and who guides all things independently by his free providence, which looks not on the vast whole alone, but on each individual portion of it. The multitude, who are unable to raise themselves to abstract speculation, might have a god so human, but for a philosopher to take up with a god of the people! This consideration shows us plainly, that while the Platonists were attracted by many motives to the love of Christianity, on the other hand there were many feelings which stirred them up to bitter enmity *against a religion* which subjected them to humiliations, so opposite to all their habits of thought.

The first, who regularly took it on himself to write against Christianity, was Celsus, and most probably about the time that Marcus Aurelius persecuted Christianity with fire and sword. He gave his work the presumptuous title of “the Word of Truth,” (*Λόγος Ἀληθῆς*.) It is the more requisite to enter at some length upon the character, the views, and the mode of argument of this person, because, in several respects, we find that he was the forerunner of antagonists of Christianity in general, or at least, of many of its peculiar doctrines, and that his spirit and notions have often made their appearance again; and lastly, because it is often shown with great clearness by his case, what appearance evangelical truth assumes in the eyes of the natural man, and how, in his judgment upon it, he makes his own blindness and poverty conspicuous.

Much doubt exists, in the first place, as to the person who goes under the name of Celsus. Origen, who wrote against him, goes on the supposition that he may

have been Celsus the Epicurean, who lived in the reign of the Antonines, and was known as the friend of Lucian. But Origen had avowedly no other grounds for this supposition than the *sameness of the name*; and this, even supposing every thing to lead to the conclusion that the book really was written in the time of that Celsus, would be but a very weak argument, unless some proof of a conformity of views between this book and that Celsus could be established. It is of great importance to ascertain this point.

Lucian dedicated the Life of the Magician Alexander to this Celsus, which he wrote at his request. This suits well with the character of the Celsus who wrote against Christianity—for he too paid great attention to all the exhibitions of enchanters of that period,* in order to be able, as such men always do, to class together the operations of a higher power, and the reveries of fanaticism, without any examination of their internal evidence. He might, therefore, to obtain materials for this comparison, and to use it in his zeal for the propagation of his would-be illumination of the world, wish to know more of this Alexander. The first Celsus had written a book against magic, which Lucian l. c. § 21, praises highly, and which was also known to Origen. The other Celsus expresses himself in more ways than one on the subject of magic. In Book i. p. 54, he says, after citing some miracles of our Saviour, “Well, then, let us grant that thou hast really performed these things!” He then proceeds to compare these miracles with the works of enchanters, who pledge themselves to the performance of far more extraordinary feats, with the supernatural power of which the Egyptians would give a proof in the market-places for a few halfpence, such as exorcising evil spirits, charming away diseases, calling up the spirits of heroes, raising by enchantment splendid meals, and setting the most dead substance in motion, like a living thing. “Shall we, for the sake of these things, consider them as sons of God, or shall we say that they are the tricks of wretched and contemptible men?” In this passage, there is no trace of a belief in magic, as Origen imagined—for the language is not serious, but, as

* See the long passage, Lib. 348, ed. Hoerschel, where he ventures to place the prophets of the Old Testament (as well as Christ himself, in other passages) in the same class.

it often happens in Celsus, entirely sarcastic. He considers it all as mere trickery, by which the credulity of the multitude is easily imposed upon. For he had before doubted generally of the truth of the miracles of Jesus, without assigning any grounds for his disbelief. Where he sneeringly compares the endowments of animals with those of men, he says, among other things, "If men value themselves on their skill in magic, let them recollect that serpents and eagles have far more skill than they, and are more expert at miraculous cures," &c. Book iii. p. 226, [p. 221. ed. Spencer.] Now this, as Origen remarks, is as if Celsus was inclined to laugh at magic altogether. Nevertheless, when he brings forward the opinion of Dionysius, an Egyptian musician, (apparently with approbation,) that magic has no power over philosophers, but only over uneducated and corrupted persons, he appears to speak seriously. "It is the opinion of the *Platonists* of this day," says he "that the magical operations of the higher powers of nature and demonical agency, which, according to their doctrine, belong to the empire of blind nature, the region of *ἄλῃ*, have influence over those only who also belong to this department, and not over those who have raised themselves up to the Divine Being, which is exalted far above all the powers of nature."* Lucian praises Celsus for mildness and moderation—qualities of which we find no trace in his writings, from which he would rather appear a violent and passionate man. One feels, however, that Lucian's judgment of his friend may be a just one; for persons of a character whose tranquillity is not easily broken and disturbed, are often the most strongly excited when any thing opposes them, which not being reducible to the measure of common every day things, creates an excitement, which they cannot comprehend, in the hearts of men.

It is not the opinion of Origen alone, that Celsus was an Epicurean, but Lucian also calls him a zealous admirer of Epicurus. There is, however, but little in the work against Christianity, which wears even the appearance of an Epicurean habit of thought; and even this little, when accurately weighed, contains in it much that is irreconcilable with Epicurism. This was remarked by Origen, and somewhat staggered him in the notion that this

Celsus was the author of the work. He offers three hypotheses, B. iii. p. 206. [?] between which people must decide on the subject: first, that the same person chose to conceal his real opinions, in order to oppose Christianity with more effect, because as an Epicurean, the partisans of all religions would be against him; secondly, that the Epicurean Celsus changed his opinions; or lastly, that it was a different Celsus who wrote the work. The first supposition is hardly natural, and the second quite gratuitous. It is, however, difficult to collect any connected system out of the writings of Celsus; for many contradictory opinions are maintained in them, and he himself appears in general, not as a serious and deep thinker, but as one whom the spirit of controversy drove to express much which he did not really mean; he often expresses himself sarcastically on things of serious import; and we find the same contradiction in him, which was common in his time, namely, that he sometimes played the enlightened philosopher, and at other times he maintained the old religion in downright earnest. It is, however, with all this, still undeniable, *that he has appropriated to himself many of the ideas of the then prevailing Platonic philosophy*; and yet it is certain, that he must not be confounded with the deeper school of Platonism. Among the notions he borrowed from Platonism, we must reckon that *of the soul's relation to God*, (p. 8.) Some representations, however, of a higher power, which slumbers in the souls of animals, and sometimes beams through them, (p. 223,) though somewhat opposite in expression, do not contradict this; for the Platonists themselves say of many of the old philosophers, especially Pythagoras, that they understood the language of animals. Again, he speaks of *the Supreme Existence*, (*ἰν*) which nothing but the contemplation of the philosopher can reach, (371—374;) *of the world, as the Son of the Supreme God*, a *Θεὸς δευτερός*, or *Θεὸς γυναικός*, and in this he shows his ignorance of Christianity, for he charges the Christians with having borrowed this notion from the Platonists, and applied it to Christ. Undoubtedly, in other passages, he confuses God and the world, (p. 18, 240,) and he does not always preserve the distinction between *Θεὸς πᾶντος* and *Θεὸς δευτερός*. Again, we find the notions of *the stars as Divine beings*, *ζῶα, θεοὶ φανεροί*, (240,) of subordinate divinities in individual portions of

* To the ἀγνοῦντες.

the earth and of nature, the popular gods, to which we must be subject as long as we belong to this earth, and to which we must show becoming reverence; and again the idea, that the *only imperishable portion of man's nature, his spirit, is derived immediately from the divinity* (205;) the idea of an *ὕλη*, which resists the divine formative principle, and is the source of evil; the notion that evil is necessary in this world, (426;) and that of evil spirits, who *springing forth from the ὕλη*, oppose the Divine Being, (313.) The popular creed, interlarded with some such scraps of Platonic notions as these, brought forward with an air of the greatest pretension,—this was what Celsus opposed to that spirit, which animated and cheered the Christians even in the sight of death!

The charges which he brings against the Christians are full of contradictions. On the one hand he reproaches them with a blind belief,* which despises all examination; that they have, as a watchword, forever in their mouths the phrase;† “Believe and you shall become blessed:” and that to all difficulties which are offered for their consideration, they reply that “With God all is possible;” for the idea of a self-satisfying faith, differing from the mythology of the people, as well as from a religion of philosophical dogmas, and independent of speculation, was utterly strange to the heathens, and he was unable to distinguish between faith and superstition. On the other hand he objected to the number of their sects: “If all men should become Christians,” he says, “they would soon cease to be so again. For at first when there were few of them, they all agreed; but now that they have become numerous, they separate from one another: every man wishes to found a new sect, and they agree now only in name.”‡ And yet it was hardly consistent with the character of a religion, which required only a blind belief, to introduce so many various habits of thinking, and by consequence so many various sects. A blind faith, founded only on authority, would require uniformity of views and of the whole spiritual life. Whence then

came all this variety, and these opposite developments of spiritual feelings? Had not Celsus been so superficial an observer, this contradiction must have struck him, and the attempt to solve the difficulty for himself, would have led him to the consideration of that which distinguishes Christianity from all former religious appearances.

Celsus knew that there were various sects among the Christians, but he did not give himself the trouble, as an honest inquirer after the truth would have done, to separate them from one another. He had read much of the Scriptures, but in such a temper, as necessarily rendered him incapable of understanding their divine doctrines, because he sought in them only objects of ridicule and reprobation. He had classed the Christian sects together without discrimination, and he did the same with their writings; he set apocryphal and genuine just on the same footing. All was received with open arms by him, which could represent Christianity in a hateful point of view, and was gathered from such opposite quarters, as the fanciful dreams of the Gnostics, and the more sensuous notions of the Anthropomorphizing Chiliasts.

He sometimes reproaches them with having nothing which is to be found in all other religions;—no temples, no images, no altars; then again he calls them a miserable race of sense-bound, sense-loving people, who could recognise nothing but that which can be comprehended by the senses.* Under this point of view he declaims against them on the necessity of excluding and rejecting all sensuous notions, in order to contemplate God with the eye of the spirit. Now surely the inquiry might have struck him. How came these men, who are so completely dependent on sensuous representations, to arrive at so spiritual a worship of God? If he had asked himself this question, in answering it he must have traced the power of *that leaven*, which leavens man's nature *from within*; he would have seen in that covering of a sensible form, in which alone Christianity can at first enter the heart, the inward and higher spirit, which by degrees enlightens and ennobles this outward covering: he would have found that these despised and apparently sense-bound Christians had some higher views and feelings, some *higher principle of life*, than all his fine-sounding phrases

* The πιστις ἄλογος.

† Just as the celebrated physician Galen, who lived about this time and a little later, and who, although a man of nobler and more profound mind than Celsus, had no perception of how the birth of the spirit is, made their λόγους ἀναπνευστικὸς a subject of reproach to the Christians.

‡ Lib. iii. 120.

* Δόλον καὶ φιλοσωμάτων γένος. vii. 366.

could bestow on him. How low and despicable, how groveling and earthly! with all his discourse about *the Spirit*, do the feelings of Celsus appear, when we compare them with the high-hearted feelings of the Christian martyrs of his time!

Celsus shows most aptly what the nature of the Gospel is, and that it can become a source of holiness to those alone who will look within and recognise their own sinfulness, and a source of true riches to those only who will become poor in spirit; he shows clearly, also, though in his own blindness he saw it not, what it was that prevented him from finding these advantages in the Gospel, when he says, "Those who invite us to other religions proclaim, 'Let him draw near, who is pure from all stains, who is conscious of no evil, and who lives in holiness and righteousness?' but hear what the invitation of the Christians is: 'Whosoever is a sinner, whosoever is weak or deficient, in a word, every one that is a wretch, him will the kingdom of God receive!' What then! was not Christ sent also for those who are pure from sin?"* Most assuredly not for those who know so little of their own sinfulness and of God's holiness, *as to imagine themselves pure and holy!* But Celsus, though in candour he cannot be compared with Nicodemus, was one of those to whom the physician of our souls might say, "Art thou wise in thy own opinion, and knowest not this?" Of any spiritual power, which could triumph over the flesh and change its nature, he had no conception; had he only possessed an eye for experience, to whose testimony even then Justin Martyr could fairly appeal! but, alas! even with open eyes, man, in a certain condition of mind and spirit, may still be blind! The secret by which a sinner might become righteous was unknown to Celsus, though he still gives some testimony to the truth, when he confesses that no law and no punishments can accomplish this, the greatest of miracles. "Now it is manifest to every one," says he, "that those to whom sin has become a kind of second nature, no one can change by punishment; how far less then by mercy! for *wholly to change any man's nature is the most difficult of all things.*"† Granted; but what if a little light had broken in upon the darkness of his mind, and shown him

that the omnipotence of love and grace can effect, what the power of no punishment can accomplish!

We need not, therefore, be surprised, if with such sentiments as these, Celsus was unable to apprehend the real and distinguishing characteristic of the Christian life, humility. But as a Platonist he must have known, what indeed, was foreign to the notions of the other ancient sages, who gave the greatest credit to a feeling of self-confidence, and of power, and who only used the word humility in a bad sense; he must have known, that according to Plato, (B. iv. de Legg.) the word *ταπεινότης* is capable of a good sense; although he was far from arriving at its true import. He brings a silly accusation against Christianity, that all its notions of humility arose only out of a misunderstanding of this passage. He made use of certain extravagances, of the counterfeit quality, which always is found beside the genuine one, in order to represent Christian humility as something weak and childish, as if the man of humility after the Christian pattern was one "who was constantly upon his knees, rolled upon the ground, put on wretched clothing, and covered himself with ashes."*

As he was a stranger to the true humility of human nature, so was he, also, to its true dignity; the feeling of the true elevation of the heart in God, which is as inseparable from true humility, as true humility is from it. Christianity alone can reconcile the two opposite qualities, self-abasement and elevation, lowliness and dignity, the *being nothing* and *becoming* every thing. This was to Celsus a secret completely closed; and thence it happens, that while on the one hand he charges the Christians with a disgusting and low self-abasement, on the other he reproached them for their immoderate pride, for daring to attribute to man such importance and dignity in the eyes of God. According to the prevailing views of antiquity, he imagined God's care bestowed on the universe, only as a whole; on man only as a portion of that whole, and not as an individual. What the Christians declared of God's special and particular Providence, of his care for the salvation of every individual, appeared to him, therefore, idle presumption. "All that is in the world was not created for man, any more than for lions and eagles, but it was created in order that the world,

* Lib. iii. 152, 3, *τι δὲ τοῖς ἀναρχητοῖς οὐκ ἐπέμειν.*

† Lib. iii. 156.

* Lib. v. 293.

as a work of God, should constitute a perfect whole. God cares only for the whole, and this his Providence never deserts. This world never becomes worse, and God is not turning to it for the first time after a long interval. He angers himself as little for men, as for apes and flies?"* Such was the idol of human reason, with which the Christians were to content themselves! As a consistent Platonist, Celsus rejected every notion of final causes [alles Teleologische] in reference to God, and redemption could never enter into their system, because evil is necessary in this world, it has no beginning and will have no end, it remains the same as it always is, just as the nature of the universe constantly remains the same.† All travels round and round again in one perpetual circle. From this point Celsus makes that shallow objection against the doctrine of redemption, which after him has often been made against it by Deists and men of Pelagian sentiments, who, however, avoid speaking out so plainly as Celsus, or are less consistent.‡ It is this, "that God has made his work perfect once for all, and does not need, like a man, to mend it afterwards." This was perfectly consistent in Celsus, who considered the world as a whole, an independent whole, and denied moral freedom, but his fundamental error lay exactly in this perverted view of the relation of the world, and especially of reasonable creatures, to God.

A nobler and deeper spirit, than that of Celsus, animated another adversary of Christianity in the latter part of the third century. Porphyry, who wrote, perhaps, under the emperor Diocletian, or somewhat earlier, was by birth a Phœnician, and recast an Oriental spirit in a Grecian mould. The story which Socrates, the ecclesiastical historian, relates of Porphyry, that he was originally a Christian, and only became prejudiced against Christianity from the ill-treatment which he received at the hands of some Christians, is too like the usual tales, by which men endeavour to explain an hatred of the truth from external causes, to deserve any credit; and, certainly, in what we know of Porphyry, no trace of a former belief in Christianity makes its appearance. For many of the notions of Porphyry, which approach, or rather seem to approach, Christianity, certainly cannot be quoted

to prove this point. In part these notions proceed from that which Platonism has in common with Christianity, and are the more earnestly cited through his eagerness to set Paganism in a refined point of view, and to make it keep its ground against Christianity, and in part they serve to illustrate the power which Christianity already exerted even on those spirits who rejected it. Had Porphyry not been the scholar of Plotinus, he might have endeavoured to engraft his theosophic notions on Christianity, and would have become a kind of Gnostic. The speculative turn (so opposed to the Oriental Gnosticism) which he received from Plotinus, and the engrafting of his theosophy on the Grecian Paganism, made him a bitter enemy of Christianity, which, recognising only one definite scheme as truth, has nothing *eclectic* in its nature.

Porphyry, in his letter to his wife Marcella, calls it the highest fruit of piety to worship the divinity after the manner of one's country.* Thus Christianity, not being the religion of his country, nay, opposing most resolutely that religion, must have been hated by him from the first. Whilst Porphyry, however, desired to maintain a religion which was at variance with many of the fundamental doctrines of his philosophy, he necessarily fell into many contradictions. He was a zealous defender of image-worship, and while he desired to maintain thoroughly the old popular religion, he was in fact maintaining the old superstition, because his spiritual exposition of the former was wholly unintelligible to the people, and yet he writes thus to his wife Marcella: "He is not so much an Atheist, who honours not the statues of the gods, as he who thinks of God after the manner of the multitude."

This Porphyry wrote a work against Christianity, in which he endeavoured to point out contradictions in Holy Writ, and contradictions between the Apostles, and especially those between the Apostles Peter and Paul.† He made use of the weak points which an arbitrary allegorical method of interpretation among a particular school of Christians laid open to him, to bring a general accusation against them, that they were obliged to resort to such arts in order to give a reasonable

* Lib. iv. 236.

† Lib. iii. 211.

‡ Lib. iv. 215.

* Ep. ad Marcellam, ed Maj., where it is recommended *τιμὴν τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ τὰ πατρίδια*.

† For which purpose he misapplied the well-known occurrences at Antioch. See Gal. ii.

sense to the Old Testament,* an accusation which came with a particularly good grace, forsooth, from Platonists, who had engrafted so many meanings on the old myths and symbols!

Another work of Porphyry is more accurately known to us than this, in which he also speaks of Christianity, and indirectly, at least, endeavours to stem its propagation. This work professes to be a system† of theology, deduced from the pretended oracles of antiquity. He wished by means of this, as we have above remarked, to satisfy that longing after a system of religion founded on accredited Divine authority, which led men to embrace Christianity. There are even now remaining among the oracular responses, some which relate to Christianity, but on this head they speak very differently, according to the different notions of the priests who uttered them. As it was very common in the first century for women to embrace Christianity with zeal, while their husbands were entirely devoted to Paganism—a man once inquired of Apollo,‡ what god he must appease in order to lead his wife to renounce Christianity. The pretended Apollo, who knew the firmness of the Christians in their belief, answered the inquirer, that he might as well attempt to write on running water or to fly through the air, as to change the sentiments of his polluted and godless wife; let her continue to lament *her dead God*! Apollo, therefore, appears to justify the judges, who condemned Jesus to death, for a rebellion against Judaism; for, according to the usual opinion of the heathens§ (see above,) “the Jews knew more of God than the Christians.”

Many heathens, from what they had heard of Christ, imagined that He might

properly be ranked among the other gods, as an object of veneration, and asked the opinion of the oracle on this matter. It is worth remarking, that the priest who gave out the oracle, avoided saying any thing disrespectful of Christ himself. They replied,* “The wise man knows, that the soul rises immortal from out of the body, but the soul of that man is distinguished for its piety.” When they further asked, why Christ had suffered death, the answer was, “To be subject to terrible torments is the fate of the body, but the souls of the pious go and take their station in the heavenly mansions.”† Porphyry himself here avows that we must not calumniate Christ, but only deplore those who honour him as a God. “That pious soul which is now raised to heaven, has been by a kind of destiny a source of error to those souls, which the gifts of the gods, and the knowledge of the eternal Jupiter, have never reached.”

The series of writers who opposed the Gospel is closed by Hierocles, the governor of Bithynia, and afterwards of Alexandria, who chose for his attack on Christianity the season when persecution against the Christians was in full operation; a time which a man of tender feelings and noble sentiments would have been the last to choose. It was also peculiarly unbecoming in Hierocles to set himself up as a teacher of the Christians, for he was himself the founder of the persecution, and bore a principal share in it. And yet he lays pretence to an impartial love of truth, and kindly feelings towards the Christians, for he entitles his work “A truth-loving

* Euseb. Dem. Evang. Lib. iii. p. 134.

Ὅτι μὴ ἀθανάτη ψυχὴ μετὰ σώματι πρὸς βίαν, τὴν νοσθεὶ σφίσι τέτιμμενός, ἀλλὰ γὰρ ψυχὴ Ἀνθρώπου εὐσεβὴ προφύροισι ἐστὶν ἰκανή.

† Σάμα μὴ ἰδρανεσθὶ βασιλεὺς αἰὲς πρὸς βιβλητὰς. Ψυχὴ δ' εὐσεβῶν εἰς ὠρανὴν πᾶν ἰζει.

It may be that Porphyry has sometimes allowed himself to be deceived by oracles, forged by Jews of Alexandria or by other and older heathen Platonists. It is equally possible that such oracular responses as these might be forged under the name of the god or goddess by some other reasonable and thinking heathen; but by far the most natural supposition is, that they were really delivered on the above occasion. At all events it is quite inadmissible to suppose them forged by a Christian, for the Christians would never have had the tact to say so little of Christ. The example of these heathen responses may, perhaps, have induced the Christians to compose others. In that which Lactantius quotes (Instit. iv. 26,) other expressions, and especially this, *θνήσκεις ἔνν κατὰ σάρκα, σοφὸς τερασθεῖσιν ἰσχύει*, betray a Christian author.

* Euseb. vi. 19.

† πρὸς τὴν λόγικον φιλοσοφίαν, a work of which many important fragments have been preserved to us in the XIIIth Sermo curat. affect. of Theodoret, in Augustin's work de Civitate Dei (from a Latin translation, in which Augustin had read it,) and last and chiefly in those two great literary treasures, the Præparat. Evang. and Demonstrat. Evangel. of Eusebius.

‡ Majus has most improperly concluded from this passage that Marcella, the wife of Porphyry, was a Christian. Porphyry is here quoting the inquiry of another person, as he often does in this book. The letter to Marcella contains nothing whatever to lead us to suppose that Marcella was a Christian, but much rather goes to prove the contrary.

§ Augustin. de Civitate Dei, Lib. xix. c. 23.

Discourse, addressed to the Christians.”* He here brought forward again much which had been said by Celsus and Porphyry; and allowed himself to indulge in the most shameless falsehoods about the history of Christ. In order to deprive the Christians of their argument from the miracles of Christ, he carries on a comparison between Him and Apollonius of Tyana, allowing full credit to all the fables which the rhetorical Philostratus chose to narrate from unauthenticated sources, and from his own fancy; as for example, that he understood the language of animals—while he takes it for granted that the apostles, uneducated and lying impostors, as Hierocles chose to say without proving it, told only untruths: “You regard,” says he, “Christ as a God, because He restored a few blind men to sight, and did a few things of a similar kind, while Apollonius, who performed so many miracles is not on that account held by the Greeks as a God, but only as a man especially beloved by the gods.” Such was the peculiar line of argumentation adopted by Hierocles.†

An hostile feeling towards Christianity has also been supposed to pervade the biography of that same Apollonius, written by the rhetorician Philostratus, one of the favourites of Julia Domna, the wife of Septimius Severus. We are, however, unable to discover definite traces of such a feeling in any passages of the work, although occasions were not wanting on which to introduce it, as for example, where he speaks of the Jews. He speaks, however, far more of the anger of God in the calamities which befel Jerusalem (B. IV. c. 29,) which the Christians reckoned favourable to their cause. It may, indeed, be said, that Philostratus, while he painted in exaggerated colours the character of a hero of the old religion, as others did that of Pythagoras, was endeavouring to give a new turn to a sinking religion; and such an attempt might certainly have been produced by the general extension of Christianity; and it may have been his intention to oppose Apollonius, as an Hero of the old religion to Christ; and he may have been led to many individual features in his story by what he had heard of the miracles of Christ, although no *prominent* allusions of such a

sort occur, as would *really* prove this point.

While Christianity was thus assailed by persecution and by argument, the argument found, from the time of Hadrian, advocates of Christianity and of the Christians ready to cope with it. We shall speak more expressly of their apologies in our chapter on the teachers of the Church. We only here mention that these apologies were of two different kinds, and had two different objects; one kind consisted of expositions of Christian truth, destined for all educated heathens, the others were more like official documents, the composers of which came forward before the emperor, or before his representatives in the provinces, (the pro-consuls, &c.,) as the advocates of Christianity. As they could obtain no hearing personally, they were obliged to speak through their writings. The notion that the addresses to the emperor, the senate, or the governor, are merely ornamental dresses for these writings, according to the common practice of rhetoricians in these days to compose set-speeches (*declamationes*) does not suit the circumstances nor the dispositions of Christians in those days; it is more natural to suppose that the Christians, in setting forth these writings, intended to correct the judgment of the governors of districts on the subject of Christianity and Christians. It is not, however, to be wondered at, if these writings, in regard to heathen governors, fell short of their aim; for they hardly gave themselves the time, and were hardly in the proper frame of mind, to judge with calmness of what was said in these Apologies. Even master-pieces of an apologetic nature, which these Apologies, written out of the warmth of belief and fulness of persuasion, were not, could here have produced no effect, for they could never recommend Christianity to the eyes of Roman statesmen, who looked on *religion only* in a *political* point of view; they could never make of Christianity a “*religio Romana*.” They might appeal, with all the power of truth, to general rights of man, unknown to men accustomed to look on religion as a matter of politics; they might make good the principle which, near as it *seems* to lie to the human heart and feelings, was first brought into full light by Christianity, that religion is a matter of free persuasion and feeling, that belief cannot be forced, and that God cannot be honoured by a service extorted by force. “It is,”

* *Λόγος φιλαλήθους πρὸς τοὺς Χριστιανούς.*

† About this person consult Lactantius de Mortib. Persecutor, v. ii. 16; and Euseb. adv. Hieroclem.

says Tertullian, (ad Scapul. ch. ii.) "a matter of human right, and is a power which naturally belongs to every man, to worship the God on whom he believes: it is no business of religion to force religion, for it must be received voluntarily, and not compulsorily insisted on." All this they might urge; but the Roman statesman concerned himself only with *outward obedience to the laws*, and nothing could teach him to separate the man from the citizen. The apologist might appeal to the blameless life of the Christians, and, demanding the strictest investigation

of their conduct, challenge punishment on all that was criminal: this too would be of no avail. The better informed no longer believed these popular and fabulous stories; like Pliny, they found altogether in the Christians no crime against morality. But notwithstanding this, the Christian life appeared to them irreconcilable with the "*mores Romani*" and the "*disciplina Romana*," and they still regarded Christianity as a feverish enthusiasm, which might be dangerous to the safety and order of the Roman state.

SECTION II.

THE HISTORY OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH, CHURCH DISCIPLINE AND CHURCH DIVISIONS.

I. The History of the Constitution of the Church.

(1.) The History of the Organization of Congregations [or Churches] in general.

I. IN the history of the formation of the Christian Church we must carefully distinguish from each other two considerations of great importance:

The first, the epoch of its foundation in the apostolic age, as it arose out of the peculiar nature of Christianity without any extraneous influence—

The next, the changes which took place in it, as it proceeded onwards, after the first simple organization of a Church, under various extraneous influences, to the end of this period.

We are about to speak first of the foundation of the organization of a Church in the apostolic age.

[A.] *The first foundation of the organization of the Christian Church in the Apostolic age.**

THE formation of the Christian Church, as it developed itself out of the peculiarities of Christianity, must essentially differ

from that of all other religious unions. A class of priests, who were to guide all other men under an assumption of their incompetence in religious matters, whose

ters, priests, or presbyters; the only points I deem it necessary to inquire into are the following:

1. Did the Apostles ordain ministers by the imposition of hands? and,

2. Did they give them authority to ordain others?

3. Was it the office of these ministers to teach the people, in short, to be their spiritual guides?

For the two first points I shall only refer to 1 Tim. iv. 14. Tit. i. 5; and the marginal references on those passages, either in the English Testament, or Wetstein's Greek Testament, of 1711. (The ed. of Gerard, of Maestricht, printed by Wetstein.)

For the third point I refer to the descriptions given of the office of an episcopos and a deacon, in 1 Tim. iii. iv.; and Tit. i. ii.

Now the next inquiry is, whether this was a mere temporary arrangement for the lifetime of the Apostles, or an institution to continue as long as Christian instruction was needed?

Our reason gives but one answer to this question, and if we look at Christian antiquity, every thing we see tends to confirm that view. We believe we may challenge our opponents to point out any season, however near the apostolic age, in which there was not a body of ministers duly ordained. I purposely avoid mentioning the episcopal question, not from any doubts upon it, but because the question here lies between ministers and no ministers. Now the accounts we have of clergy and of bishops come up tolerably near to the apostolic-age. Clemens, Polycarp, and Ignatius, may be supposed able to judge what the intentions of the Apostles were in this respect, and

* [From the view taken in this chapter and the first part of that which follows, of the early government of the Christian Church, I feel myself called upon to express my most decided dissent, which, I trust, I may do without presumption, and without giving offence. The point at issue between Dr. Neander and those writers whose sentiments I believe to be founded in Scripture truth, is simply this: Whether the Apostles actually did institute a ministry, and make provision for the continuance of that ministry? It is indifferent to my argument whether these men are called minis-

business it was *exclusively* to provide for the satisfaction of the religious wants of the rest of mankind, and to form a link between them and God, and godly things; such a class of priests could find no place in Christianity.* While the Gospel put away that which separated man from God, by bringing all men into the same communion with God through Christ; it also removed that partition-wall which separated one man from his fellows, in regard to his more elevated interests. The same High Priest, and Mediator for all, through

to their works we appeal. They were the contemporaries and the disciples of the Apostles themselves. As I have already touched on this subject in my preface, I shall only refer again to the valuable tract of Leslie, intitled, 'An Essay on the Qualifications requisite to administer the Sacraments,' where there is a full collection of passages from the fathers relating to this point. This hasty sketch of the outline of the argument which the advocates of a ministry hold, is all to which I can give insertion on the general question, without overstepping the limits to which I must confine myself. During the rest of the chapter, I shall merely point out what appear to me weak points in the view which Dr. Neander advocates, and that as briefly as possible.—H. J. R.]

* [On this point I must again differ from the learned and amiable author of this work. In estimating the spirit of the Gospel, we are bound to take in the practice of the Apostles as well as their writings. Their practice could not contradict the tenor of their writings. It was attempted in the last note to hint what that practice was, and also some of the language which they themselves held upon the point. I think Dr. Neander seems to argue as if those who hold our sentiments thought that the clergy alone are to pray to God, and that their prayers are efficacious for the rest of the people, as an "opus operatum." I apprehend that a good Roman Catholic would not entirely approve of this notion, and all good Protestants declare their abhorrence of it by ordering the prayers to be offered "in a tongue understood of the people." What we claim exclusively as ministers, is a right to administer the sacraments, and to teach the Church of Christ. Now it is acknowledged by Dr. Neander himself, (p. 199, in the German, and in the English translation, page 107,) that the ignorance and the necessary occupations of many of the Christian brethren, soon rendered regular ministers necessary. We contend that the Almighty foreseeing this necessity, (or for other reasons which we presume not to scrutinize,) provided for it by establishing a body of teachers.

One word more as to the arguments drawn from the expressions in 1 Pet. ii. 5: where all Christians are called a royal priesthood. This argument proves nothing against a body of priests, because exactly the same expression is applied to the Jews, when obedient, and it will not, I suppose, be disputed that there was a peculiar priesthood among them. See Exod. xix. 5, 6; and see Bennett's Rights of the Clergy, p. 57; Laurence's Lay Baptism Invalid, vol. i. p. 195.—H. J. R.]

whom all being reconciled and united with God, become themselves a priestly and spiritual race! One heavenly King, Guide, and Teacher, through whom are all taught from God! one faith! one hope! one Spirit, which must animate all! one oracle in the hearts of all!—the voice of the Spirit which proceeds from God! and all citizens of one heavenly kingdom, with whose heavenly powers they have already been sent forth, as strangers in the world! When the Apostles introduced the notion of a priest, which is found in the Old Testament into Christianity, it was always only with the intention of showing, that no such visible distinct priesthood, as existed in the economy of the Old Testament, could find admittance into that of the New; that, inasmuch as free access to God and to heaven was once for all opened to the faithful through the one High priest, Christ, they had become, by union with Him himself, a holy and spiritual people, and their calling was only this, namely, to consecrate their whole life, as a sacrifice of thanksgiving for the mercy of God's redemption, and to preach the power and grace of Him, who had called them from the kingdom of darkness into his wonderful light, and their whole life was to be a continued priesthood, a spiritual serving of God, proceeding from the affections of a faith working by love, and also a continued witness of their Redeemer. Comp. 1 Pet. ii. 9. Rom. xii. 1., and the spirit and connection of ideas, throughout the whole Epistle to the Hebrews. And thus also the furtherance of God's kingdom, both in general and in each individual community, the furtherance of the propagation of Christianity among the heathen, and the improvement of each particular Church, was not to be the concern of a particular chosen class of Christians, but the nearest duty of every individual Christian. Every one was to contribute to this object from the station assigned to him by the invisible head of the Church, and by the gifts peculiar to him, which were given him by God, and grounded in his nature—a nature, which retained, indeed, *its individual character*, but was regenerated and ennobled by the influence of the Holy Spirit. There was here no division into spiritual and worldly, but all, as Christians, in their inward life and dispositions, were to be men dead to the ungodliness of the world, and thus far departed out of the world; men animated by the Spirit of God, and not by the spirit of the world.

The peculiar and prevailing capabilities of Christians, as far as they were sanctified and consecrated by this Spirit, and employed by it as the organs of its active influence, became Charismata, or gifts of grace. Hence the apostle St. Paul began his address to the Corinthian Church, on the subject of gifts, in this manner, (1 Cor. xii.) "Once, when ye were heathen, ye suffered yourselves to be led blindly by your priests to dumb idols; ye were dead and dumb as they. Now, while ye serve the living God through Christ, *ye have no longer any such leaders*, to draw you blindly by leading-strings*. Ye have yourselves now the Spirit of God for your guide, who enlightens you. Ye no more follow in silence, he speaks out of you; there are many gifts, but there is one Spirit." Who shall arrogate that to himself, which the enlightened apostle ventured not to do, to be lord over the faith of Christians?

The condition of the Corinthian Church, as it is depicted in the epistles of St. Paul, deficient as it was in many respects, shows us how a Christian Church should act; how all in that Church should mutually co-operate, with their mutual gifts, as members of the same body, *with equal honour*,† supplying one another's deficiencies. The office of a teacher was not here exclusively assigned to one or more, but every one who felt a call to that office might address a discourse to the assembly of the Church for the instruction of all. According to the differences in the particular natures of the individual Christians, who served as instruments to the working of the Holy Spirit, and by which the difference in the form of its manifestation among them was de-

termined, the efficacy of this Spirit came forth, sometimes under a creative form (as in the gift of prophecy), sometimes (as in the gift of trying of spirits, or interpretation,) as a receptive or a critical power. We hence find very great varieties and differences in the degrees of inspiration, and in the relation of the *Human* to the *Divine* among them: sometimes the *deep, reflecting, purely human* energy of the spirit, prevailing; and at others, while this is kept in the back-ground, the Spirit of God, in its omnipotence, outweighing it: and here, too, we find the manifold degrees of the gift of tongues, down to the ordinary, regular gift of teaching (the *χαρισμα διδασκalias*.)

As Christianity did not annihilate the peculiar arrangements of our nature, founded in the laws of our original creation, but sanctified and ennobled them,* it did not, (although, in reference to the higher life, the partition-wall between man and wife was taken away through Christ, and in Him man and wife became one,) it did not, I say, allow the female sex to step out of the peculiar habits and destination indicated for it by nature herself. Women alone are interdicted by St. Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. 34, from speaking in the Church—a proof also,† that no other exception from this general right of all Christians existed. This last exception was constantly thus retained in the times that followed; this even the fanciful Montanists recognised—they only determined that the *extraordinary* operations of the Spirit did not follow this rule, and they appealed to the case of the women that prophesied, 1 Cor. xi., although without good reason, for the apostle is here only speaking of that which actually was the case in the Corinthian Church, without approving it, with the intention, at the same time, of settling it afterwards, as appears from a comparison of the passage that follows, which we have cited above.‡

* [I must request my readers to compare this passage with the original Greek. I have translated from the German of Dr. Neander, as literally as I was able, but he has paraphrased the passage, and, I cannot but think, paraphrased it so as to give it a meaning not to be found in the original. The words, "by your priests," and the passage which I have put into italics, are pure insertions. With regard to the first, the heathen priests are probably alluded to; but the clause in italics on which so much of the argument depends, is entirely a gratuitous insertion, as far as I can discover. I leave the question, therefore, to the reader, requesting him again to compare the original passage.—H. J. R.]

† [It appears to me that the words, "with equal honour," which I have put in italics, are expressly contrary to the sentiments of St. Paul. He says, strongly enough, "Are all Apostles? are all prophets? are all teachers?" &c. 1 Cor. xii. 29.—H. J. R.]

* It is true also, in this respect, that Christianity came not to destroy, but to fulfil.

† [It is difficult to imagine how any one could consider this a *proof* of the assertion in the text. It only proves that *no* woman was allowed to teach, while many men were; but it does not show, in the smallest degree, that *all* men might teach.—H. J. R.]

‡ Hilary, who wrote a Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul, is particularly distinguished by his impartial manner of considering Christian antiquity. Even in this respect he was well able to distinguish the original Christianity from the

Now, although all Christians had the same priestly calling, and the same priestly rights,* and although there could not be any distinct class of priests in the first Christian Church; yet every Church [gemeinde, congregation, community or Church,] as a society for establishing and extending the kingdom of God, an union for the avowal of the same faith in word and work, for the mutual confirmation and animation of this faith, for communion, and for the mutual furtherance of that higher life which flowed from this faith—an union for these most lofty aims, must obtain a form and consistence proportioned to them; for, without this form, nothing can continue to exist among men. Christian Churches stood still more in need of such an established order, since they must develop themselves, and make their progress in a world so foreign to them, and under the influence of such various sources of threats and disturbance, or at least of affliction. In them, as in every society, a certain government and conduct of the common interests must exist. That form of government must have corresponded best to the spirit of Christianity and the purposes for which Churches were formed, which was calculated the most to further their free development from within outwards, and also the most to further the collected and mutual efficacy of all individual powers and gifts. The monarchical form of government would have too much tendency to repress and overwhelm the free development of different peculiarities, and to introduce a system by which *one* definite human form should be stamped on every thing, instead of allowing the Spirit free choice to develop itself under a variety of human forms, and these mutually to lay hold of each other. It would too, probably, lead to a result, by which that which is human would be prized too highly, and one man have too much weight, so that he should become the centre around which every thing would gather itself, instead of the one invisible shepherd of all becoming the centre of all. How anxiously do the Apostles strive to keep off such a danger! How much does the Apostle St. Paul, in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, insist on

the free co-operation of all, that no one power or disposition might overwhelm the rest and reign triumphant! The Apostles themselves, conscious as they were of that higher degree of illumination, which was necessary for them alone in their capacity of founders of the first Church and teachers of pure Christianity for all times, conscious as they were of a higher degree of authority and power, delivered to them by the Divine Founder of the Church himself, such as was given to no other men, yet came forward as little as possible in a commanding manner,* and endeavoured, as much as in them lay, to act with the free co-operation of the Churches in all the circumstances which concerned the Church, as we shall have occasion hereafter to notice more particularly. St. Peter and St. John, in their Epistles, placed themselves in the same rank† with the leaders of the Churches, instead of claiming to be the general governors of the Churches over them. How difficult must it have been in the Churches to find one individual who united in himself all the qualities requisite for the conduct of the affairs of the Churches, and who alone possessed the confidence of all men! Far easier must it have been to find a number of fathers of families in each Church, whose peculiarities were calculated to supply each other's defects in the administration of the various offices, and of whom one possessed the confidence of one part of the community, and another that of others. The *monarchical principle in spiritual things* accords ill with the spirit of Christianity, which constantly points to the feelings of mutual need, and the necessity and blessing of common deliberation, as well as of common prayer. Where two or three are gathered together in the name of the Lord, there also, He promises, will He be among them.

In addition to this, it was the custom of Christianity to appropriate to its own use existing forms, when it found any which suited its spirit and its essence. Now there was actually a form of government existing in the Jewish synagogues,

* [But they by no means declined to use authority when needful, and to enjoin others, as Timothy and Titus, to do the same. See Tit. i. 10—14. 1 Tim. i. 3—8; iii. 5. Heb. xiii. 7, &c.—H. J. R.]

† [St. Peter, indeed, 1 Pet. v. 1, calls himself an *elder*, but he elsewhere styles himself an Apostle, and we can hardly fail to observe that *this* title implied something more, "Are all Apostles?" 1 Cor. xii. 29.—H. J. R.]

later, when he says, "Primum omnes docebant et omnes baptizabant, ut cresceret plebs et multiplicaretur, omnibus inter initia concessum est, et evangelizare et baptizare et Scripturas explorare." Hilar. in Epist. Ephes. c. iv. v. 12.

* [See above, note *, p. 103.—H. J. R.]

and in all the sects which had their origin in Judaism; and this was in no respects a monarchical, but an aristocratical form; a council of the elderly men **ἐπὶ πρεσβυτέρων**, which conducted all common affairs. It was most natural for Christianity, developing itself from out of Judaism, to embrace this form. This form must also, wherever Churches were established in the Roman empire among the heathen, have appeared the most natural; for men were here accustomed from of old to see the affairs of towns carried on by a senate, the assembly of *decuriones*. That the comparison of the ecclesiastical administration with the political, really took place here, is shown by this, that the spiritual persons were afterwards named an *ordo*, the leading senate of the Church, for *ordo* was a word peculiarly appropriated to this rank of senators, *ordo senatorum*.*

In compliance with this form a council of elders was generally appointed to conduct the affairs of the Churches; but it was not necessary that it should be strictly composed of those who were the most aged, although age was taken very much into the account, but age was rather considered here as a sign of dignity, as in the Latin *senatus*, or in the Greek, *γερουσία*. Besides the usual appellation of these governors of the Churches, namely, *πρεσβύτεροι*, there were many others also in use, designating their peculiar sphere of action, as *ποιμένες* shepherds **ἐπίσκοποι**, *ἡγούμενοι*, *προσώπτοι* τῶν ἀδελφῶν, and one of these appellations was also *ἐπισκοπος*, denoting their office as leaders and overseers over the whole of the Church.

That the name also of *episcopus* was altogether synonymous with that of *presbyter* is clearly collected from the passages of Scripture, where both appellations are interchanged, (Acts xx. compare ver. 17 with ver. 28. Epistle to Titus, ch. i. verses 5 and 7,) as well as from those, where the mention of the office of deacon follows immediately after that of "*episcopi*," so that a third class of officers could not lie between the two.† Philipp.

* [This surely requires more than mere assertion and conjecture to support it. What ought first to be made out is this: that the presbyters were the rulers rather than the teachers of the Church, and that they ruled the Church by a college or council; and next, that the name *ordo* arose from that circumstance. Why might not *ordo* be applied to any body of men?—H. J. R.]

† [This admits of a very different explanation. Suppose it granted that "*episcopus*" was some-

i. 1; 1 Tim. iii. 1—8. This interchange of the two appellations is a proof of their entire coincidence; if the name *bishop* had originally been the appellation of the president of this church senate, of a *primus inter pares*, such an interchange could never have taken place. In the letter also, which Clement, the disciple of St. Paul, wrote in the name of the Roman Church, after the bishops, as presidents of the Churches, the deacons are immediately named. See chap. xlii.

These presbyters or bishops, had the superintendence over the whole Church, the conduct of all its common affairs, but the office of teacher was not exclusively assigned to them; for, as we have above observed, all Christians had the right to pour out their hearts before their brethren in the assemblies of the Church, and to speak for their edification. At the same time, it does not hence follow, that all the members of the Church were fitted for the ordinary office of teaching; there is a great distinction between a regular capability of teaching, always under the control of him who possessed it, and an outpouring (like prophecy or the gift of tongues) proceeding from a sudden inspiration, and accompanied with a peculiar and elevated but transient state of mind, and the latter might very probably descend from above on all vital Christians in those first times of extraordinary excitement from above, when the divine life first entered into the limits of this earthly world. On such transient excitements of a peculiar state of mind in individuals,* care for the maintenance, propagation, and advancement of clear religious knowledge could not be made safely to depend, any more than the defence of the pure and

times used for a pastor in a single parish at first, as well as for the ordaining officer, yet this name might very shortly after be appropriated to the higher order, who had the power of ordaining. Immediately after the apostolic age, *episcopus* was used for one, among a number of other clergy, and it must surely then have designated one of higher power than the rest.—H. J. R.]

* [The considerations adduced here lead us to one or two reflections of some importance. If these gifts constituted the warrant of unordained brethren to address the Church, when these gifts of an extraordinary nature had ceased, none but the ordained ministers would have a right to teach the Church. Again, we are led to think, that if a regular ministry was necessary even while these gifts were bestowed on the Church, it must have been doubly necessary after they were withdrawn. I must refer my readers to the preface to this translation for a few more remarks on these *χαρίσματα*. H. J. R.]

genuine apostolic doctrine against the manifold false tendencies of Jewish or heathen views which had already thus early begun to threaten the Church. Although *all* Christians must be taught only by the *one heavenly Guide*, yet regard to the weakness of human nature, which is destined to keep the treasures of heaven in earthen vessels, made it requisite that persons should never be wanting in the Church, who were peculiarly qualified constantly to set strongly before their brethren their relation to the common guide and Redeemer of all, to impress it on their hearts forcibly, to show them how every thing ought to be viewed in connection with this one relation, and to warn them against every thing which threatened to withdraw them from this fundamental principle of Christian life. Such a capability of expounding, which was always under the control of him who possessed it, pre-supposed a certain cultivation of the intellect, a certain clearness and acuteness of thought, and a certain power of communicating its impressions to others, which, when they were present and penetrated and animated by the power of the Spirit of God, became the *χαρισμα διδασκαλιας*. Those who possessed this Charisma were on that account appointed to provide for the constant maintenance of pure doctrines in the Church, and for the confirmation and advancement of Christian knowledge, without excluding the co-operation of others, each in his own station, according to the gift bestowed upon him. In the apostolic age, therefore, the *χαρισμα διδασκαλιας* and the rank of teachers of the Church, *διδασκαλοι*, who were distinguished by that gift, are mentioned as something quite peculiar, 1 Cor. xii. 28; xiv. 6. Ephes. iv. 11. All the members of the Church might feel themselves impelled at particular moments, to address the congregation of brethren, or to cry out to God and praise Him before them, but only a few had that *χαρισμα διδασκαλιας*, and were *διδασκαλοι*.

But it is also clear, from the case itself, that this talent of instruction is quite a different thing from the talent for administering the affairs of the Church, the *χαρισμα κυβερνηθεις*, which was particularly required for the office of an assessor of the council, a presbyter or bishop.*

[* Here again there is a point of great importance disposed of most unsatisfactorily. Can it be granted at all that the office of presbyter was merely of this kind? Does it not appear from all that the apostles say of *episcopi* and *presbyters*, that they

A man might possess to a great extent dexterity in outward matters, and Christian prudence, and in general those more practical capacities which are required for *such* an office in the Church, without uniting to them the turn of mind and the cultivation of the understanding requisite for that of a teacher. In the first Apostolic Church, to whose spirit all arbitrary and idle distinction of ranks was so foreign, in which offices being considered only in regard to the object which they were destined to obtain, were limited by an inward necessity, the offices of governing and those of teaching the Churches,* the office of a *διδασκαλος*, and that of a *ποιμην* were accordingly separated from each other.†

The perception of this distinction so clearly laid down, might lead us to the supposition that originally those teachers of the Church, expressly so called, did not belong to the class of rulers‡ of the Churches, and certainly it is not capable of proof that they always belonged to the presbyters. Thus much only is certain, it was a source of great satisfaction when, among the rulers of the Church, there were men qualified also for teachers. Although to the presbyters in general (as in St. Paul's parting speech to the presbyters of the Church of Ephesus, Acts xx.) the guardianship over the maintenance of pure doctrine was assigned, it does not thence follow that they had to execute the office of teacher in the stricter sense of the word, for the question here may merely have concerned the general care of the government of the Church. But when, in the Epistle to Titus, it is required of a bishop not only that he should for his own part hold fast the genuine pure doctrine of the Gospel, but that he should also be capable of confirming others in it, and of gainsaying the adversaries of it, it clearly follows that the bishop was required to possess also that gift of teaching. This might, under many circumstances of the Churches, as under

were especially to see to the maintenance of sound doctrine in the Church, that is be its teachers? See Tit. i. 1 Tim. i. iii., &c.—H. J. R.]

* The *χαρισμα διδασκαλιας* and the *χαρισμα κυβερνηθεις*.

† Compare Rom. xii. 7, 8, (for the distinction between the *διδασκων* and the *πρεσβυτερων*) and the above cited passages.

‡ [Gemeindevorsteher. This is the same word used in page 106, and applied to the presbyters which Neander makes synonymous with bishops (in his explanation of the word פְּרִינְסִי).—H. J. R.]

those which are spoken of in this Epistle, perhaps, be particularly desirable on account of the danger which threatened the Church from the propagation of heresies, which the paternal authority of the elders of the Church, supported by their pre-eminence as teachers, was to oppose. Thus also in the first Epistle to Timothy, v. 17, those presbyters who were able to unite with the power of ruling (the κυβερνησις) also that of teaching (the διδασκαλία) were especially honoured, which gives us at the same time a proof that both were not *necessarily and always* united.*

Besides this we find only one Church office in the apostolic age, the office of deacon. The business of this office was at first only external, as according to Acts vi., it was instituted to assist in the administration of alms: care for the poor and the sick belonging to the Church, to which afterwards many other external cares were added, was peculiarly the business of this office. Besides the deacons there were also established for the female part of the community deaconesses, where the free access of men to females, especially as the sexes are so carefully separated in the east, might excite suspicion and give offence. Although women, in conformity to their natural destination, were excluded from the offices of teaching and governing the Churches, yet in this manner the peculiar qualities of females were brought into demand, as peculiar gifts for the service of the Church. By means of these deaconesses the Gospel might be brought into the inmost recesses of family life, where, from eastern manners, no man could have obtained admittance.† As Christian mothers and mis-

tresses of families, experienced and tried in all the trials that belonged to women, they were to uphold the younger women of the Church by their counsels and consolations.*

So far as regards the election to these offices, we are without sufficient information to decide certainly, how it was managed in the first apostolic times, and it is very possible, that from a difference in circumstances, the same method of proceeding was not adopted in all cases. As the apostles, in the appointment of the deacons, allowed the Church itself to choose; and as this also was the case, when deputies were sent by the Churches in their name to accompany the apostles (2 Cor. viii. 19,) we may conclude that a similar proceeding was resorted to in the appointment to other Church offices. It may nevertheless have happened, that where the apostles could not place implicit confidence in the spirit of the first new Churches, they gave the important office of presbyter to those who appeared to them, under the light of the Holy Spirit, the most fitted for it; their choice would also deserve the highest confidence on the part of the Church, compare Acts xiv. 23. Tit. i. 5: although when St. Paul gives Titus power to appoint rulers of the Church, who had the requisite qualities, nothing is *thereby* determined as to the nature of the election; it does not necessarily follow that an election by the Church itself is absolutely excluded. It appears to have been part of the system of discipline, that the Church offices should be confided to the first converted men, if they had the proper qualifications. 1 Cor. vi. 16.† Clement of Rome brings forward the rule, as if laid down by the apostle, for the appointment to Church offices, "*that they should be possessed after the judgment of approved men, with the consent of the*

* [It may be well to mention that this passage has given rise to much controversy, and is very differently interpreted. For the satisfaction of the reader I here transcribe a very different interpretation of it from the celebrated work of bishop Bilson, on the "Perpetual Government of Christ's Church," now become a scarce book.

"Presbyters, if they rule well, are worthy of double honour, especially if they labour in the word: or presbyters for ruling well are worthy of double honour; especially for labouring in the word. Here are not two sorts of elders (as they conceive) the one to govern, the other to teach; but two duties of each presbyter; namely, to teach and govern, before he can be most worthy of double honour." Bilson, Epistle Ded. p. 8, 9. Compare p. 131.—H. J. R.]

† A proof of this occurs in Clement of Alexandria, Str. iii. p. 448, on Christian women: διὸ καὶ εἰς τὴν γυναικωνίτην διαβίτης παρσέμετο ἢ τοῦ Κυρίου διδασκαλία.

* Tertullian de Virginn. velandis, c. 9, ut experimentis omnium affectuum structæ, facile norint cæteras et consilio et solatio juvare, et ut nihilominus ea decucurrerint, per quæ femina probari potest.

† So also Clement of Rome, ch. xlii., says of the apostles, that κατὰ χάριτας καὶ πολλὰς κηρύσσοντες καθίστανον τὰς ὑπαρχὰς αὐτῶν, δοκιμασάντες τῷ πνεύματι εἰς ἰστικούς καὶ διακόνους τῶν μέλλόντων πιστέων.

[This appears to be quite natural, nay, almost necessary. Of whom could the apostles make bishops and elders but of some of those first converted? Of those not yet converted? It must be from one of these classes, unless they had a supply ready to be sent to any point they visited themselves.—H. J. R.]

whole Church." The usual custom might be, that on a vacancy in any of these offices the presbyters themselves presented to the Church another to supply the place of the deceased, and that it was left to the Church to ratify their choice, or to reject on definite grounds.* Where the request to the Church for her consent was not a mere formality, this method of appointing to Church offices had this beneficial influence, that by its means the voice of the larger multitude would be guided by those who were capable of judging, all schisms would be suppressed, and yet no person would be obtruded on the Church, who was not affectionately looked upon by them.

As to what further regards the relation of these presbyters to the Churches, they were destined to be not unlimited monarchs,† but rulers and guides in an ecclesiastical republic, and to conduct every thing in conjunction with the Church assembled together, as the servants and not the masters of which they were to act. The apostles saw these relations in this manner, because they addressed their epistles, which treated, not merely of doctrinal circumstances, but of things pertaining to the ecclesiastical life and discipline, not to the rulers of the Churches only, but to the whole of the Church. Where the apostle St. Paul pronounces an exclusion from the communion of the Church, he represents himself as united in spirit with the whole Church, (1 Cor. v. 4,) supposing that for an affair of such general concernment the assembling of the Church would be regularly requisite.

[B.] *The changes in the Discipline of the Christian Church after the apostolic age.*

THE change which had the most extensive influence on the form of the Christian Church, in this period, related particularly to three points.

(a.) The separation between bishops and presbyters, and the development of the monarchico-episcopal government.

(b.) The separation between spiritual persons and the laity, and the formation of a caste of priests, in contradiction to the evangelic notion of the Christian priesthood. And,

* Clemens, 44. *Τους κατασταθέντας ὑπο τῶν ἀποστόλων ἢ μετὰ αὐτῶν ἐτίθεντο ἐλλογισμένοι ὡς δέον, συνεισέχουσαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας τάσεως.*

† [This is surely rather strangely put. In one-half of the sentence the presbyters are rulers and guides, in the other they are only servants of the Church.—H. J. R.]

(c.) The multiplication of Church offices.

With regard to the first we are without precise and perfect information as to the manner in which this change took place in individual cases, but, nevertheless, it is a thing which analogy will make quite clear on a general view. It was natural that, as the presbyters formed a deliberative assembly, it should soon happen that one among them obtained the pre-eminence.* This might be so managed that a certain succession took place, according to which the presidency should change, and pass from one to the other. It is possible that in many other places such an arrangement took place, and yet we find no historical trace of any thing in the kind; but then, as we have above remarked, there is, on the other hand, no trace to be found by which we should conclude that the office of the president of the college of presbyters was distinguished by any peculiar name. However it may appear with regard to this point, what we find in the second century leads us to conclude that, immediately after the apostolic age, the standing office of president of the presbyters must have been formed, to whom, inasmuch as he had especially the oversight of every thing, was the name of *Επισκοπος* given, and he was thereby distinguished from the rest of the presbyters. This name was then, at last, exclusively applied to this president, while the name of presbyter remained common to all: for the bishops, as the presiding presbyters, had as yet no other official character than that of presbyters, they were only "*primi inter pares*."†

* [It will not fail to be observed here, that our author has recourse to conjecture as to what may have been the case, and that in the next sentence he honestly admits that there is *no historical trace* whatever of any such arrangement. As far as I have examined the subject, I find this admission fully confirmed. Its importance need scarcely be pointed out.—H. J. R.]

† Many later writers properly recognise this course of things. Hilar. in Ep. i. ad Timoth., c. 3. *Omnis episcopus presbyter, non tamen omnis presbyter episcopus; hic enim episcopus est, qui inter presbyteros, primus est.* Jerome says, (146 ad Evangl.) it was the custom in the Alexandrian Church, till the time of the bishops Heraclius and Dionysius, up to the middle of the third century, that the presbyters chose one of their number for their president, and called him bishop. And so also there may be some truth at bottom in the story told by Eutychus, who was patriarch of Alexandria in the first half of the tenth century, although it cannot be altogether true, and is certainly false in chronology; viz. that in the Alexandrian Church, to the time of the bishop Alexander, in

This relation of the bishops to the presbyters we see continuing even to the end of the second century: Irenæus, therefore, uses* the name of "bishop" and "presbyter" sometimes as wholly synonymous, and at other times he distinguishes the bishop as the president from the presbyters. Even Tertullian calls the leaders of the Christian Churches by the one general name of *Seniores*, while he comprehends in that name both bishops and presbyters, although that father was very particular about the difference between bishops and presbyters.† Indeed, in many respects Tertullian stands generally at the line of demarcation between the old and the new time of the Christian Church.

The situation of the Churches during the persecutions, and the numerous oppressions in which the energetic conduct of one man at the head of affairs might prove of great use, furthered the formation of the monarchical government in the Church. And yet even in the third century the presbyters were at the side of the bishops as a college of councillors, and the bishops undertook nothing weighty without gathering together this council.‡ When Cyprian, bishop of the Church at Carthage, separated from it by his flight during the persecution, had any thing of consequence to transact, he instantly imparted it to the presbyters, who remained behind him, and he apologised to them for having been obliged at times to decide without being able to call them together. To do nothing without their advice, he declares to be his constant principle.§

the beginning of the fourth century, the following arrangement had existed: there was a college of twelve presbyters, among whom one, as bishop, had the pre-eminence, and these presbyters had always chosen one out of their own body as bishop, and the other eleven had given him ordination.

* Both names are used synonymously, iv. 26, where he attributes the "*successio episcopatus presbyteris*." He distinguishes the names in iii. 14. When it is related in the Acts xx. 17, that Paul had called to him the presbyters of the Churches of Asia Minor, Irenæus reckons among them the bishops also, under the view that these were then only the presiding presbyters. "*In Mileto convocatis episcopis et presbyteris*." The confusion which exists in regard to the succession of the first bishops of Rome, may perhaps, also be attributed to this cause, that originally these names were not so distinguished, and therefore, many might bear at the same time the names of bishops or presbyters.

† Apologet. c. 39. *Præsent probati quique seniores*.

‡ Presbyterium contrahere.

§ Ep. v. *A primordio episcopatus mei statui, nihil sine consilio vestro mea privatim sententia*

Reminding them of the original relation of the bishops to the presbyters, he calls them his "*compresbyteros*." And it was doubtless, natural enough, that before this episcopal system of government could firmly establish itself, many struggles must have taken place, because the presbyters would be inclined to maintain the original power which belonged to them, and refuse to subject themselves to the authority of the bishops. Often, indeed, many presbyters made a capricious use of this power, which was very prejudicial to the discipline and order of the Church.—Schisms arose, of which we shall have to speak hereafter, and the authority of the bishops, closely connected as they were one with another, triumphed over the opposition of presbyters, who acted without concert. The power and activity of a Cyprian contributed much to promote this victory, but we should do him wrong, and pervert the proper view of the whole matter, if we accuse him of having acted from the beginning with a decided intention of raising up the episcopacy, as it rarely happens in such matters that one individual can succeed in fashioning the occurrences of a whole period after a scheme arranged to forward his own love of rule. Cyprian rather, without being conscious to himself of any scheme, acted here in the spirit of a whole party, and of a whole ecclesiastical disposition, that existed in his time. He acted as the representant of the episcopal system, the struggle of which against the presbyterian system was a fundamental feature of the whole progress of the Church. The contention of the presbyterian parties among one another, might have become utterly prejudicial to discipline and order in the Church; the victory of the episcopal system especially promoted unity, order, and quiet in the Churches; but then, on the other hand, it was prejudicial to the free development of habits of the Churchly life, and the formation of a priesthood, altogether foreign to the Gospel economy, was not a little furthered by it. Thus this change of the original form of the Christian Church stands in close connection with another change, which takes still deeper root, *the formation of a caste of priests in the Christian Church*. The more a Christian Church answered its proper destination, and corresponded to its true model, the more must it be shown

gerere. *Sicut honor mutuus poscit, in commune tractabimus.*

in the mutual relations of all its members, that all, taught, led, and filled by the One, all drawing from the same fountain, and mutually imparting, as equal members of the one body, stand in reciprocal relation to each other under the one general Head; and the less, therefore, can any difference exist among them between some to give and others to receive, teachers and learners, guides and those who let themselves be guided,—as we find it was in the early Churches. Now the very nature of things is such, that as the first Christian spirit died away, and as the *Human* became more prominent in the progress of the Church, as in the increasing Churches the difference of education and Christian knowledge manifested itself more clearly, this difference would also more clearly develop itself. The leading preponderance of individuals would of itself take continually deeper root, and it would happen of itself, that the presbyters would exercise a continually increasing influence over the administration of Church affairs; and that the *διδασκαλοι* continually more and more exclusively took the task of addressing the Church. All this might follow of itself, from the natural progress of affairs in the Church, although it must have been the earnest endeavour of those influential individuals, if they had been animated by the true spirit of the Gospel, and not by an unevangelic spirit of party and caste, (which springs up so easily from the selfishness of human nature, the source of all Popery,) to restore continually that original relation of reciprocity between themselves and the Church, and continually to promote the general participation of all in the affairs of the Church. And yet, besides that which followed of itself from the natural course of affairs, there was still another idea mixed up imperceptibly with it, which was utterly foreign to the Christian economy, and the influence of which became very important; and it was an idea which in aftertimes was constantly introducing usages utterly repugnant to the essential views of the Gospel. We now proceed to notice this idea.

The notions of the theocracy of the Old and of the New Testament, which were so decidedly kept distinct from one another by the apostles and the first Christians, became again gradually interchanged and confused; the source of theoretical and practical errors, which lasted through many centuries, and which (if we except the scattered witnesses to

the truth in each century) was first again opposed by the pure light of genuine Christianity by means of the Reformation. As, in virtue of this interchange, many notions of government, foreign to the Gospel, were brought from the Old Testament into the Church of Christ, so also was the Old Testament notion of the priesthood introduced. The false conclusion was drawn, that as there had been in the Old Testament a visible priesthood joined to a particular class of men, there must also be the same in the New, and the original evangelical notion of a general spiritual priesthood fell, therefore, in the back-ground. This error is to be found already in Tertullian's time, as he calls the bishop "*summus sacerdos*," (de Baptismo, c. xvii.,) an appellation which was certainly not invented by him, but taken from a habit of speaking and thinking already prevalent in a certain part, at least, of the Church. This name also imports, that men already compared the presbyters with the priests, and the deacons, or spiritual persons generally, with the Levites. We can judge from this, how much the false comparison of the Christian priesthood with the Jewish furthered again the rise of episcopacy above the office of presbyters. In general, the more they degenerated from the pure Christian view into the Jewish, the more the original free composition of the Christian Church became changed. We see Cyprian already wholly penetrated by this intermixture of the Old and New Testament notions.

In the names by which the Church officers were distinguished from the remaining part of the community, we find no trace of this interchange. The Latin expressions "*ordo*" and "*plebs*" only denoted the guiding senate of the Christian people; the Greek names *κληρος*, *κληρικοί*, had even in Cyprian's time been applied in this unevangelic sense. By this application they were made to designate "men consecrated to God's service," like the Levites of the Old Testament, men who busied themselves only with the affairs of religion, and not with earthly things, who did not gain their livelihood, like other men, by worldly business, but on this very account, that they busied themselves with God only for the advantage of others, were maintained by the others, just as the Levites in the partition of the land had received no inheritance in land; but had the Lord only for their inheritance, and were to receive tithes

from the others for their management of the Temple worship, οἱ εἰσιν ὁ κληρος τοῦ Θεοῦ or ὡς ὁ κληρος ὁ Θεὸς ἐστὶ. See Deuteronomy, ch. xviii. This notion of a peculiar people of God, so particularly applied to a particular class of men among Christians, as a κληρος τοῦ Θεοῦ, is certainly in this sense wholly unevangelic, for all Christians ought in this sense to be a body of men consecrated to God, a κληρος τοῦ Θεοῦ, and even all their earthly callings ought to be sanctified by the spirit in which they pursue them; their whole life was to become, by the sanctification by which they were animated, a spiritual service to God, a λογικὴ λατρεία. Such was the original Gospel notion. But the inquiry is still to be made, whether that meaning, which contradicts this original Gospel notion, was really connected from the first with the name of κληρικοὶ for spiritual persons; and if we follow the history of the use of the word, we shall be rather inclined to conclude that this meaning was introduced in later times into an expression, whose original meaning had been forgotten. The name κληρος originally denoted the situation bestowed on each one in the Church, either by God's appointment or by a choice determined under his influence; and thus the Church offices were particularly called κληροί, to be chosen to them was called κληρουσθαι, and the men chosen to these offices, κληρικοί.*

* We may thus explain how the stricter sense of "Lot" was lost sight of in this word, although the ἑχχαὶ κληροῦνται were opposed to ἑχχαὶ χειροτονή-
ται. So at first in the Acts i. 17, κληρος τῆς διακο-
νίας; in Irenæus iii. 3, κληρουσθαι τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν; Clemens Alex. Quis Dives salv. c. 42, κληρος and κληροῦν are used reciprocally. We find no doubt in Clemens Romanus, c. 40, the relations of the Old Testament applied to the Christian Church, but certainly this letter (as well as those of Ignatius, although Clemens is in a less degree) has been interpolated by some one who was prejudiced in favour of the hierarchy.* In other passages of the same letter, we rather meet with the free spirit of the original presbyterian constitution of the Church. How simply in c. 42, is the appointment

* [It must be remembered that any assertion of interpolation, unsupported by evidence, is of no value. I do not deny the fact, I only require proof of it, if it can be obtained. The latter sentence of the author's note only states what he thinks Clement ought to have written: our question lies solely with what he did write. We may also ask, What contemporary writings are there, by a comparison with which this charge can be supported? It may also be observed that MSS. can give us no assistance in such an inquiry, as there is, I believe, only one MS. of Clemens Romanus in existence. See Mr. Jacobson's very useful edition of the Patres Apostolici, p. i.—H. J. R.]

Although the idea of the priesthood in a pure evangelic sense, was, in other respects, constantly more and more darkened and driven into the back-ground by the prevalence of that unevangelic view of it, yet was it too deeply engrafted into the very essence of Christianity, to be wholly overwhelmed. At the time of Tertullian, who stands on the boundary between two different epochs in the development of the Church, we still find more definite traces of the powerful opposition, which the original Christian consciousness of the universal and spiritual priesthood, and of the Christian rights founded thereon, made to the hierarchy, which was establishing itself. In his work on Baptism, which he wrote before his conversion to Montanism, Tertullian, in regard to the use of the general rights of the priesthood by all Christians, declares the true principle by which *Divine right* and *human order* should be maintained. "As far as the thing itself is concerned, the laity have the right to administer the sacraments, and to teach in the Churches. The word of God and the sacraments were communicated by God's grace to all Christians, and may, therefore, be communicated by all Christians, as instruments of God's grace. But the inquiry is here not merely, what is lawful in general, but also, what is convenient under existing circumstances. We must here apply the declaration of St. Paul, 'all things which are lawful, are not convenient.' With a view, therefore, to the maintenance of that order which is necessary in the Church, the laity should make use of their priestly rights as to the administration of the sacraments only where time and circumstances require it.*

Sometimes the laity in their struggle against the spiritual body, made good their original rights to the priesthood, as we see from those words of Tertullian, as a *Montanist*, in which he requires from the laity, in a certain case, that if they claimed the same rights as spiritual persons, they should also bind themselves by the same duties; when he says to them, † "When we elevate ourselves, and

of bishops or presbyters and deacons related without any hierarchical pride. We cannot for a moment think of any such confusion of the Old and New Testament ideas in a disciple of St. Paul.

* De Baptismo, i. c. 81.

† De Monogamia, 12.

[The German is here "Wenn wir uns gegen die Geistlichkeit erheben und aufblühen," &c.

I subjoin the original passage with some of the

are puffed up against the clergy, then are we all one, then are we all priests, for he makes us all kings and priests before God and his Father." (Rev. i. 6.) Although the office of teaching in the congregations was constantly more and more limited to the bishops or presbyters, we find, nevertheless, many traces of that original equality of spiritual rights among all Christians. When, about the middle of the third century, two bishops in Palestine had no scruple in allowing the learned Origen to expound the Scriptures before their congregations, although he had received no ordination, and Dionysius of Alexandria, a bishop of hierarchical principles, reproved them for it; they defended themselves by alleging, that many of the Eastern bishops required the laity, who were capable of it, to preach.* Even in the spurious Apostolical Constitutions, (otherwise a very hierarchical work,) which consists of multifarious elements, gradually collected together, there is an order under the name of St. Paul to this effect: *If any man, even a layman, be skilled in the expounding of doctrines, and of reputable life, let him teach, for all must be taught by God.*†

At first, it is highly probable that those who undertook the Church offices in various congregations, continued their former calling, and maintained themselves and their families by it afterwards, as they had done before. The congregations, which consisted for the most part of poor members, were not in a state to provide for the maintenance of their presbyters and deacons, especially as they had from the very beginning so many other demands on their Church chest, for the sup-

port of helpless widows, of the sick, and of orphans. It might happen that the presbyters belonged to the most wealthy part of the community, and this must have been often the case, because their office required a certain previous secular education, which would be more easily met with among the higher or the middle, than the lower orders. Since the presbyters, or bishops, were to distinguish themselves among the Christians, to whom they were to afford a pattern in all respects, by hospitality, (1 Tim. iii. 2,) they must have belonged to the wealthier classes, of whom there were not many in the first Churches,—and how could persons of that kind have borne to receive their maintenance out of funds that arose from the hard savings of their poorer brethren! St. Paul,* indeed, expressly declares that those who travelled about to preach the Gospel were justified in suffering themselves to receive the supply of their earthly wants from those for whose spiritual advantage they were labouring; but we have no right from this to draw the same conclusion with regard to the Church officers of particular communities. The former could not well unite the business necessary to earn their livelihood with the labours of their spiritual calling, although the self-denial of a Paul rendered even this possible; the others, on the contrary, might perfectly well unite, at first, the continuance of their employments with the execution of their duty in the Church; and the primitive ideas of Christians might find nothing offensive in such an union, as men were persuaded that every earthly employment may be sanctioned by the Christian feeling in which it is carried on, and they knew that even an apostle himself had united the exercise of a trade with the preaching of the Gospel. But when the members of the Churches became more numerous, and the duties of the Church officers were increased, especially when the office of teaching was limited, in great measure, to the presbyters; when the calling of spiritual persons, if they performed it duly, began to require their whole time and activity; it was often no longer possible

context, from the edition of Georgius. "Si non omnes Monogamiæ tenentur, unde Monogami in clerum? An ordo aliquis seorsum debet institui Monogamorum, de quo adlectio fiat in clerum? Sed quum extollimur et inflamur adversus clerum, tunc unum sumus, tunc omnes sacerdotes; quia sacerdotes nos Deo et patri fecit; quum ad peræquationem disciplinæ sacerdotalis provocamur, deponimus infulas et impares sumus." Now the part "tunc unum sumus," &c., is clearly ironical. It is the argument which the persons he addresses were too fond of using, and Tertullian speaks their language, and turns it upon themselves. Tertullian complains that those who were so ready to claim an *equality of spiritual rights with the priesthood*, were by no means equally ready to share any burdens incumbent on it. It was necessary to quote thus much to put the reader in full possession of the whole sense of the passage.—H. J. R.]

* Eusebius, vi. 19.

† Book viii. ch. 32.

* [I suppose the passage here alluded to is 1 Cor. ix. 1—14, and I would request those who are interested in these questions to read it attentively, and say whether there is any thing in it which applies only to persons *who travelled about* to preach the Gospel, or rather whether it does not concern all ministers, especially ver. 13.—H. J. R.]

for them to provide at the same time for their own support, and the richer Churches were also in circumstances to maintain them. From the Church fund, which was formed by the voluntary contributions of every member of the Church, at every Sunday service, or, as in the North African Church, on the first Sunday of every month,* a part was used for the pay of the spiritual order. It was then sought expressly to detach spiritual persons from employing themselves with earthly business; in the third century they were already strictly forbidden to undertake any employment, even a guardianship.† This regulation might certainly have been founded on good grounds, and have an useful object, namely, to prevent spiritual persons from forgetting their spiritual calling, in consequence of their earthly employments; for we may see from Cyprian de Lapsis,‡ how much even then the worldly spirit had made its way among the bishops during the long season of tranquillity, and that they were swallowed up with worldly affairs, and neglected their spiritual employments, and the advantage of their congregation. But here also the unevangelic notion of a separate priesthood, and a separate class of priests, made its appearance again clearly, as well as an unevangelic contrast between spiritual and secular persons. Now this *false* separation and distinction of the spiritual persons very possibly might not contribute to instil into them a genuine evangelical feeling, but might, on the contrary, further worldly feelings, hidden under the pretended holiness of spiritual pride; if the clergy thought that, by a magical sanctity communicated to their order, independent of personal conduct, they were beings of a higher order, and if they fancied that by the “opus operatum” of their outward duties alone, independently of their heart and conduct, they could draw

down and spread around them Divine graces; and if they looked upon themselves not as the *servants* of the Church, in the spirit of self-denial, but thought themselves supernatural mediators and priests for it. Cyprian quotes as the foundation of his prohibition, the passage from 2 Tim. ii. 4, but he feels thoroughly (a feeling which would then more naturally strike every one, because the character of a “miles Christi” was then considered the general calling of all Christians,) that these words are to be applied to all Christians, who, as soldiers of Christ, were to perform their service faithfully, and to preserve themselves from every thing worldly and uncongenial, which might take possession of their hearts, and render them untrue to their “sacramentum militiæ:” he, therefore, only concludes thus:—“How far, rather, inasmuch as *this* is addressed to all Christians, must those remain unentangled in worldly business, who, busied with Divine and spiritual things, do not stir from the Church, and ought to have no time for earthly and worldly affairs.” The clergy ought also in the application of that passage to themselves, to shine before the Church as its pattern; and this, indeed, is a just application of the passage! Only then the unevangelic fancy would instantly fasten itself on, that man approaches nearer to God by an *outward* withdrawal from earthly things, and can become desecrated by the mere use of these things, as if sanctification and desecration did not consist solely in the disposition of the spirit and the heart to God or to the world.

In regard to the election into Church offices, the old principle was, nevertheless, constantly abided by, that the consent of the Church was required to ratify such an election, and that the Church was at liberty to bring forward objections against it. The emperor Alexander Severus was aware of this regulation of the Christian Church, and he appealed to it, when he wished to introduce a similar course in the election of the civil magistrates in towns. When Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, separated from his Church by calamitous circumstances, named to Church offices, men of his neighbourhood who had particularly distinguished themselves in the persecution, he apologised for this arbitrary conduct, which had been wrung from him by necessity, before the laity and the clergy, and he writes to both: * “We are accus-

* The “divisiones mensuræ,” as the pay of spiritual persons in this Church, correspond to the monthly collection.

† Cyprian, Ep. lxvi. to the Church at Furnæ. (Ep. i. ed. Ox.)

‡ Also, in the eighteenth chapter of the Council of Elvira (Illiberis), l. 305. “Episcopi, presbyteri, et diaconi de locis suis negotiandi causa non decedant nec circummeantes provincias questuosas nundinas sectentur.” And yet it is here also supposed, that in many cases they might be compelled “ad victum sibi conquirendum,” as when for instance, if they received any pay at all, they received none in money; but then in these cases they only exercised their trade by means of a son, or a freedman, or a person hired for the purpose, and then not beyond the limits of their own province.

* Ep. xxxiii. [Ep. xxxviii. ed. Ox.]

tomed to call you together to consult previously to the consecration of spiritual offices, and to weigh the character and merits of all in a general consultation."

That principle was also recognised in the appointment to the episcopal office; it was the prevailing custom in the third century, and Cyprian deduced it from apostolic tradition, that the bishops of the province, with the clergy of the vacant Church, made the choice in presence of the congregation, who having seen the conduct of every one who could possibly be chosen, could give, therefore, the most sure testimony about them. Cyprian ascribed to the Church the right of choosing worthy bishops, or rejecting unworthy ones.* This right of approval or rejection, which belonged to the Church, was not an empty formality; it sometimes happened that before the usual arrangements for an election could take place, a bishop would be called upon by the voice of the Church, and the influence caused by this upon the elections was the cause of many divisions.

In other affairs of the Church also, the participation of the laity was not altogether excluded. Cyprian declares (Ep. v.,) that he had determined from the beginning of his episcopal office to do nothing without the consent of the community.† One of these Church affairs, in which all had an interest, was the reception again of those who had fallen away; and the inquiry which regarded this matter was to be undertaken with a meeting of the whole Church; for, according to Cyprian's judgment, this respect was due to the faith of those who had stood steadfast during the persecution.‡ There were, besides, individuals who did not belong to the clergy, and yet had obtained for themselves, by the reverence which they personally enjoyed, such an influence over the administration of Church affairs, that even the clergy themselves could not easily oppose them. These were the heroes of the faith, those who had made their confession of faith before the heathen magistrates, in the sight of the tortures and of death, or under the torture—the "confessores." (We shall, in the course of the history of the divisions of the Church, have further occasion to consider

the greatness of their influence more precisely.)

There is, however, here to be mentioned a peculiar arrangement, which we find in the North African Churches at the beginning of the fourth century, and which may, very probably, be the remains of an older and more general one. There were a class of leaders of the Church under the name of elders, "seniores plebis," who were expressly distinguished from the clerical body, and yet were considered as ecclesiastical persons, (*personæ ecclesiasticæ*;) who, as the representatives of the congregation, formed a middle class between the clergy and the laity, who were assembled together by the clergy in consultations on any matters of general interest, and who spoke in the name of the congregation, when any complaint was to be made against the clergy.*

It may, perhaps, be said, that this was no old arrangement, but rather one which took its rise at a very late period, namely, after Christianity had become the prevailing religion in many cities and districts of northern Africa, and that, as civil forms had often been transferred to ecclesiastical business, the civil burgesses or aldermen became also Church officers, and that a particular place was assigned to them in the discussion of matters relating to the Church. But it is hardly probable, judging merely from the thing itself, that in a time, when the hierarchial principle was so prevalent, an arrangement so foreign to the spirit of hierarchy, and more consonant to the oldest and free constitution of the Church, should have been first set on foot. It is far more probable of itself, that this regulation should have been retained as a remnant of a freer spirit of Church government, and propagated with some change in its circumstances.

There is a remarkable declaration to this purpose by Hilary, who wrote a com-

* Cyprian, in the name of a Synod, to the Churches of Leon and Astorga.

† *Nihil sine consensu plebis gerere.*

‡ Ep. xiii. [Ep. xviii. ed.] *Ox. præsentem etiam stantium plebe, quibus et ipsis pro fide et timore suo honor habendus est.*

* In a letter from a Numidian bishop, Purpurius, to another bishop, Silvanus of Cirta in Numidia, occurs the following passage. "Adhibete conclericos, et seniores plebis ecclesiasticos viros." They were required to make inquiry into some differences which had arisen between the bishop and a deacon. In another letter of the same bishop to the "clericos et seniores" of this city Cirta, all these persons being classed together, are desired to make inquiry into these differences, and compared in this respect to the elders, whom Moses called together to counsel. "Sine consilio seniorum nihil agebatur. Itaque et vos, quos scio omnem sapientiam cælestem et spiritalem habere, omni vestra virtute cognoscite, quæ si dis sensio nec et perducite ad pacem." Optat. Milevit. de schismate Donatistar. ed Du Pin. fol. 169.

mentary on the epistles of St. Paul in the fourth century. He says, "Among all people age is honoured, and hence the synagogues, and afterwards the Church, had elders, without whose counsel nothing was undertaken in the Church. I know not by what neglect this has become obsolete, unless it be by the laziness, or rather by the pride of the teachers, who fancy that they alone are of any consequence."*

The third, but less important change in the constitution of the Church, was in regard to the increase of the Church offices. This arose partly from the circumstance that when the congregations became more numerous, and the deacons' business was much increased, much which had hitherto been transacted by them passed away from them, and was put into the hands of other officers; partly because many new employments in regard to the Churches arose in the great towns; and partly, because what had hitherto been esteemed the free gift of the Spirit on all, or on particular Christians, was now connected with one particular office. There were the following Church offices; the sub-deacons, who attended the deacons in the execution of their outward duties; the "lectors," (*ἀναγινωσται*), who had to read the Holy Scriptures in the congregations, and to keep the copies of them used for this purpose, a duty, which probably at first either the presbyters themselves or the deacons had performed, for even in later times it remained the custom for the deacons particularly to read *the Gospels*; the acolyths (*ἀκολυθοί*), persons, as the name implies, who attended on the bishop in the duties of his office; the exorcist, who

performed the duty of prayer over those whom men believed possessed by evil spirits, (see above,) *i.e.* the "energumēni;" and the *θυρωροί, πυλοροί*, "ostiarīi," who had the management of such matters as related to the places of assembly, their cleaning, &c., and the opening and shutting of the Church doors, &c.

The office of reader is, perhaps, the oldest among these, it is mentioned by Tertullian (*Præscript. Hæret. c. 41.*) at the end of the second century; the others made their appearance together about the middle of the third century, and are all fully mentioned for the first time in a letter of the Romish bishop Cornelius, in Euseb. vi. 43. The office of an acolyth most probably arose from the hierarchial love of splendour in the Romish Church, and it did not extend to the Greek; and the Greek name is quite compatible with a Romish origin, by means of the Greek extraction of so many of the Romish bishops. As far as regards the office of exorcists, that which was performed by him, was originally considered as a work of the Holy Spirit, not connected with any outward institution, whether it was thought a work that might be performed by every Christian in faithful reliance on the overcomer of all evil, the Saviour, by calling on his name, or whether it was thought a peculiar gift of individual Christians. Now, it seems, the free work of the Spirit was to be connected with a lifeless mechanism; and yet the Apostolic Constitutions properly express the spirit of the old Church in opposition to such an order, when they say, "an exorcist cannot be chosen, for it is the gift of free grace."*

We pass now from the general constitution of the Churches, to the means of union in the several Churches between each other.

(2) *The bonds of connection between the various Churches with one another.*

CHRISTIANITY produced among its genuine professors from the first a lively Catholic spirit, and thence also an inward and mutual as well as outward connection. This connection must, from the nature of human things, assume a definite form, and this form was modelled after the existing form of those social connections, among which Christianity first made its appearance. A sisterly system

* *Ecclesia seniores habuit, quorum sine consilio nihil agebatur in ecclesia. Quod qua negligentia obsolverit nescio, nisi forte doctorum desidia, aut magis superbia, dum soli volunt aliqui videri.*" In order to evade the force of this passage, it may be said that here, under the name of *seniores*, the presbyters are understood, and that the disuse consisted in this, that these persons were no more called to debate by the doctors, *i.e.* the bishops, in all matters, as they had formerly been. But this explanation is by no means the most natural, neither is it apposite to the manner in which the word "doctors," nor that in which the word "*seniores*" is here used. This is more especially the case here, because the emphasis is expressly laid on the circumstance, that the "*seniores*" were literally the elder members of the Church; and this was certainly not true in regard to the presbyters, who were not usually above thirty years of age; and still more also because the passage alluded to (1 Tim. v.,) has nothing in it to lead one to think of presbyters.

* Lib. viii. c. 26, οὐ χειροτονῶνται, εἴνεκα γὰρ ἀκούσιν το ἱερατικόν, καὶ χειρὸς Θεοῦ δια χειρὸς τοῦ.

of equality, in the relation of the Churches to each other, would, independently of these particular circumstances, have best corresponded to the spirit of Christianity, and might have been most advantageous to its free and undisturbed publication. But these circumstances soon introduced a system of subordination into the relations of the Churches to each other, into which Christianity might enter, just as into all other human institutions, which contain nothing that is sinful by its very nature; but this system afterwards obtaining too great sway, exercised a restraining and destructive influence on the development of Christian doctrines and life.

We have before remarked, that in many districts Christianity early extended itself into the country; and where this happened, and the Christians were numerous enough in a village or country town to form a separate Church, it was most natural that they should at once choose their own presidents, presbyters, or bishops, who would be as independent as those of the Churches in the cities. In the very first centuries, however, from a want of documents relating to these times, we cannot point out any thing of the kind, but in the fourth century we find in many parts of the east those called country bishops (*χωρεπίσκοποι*), who certainly derive their origin from the earliest times, for in later periods, when once the system of Church subordination had been formed, and when the country churches were accustomed to receive their presidents from the city, a relation of this kind certainly could not have sprung up; which is proved by the struggle of the country bishops of this time with the bishops of the cities, who endeavoured to limit their power. But the more common case was, as we have before remarked, that Christianity extended itself first from cities to the country round, and as there were at first but few Christians in the country, in the neighbourhood of the city, it was most natural that they should at first go to the city on a Sunday, in order to frequent the assemblies held there. But when afterwards their number so increased, that they could form a church of their own, they allowed the bishop of the Church in the city, which they had been accustomed to join, to appoint them a presbyter, who thence remained always subject to the bishop. Thus arose the first great Church union between the Churches [*Ge-meinden*] of the city and of the country, which together formed one

whole.* In the greater cities it might have already become necessary to divide the congregations in the city into different portions, as in Rome, where in the report of the Romish bishop Cornelius, which we have quoted, we find already six and forty presbyters, although the account of Optatus of Mileve, that in Rome, at the beginning of the fourth century, there were more than forty churches [*Kirchen*] is an exaggeration. Nevertheless, it did not always happen that different Daughter-Churches, subject to the head and Mother-Church, were formed, but it was oftener the case that the Church remained as one whole, and it was only on Sundays and festivals, when one church could not contain them all, that they were divided among different churches, where the different presbyters conducted divine service after a certain cycle. We are, however, deficient in accounts of all that relates to this matter for this period, and we can only draw any conclusions by reasoning back from what we find in later times.

We may further remark, that as Christianity generally first spread from the towns into the country, so also did it generally extend itself (see above,) from the capitals (*Μητροπολεις*) into the other towns of the province. As now these latter were politically subject to the former, there was gradually formed between the churches of the provincial towns and those of the metropolis, a closer connection and a relation of subordination. The Churches of the province formed a whole, at the top of which was the Church of the metropolis, and the bishop of the latter was, in regard to the other bishops of the province, "*primus inter pares*." In consequence, however, of local causes, this relation did not always develope itself in the same manner, and for the most part it took place during this period only in the east.

In the same relation, in which these metropolitan towns stood to the provincial towns, were also the chief cities of the greater divisions of the Roman empire to these latter, as the seats of government, and the head-quarters of commercial and other intercourse. From such chief cities Christianity had spread itself into a whole great division of the enormous Roman empire; here the apostles themselves had founded Churches, appointed pastors,

* Such presidents of country Churches were those, of whom Cyprian spoke at the tribunal of the proconsul, when he said, "*Inveniuntur in civitatibus suis.*"

preached the Gospel with their own mouth, and they had written Epistles to the Churches founded here by themselves. These Churches were regarded with peculiar reverence, under the name of "ecclesiæ, sedes apostolicæ, matrices ecclesiæ." When any contest arose about Church discipline or doctrine, the first inquiry was, "How do people look on the matter in those Churches, where the principles delivered there by the apostles themselves, which have descended from generation to generation, have been faithfully maintained?" Such "ecclesiæ apostolica" were especially Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, Ephesus, Corinth.

But all these circumstances, which met together in the Churches of the great chief cities, centered in a peculiar degree in the Church of Rome, the capital of the world. It was known that the two great apostles, St. Paul and St. Peter, had taught in this Church, and had ennobled it by their martyrdom.* From Rome a large portion of the west had received the Gospel, from Rome all the general concerns of the Christian part of the Roman empire could best be directed; the Roman bishops, as pastors of the richest churches, had early distinguished themselves by their benevolence to the most remote Churches,† and a general interest united all the Churches of the Roman empire with that of the capital. In Rome was the "ecclesiæ apostolica," to which, as the common Mother-Church, the greater part of the West must appeal. For the most part, whatever took place in this "ecclesiæ apostolica," would be best known to all, for Christians were constantly flocking to Rome from all quarters. Thus Irenæus, who wrote in Gaul, as he sometimes appeals to other "ecclesiæ apostolicæ," in one passage particularly appeals to the "ecclesia apostolica" in Rome, as the greatest and the oldest, (though this last may be doubted,) as one known to all, and founded by the two most celebrated apostles, where Christians meet together from the churches of the whole world, and the doctrines delivered

by the apostles would necessarily be observed.*

By means of letters, and of brethren who travelled about, even the most remote Churches of the Roman empire were connected together. When a Christian arrived in a strange town, he first inquired for the Church [Gemeinde, *literally* congregation,] and he was here received as a brother, and provided with every thing needful for his spiritual or corporeal substance. But since deceivers, spies with evil intentions, and false teachers, who sought only to propagate their unevangelical doctrines among the simple-minded Christians, abused the confidence and the kindness of Christians, some measures of precaution became necessary, in order to avert the many injuries which might result from this conduct. An arrangement was, therefore, introduced, that only *such* travelling Christians should be received, as brethren, into Churches where they were strangers, as could produce a testimonial from the bishop of the Church from which they came. They called these Church letters, which were a kind of

* Lib. iii. c. 3, in the Latin translation, for, alas! the Greek original is lost. "Ad hanc ecclesiam propter potorem principalitatem necesse est, omnem convenire ecclesiam, hoc est, eos, qui sunt undique fideles, in qua semper ab his, qui sunt undique, conservata est ea, quæ est ab apostolis traditio." If we understand "convenire" in an intellectual sense, thus—All the Churches must agree with the Romish Church, as that which has the pre-eminence,—the passage affords no natural meaning, and far less such an one as would suit the other ideas of Irenæus. What would be the sense of saying: The Churches in the whole world have in the Romish Church retained the apostolical traditions? This could only be understood to mean, that the Romish Church was the central and representative point of all Christian Churches, as if (which was said in later times) the whole Church was "virtualiter" contained in the Romish; a notion of which no trace whatever can be found in Irenæus, and an expression which is entirely foreign to this whole period. And, besides, what need would there then have been of the explanatory addition, "eos qui sunt ubique fideles," as with such a context there could be no misunderstanding about the word "ecclesia." But all becomes quite clear, if we understand "*convenire*" of appearing personally, and then this addition is quite in place to show that here he is speaking of the Churches, not as a whole, but only of individual believers out of all Churches. Instead of "conservare" we must then read "observare." Compare the similar passage of Athenæus, lib. iii. p. 20, about the confluence of all cities and people to the *ἐκκλησία* Rome, *ὅτι οἰκουμενὸς ὁ δῆμος ἡ βασιλεὺς ἡ ῥωμαίων πόλις ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ οἰκουμενικοῦ, ἐν ἡ συνίδεν ἴσθιν οὕτως πάσας τὰς πόλεις ἰδρυμένας.*

* It is hypocritical to call in question the tradition preserved by the harmonious testimony of ecclesiastical antiquity, that St. Peter was at Rome. This tradition clearly comes down to us from a time in which men had not yet thought of upholding the supremacy of the Roman Church by means of the primacy of St. Peter.

† Euseb. Lib. iv. c. 23.

"tesseræ hospitales," by which the Christians of all quarters of the world were brought into connection, "epistolæ" or "literæ formatae," (γραμματα τετυπωμενα,) because, in order to avoid forgery, they were made after a certain schema,* (τυπος, forma,) or else "epistolæ communicatoriæ, γραμματα κοινηνικα," because they contained a proof that those who brought them were in the communion of the Church, as well as that the bishops, who mutually sent and received such letters, were in connection together by the communion of the Church; and afterwards these Church letters (epistolæ clericæ) were divided into different classes, according to the difference of their purposes.

As we above remarked that a closer bond of union was early formed between the Churches of the same province, so also the Christian catholic spirit [Gemeingeist] introduced the custom that, in all pressing matters, controversies on doctrinal points, things relating to the ecclesiastical life, and very commonly in those relating to Church discipline, general deliberations should be held by deputies from these Churches. Such assemblies become familiar to us in the controversies about the time of celebrating Easter, and in the transactions about the Montanistic prophecies, in the last half of the second century. But these provincial synods do not appear, as a constant and regular institution, fixed to definite times, until about the end of the second or the beginning of the third century; and it was in this case the peculiarity of one country, where particular local causes may have introduced *such* an arrangement earlier than in other regions. This country was in fact exactly Greece, where, from the time of the Achaic league, the system of confederation had maintained itself; and as Christianity is able to connect itself with all the peculiarities of a people, provided they contain nothing immoral, and entering into them, to take itself a peculiar form resembling them, so also it might easily happen, that here the civil federal spirit, which already existed, worked upon the ecclesiastical catholic spirit, and gave it earlier than in other regions a tolerably good form, so that out of the representative assemblies of the civil communities, (the Amphictyonic councils,) were formed the representative assemblies

of the ecclesiastical communities, (*i. e.* the provincial synods.) As the Christians, in the consciousness that they are nothing, and can do nothing, without the Spirit from above, were accustomed to begin all important business with prayer, they prepared themselves here also for their general deliberations by common prayer, at the opening of those assemblies to Him, who has promised that He will enlighten and guide, by his Spirit, those who believe in Him, if they will give themselves up to Him wholly, and that He will be amongst them, where they are gathered together in his name.*

It appears that this regular institution met at first with opposition as an innovation, so that Tertullian felt himself called upon to stand up in its defence.† Nevertheless, the ruling spirit of the Church decided for this institution, and down to the middle of the third century, the annual provincial synods appear to have been general in the Church, if we may draw this conclusion from the fact, that we find them prevalent, at the same time, in parts of the Church as far distant from each other as North Africa and Cappadocia.‡

These provincial synods might certainly become very useful for the Churches, and, in many respects, they did become so. By means of a general deliberation, the views of individuals might mutually be enlarged and corrected; wants, abuses, and necessary reforms, might thus more easily be mutually communicated, and be deliberated on in many different points of view, and the experience of every individual, by being communicated, might be made useful to all. Certainly, men had every right to trust that Christ would be among them, according to his promise, and would lead those, who were assembled *in his name*, by his Spirit. Certainly, it was neither enthusiasm nor hierarchical presumption, if the deputies collected together to consult upon the affairs of their Churches, and the pastors of these Churches, hoped that a higher Spirit than

* The following passage is from Tertullian, in a book written at the beginning of the third century, *De Jejunii*, c. xiii. "Auguntur per Græcias illa *certis in locis* concilia, per quæ et altiora quæque in commune tractantur et ipsa *representatio* totius nominis Christiani magna veneratione celebratur."

† *Ista solemnia*, quibus tunc præsens patrociniatus est sermo.

‡ Cyprian, *Ex. xl.*, and Firmilianus of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, in Cyprian, *Ep. lxxv.* "Necessario apud nos fit, ut per singulos annos seniores et præpositi in unum conveniamus, ad dispendenda ea, quæ curæ nostræ commissa sunt."

* We may see from Cyprian, *Ep. iii.* (vii. ed. Ox.) and Euseb. iv. 23, how necessary it was to guard against counterfeits of these letters.

that of man by *His* illumination, would show them what they could never find by their own reason, whose insufficiency they felt deeply, if it were left to itself. It would far rather have been a proud self-confidence, had they been so little acquainted with the shallowness of their own heart, the poverty of human reason, and the self-deceits of human wisdom, as to expect that, without the influence of that higher Spirit of holiness and truth, they could provide sufficiently for the advantage of their Churches.

But this confidence, in itself just and salutary, took a false and destructive turn, when it was not constantly accompanied by the spirit of humility and self-watchfulness, with fear and trembling; when men were not constantly mindful of the important condition under which alone man could hope to share in the fulfilment of that promise, in that Divine illumination and guidance—the condition, that they were really assembled in the name of Christ, in lively faith in Him, and honest devotion to Him, and prepared to sacrifice their own wills; and when people gave themselves up to the fancy, that such an assembly, whatever might be the hearts of those who were assembled, had unalienable claims to the illumination of the Holy Spirit; for then, in the confusion and the intermixture of human and Divine, men were abandoned to every kind of self-delusion, and the formula, “by the suggestion of the Holy Spirit,” (*Spirito sancto suggerente*) might become a pretence and sanction for all the suggestions of man’s own will.

And further, the provincial synods would necessarily become prejudicial to the progress of the Churches, if, instead of providing for the advantage of the Churches according to the changing wants of each period, they wished to lay down unchanging laws in changeable things. Evil was it at last, that the participation of the Churches [*Gemeinden*] was entirely excluded from these synods, that at length the bishops alone decided every thing in them, and that their power, by means of their connection with each other in these synods, was constantly on the increase.

As the provincial synods were also accustomed to communicate their resolutions to distant bishops, in weighty matters of general concernment, they were serviceable, at the same time, towards setting distant parts of the Church in connection with each other, and maintaining that connection.

(3.) *The Union of the whole Church into one whole, closely bound together in all its parts—The external Unity of the Romish Church.*

Thus, from the obscure grain of mustard-seed, sown in the world’s field, did the tree proceed, which increased above all the produce of the earth, and its branches extended themselves in all directions; namely, this great whole of the Catholic Church, which in all its scattered parts was still firmly united, and which, in its origin, its development, and its constitution, was utterly different from all mere human institutions. The consciousness of being a member of such a body, victorious over every opposition of earthly power, and destined for eternity, must have been more lively and more powerful in those who, having, in their earlier years of heathenism, known no bonds of union except those of a political and secular nature, had been blessed with no feelings of such a moral and spiritual bond of unity, which bound mankind together, as all members of the same heavenly community. Therefore, must this feeling have been stronger and more lofty, when all powers from without sought in vain to tear this bond in sunder. Justly might this unity, which revealed itself outwardly, this close bond of outward connection, be of great importance to Christians, as the symbol of that higher life, by the participation in which all Christians were to be united together, as the revelation of the unity of the kingdom of God. In the outward communion of the Church they perceived the blessing of the inward communion of the invisible kingdom of God, and they struggled for the maintenance of that unity, partly against the idealistic sects, who threatened to tear in sunder the inward bond of religious communion, the bond of faith, to introduce also into the Christian Church the old division between a religion for those in a high state of cultivation and a religion for the people (*πιστις* and *λειτουργία*), and, as Clement of Alexandria justly accused them, to distract the one Church, and divide it into a multitude of theosophic schools;* and partly against those who, blinded by self-will or passion, founded divisions on mere outward causes, while they agreed in faith with the rest.

But this polemical spirit, though it proceeded from a lively Christian feeling,

* The words of Clement (*Str.* vii. 755,) are, *ἡ χύσις προεσταθείς διατριβῆς πολλῶν ἢ ἐκκλησιῶν.*

which deeply felt the blessing of religious communion, this inward life in the Church, though it proceeded from a truly Christian source of warmth, was apt to seduce men into the opposite extreme of overprising the external unity of the Church, and of overprising the existing forms in the Church, with which that unity was combined. As men in the churchly life, as long as it proceeded from inward feelings of Christianity, and was still animated and penetrated by them, and ere it had been benumbed in dead forms, became conscious of this intimate connection between the visible and the invisible Church; as men, in the communion of this visible Church, felt deeply the blessing of communion with the Redeemer and with the whole body of saints, which receives its Divine living powers from Him, its head, and spreads them among its individual members; it was more likely on that account, in this polemical contrast, that they should be led away, so as too closely to interweave in idea also, that which had been thus joined and melted together in the experience and the feelings of every one, and also to lay it down in theory, that it was bound together in a necessary and indissoluble union. And thus then arose the confusion between the visible and the invisible Church, the confusion of the inward union of the invisible Church, an union of spirit which consists in faith and love, with the outward unity of the visible Church, which is dependent on certain and outward forms. As these forms of the Church were the instruments through which, by means of the feelings engendered on these forms, men had received the blessing of communion with the invisible Head of the Church, they were more easily induced too closely to join together form and essentials, the vessel of clay and the inestimable heavenly treasure, to attribute too much to the earthly form, and to consider a subjective union, in the life and hearts of individuals, as an objective and necessary one. The principle would form itself in the following mode: the external Church, which exists in this visible outward form, is, with all these outward forms, a Divine institution; we cannot make a distinction here between human and Divine; under this form has the Church received Divine things from Christ, and only under this form does she communicate them, and he alone can receive them who *receives* them from her in this *outward* form. The in-

visible Church, the kingdom of God, is represented in this outward form; and inward communion with that invisible Church, as well as the participation of all her advantages, is necessarily connected with outward communion with this external Church, which exists in these forms.

The confusion between the views of the Old and those of the New Testament on the theocracy, which we remarked above in the notions of the priesthood, also made its appearance again here. As in the Old Testament, the establishment and the extension of the theocracy was necessarily connected with many outward earthly things, which were only shadows and figures of that which was to appear in all its reality in Christianity, men would have it, that the theocracy of the New Testament must also depend for its establishment and propagation on similar visible and earthly things; as the theocracy of the Old Testament was necessarily joined with a definite outward and visible priesthood, so also they would have it, that that of the New Testament was also necessarily joined with an outward priesthood of the same sort, divinely founded also. Men forgot that the difference between the Church of Christ and the theocracy in the Old Testament, did not merely consist in the difference of outward signs and forms, but that there was a far more important distinction in the relation of the outward to the inward, of earthly things to heavenly and spiritual things. This is a most essential error, and has been the source of many other errors, with consequence of practical importance, which afterwards gradually unfolded themselves.

We find this confusion between the conception of the invisible and the visible Church, and the doctrine which was deduced from it, of an *outward* Church which could alone confer salvation, and hence of a necessary outward unity of that Church, first most decidedly pronounced and carried through most logically, in the remarkable book on the unity of the Church, (*de unitate ecclesiæ*,) which Cyprian, the bishop of Carthage, wrote after the middle of the third century, in the midst of the divisions with which he had to contend. This book contains a striking mixture of falsehood and truth. If we understand what Cyprian says, as referring to the communion of a higher life, to the necessary inward union with the one divine source of life in Christ,

from which alone true life can flow forth on all the members of the communion of saints, and to the necessary communion between this body and their head, through the direction of the heart in faith and feelings:—if we introduce into the conclusions of Cyprian, the difference between a visible and an invisible Church, between the inward unity of the kingdom of God, and the outward unity of a visible Church; between an inward communion with the Church of the redeemed, and an outward connection with a certain outward form, under which that Church, whose foundations are in the inward heart, in faith and in love, appears;—then, indeed, we shall find much truth in what he says against a proud and self-seeking spirit, which struggles to get free from its connection with the one kingdom of God, whose head, foundation, and centre-point, is Christ, and is anxious to set itself up as something independent. “Only endeavour,” says Cyprian, “to free the sunbeam from the sun! the unity of light will not be broken. Break the branch from the tree, and it can bear no fruit! Dissever the stream from the source, and it dries up! Thus also the Church, beamed upon by the light of the Lord, extends its beams over all the world, but it is still only one light, which spreads itself into all directions; from the bosom of that Church are we all born, nourished by her milk, and animated by her spirit. That which is torn asunder from the original stem, can neither breathe, nor live separate and independent.”* This is certainly all just enough, if we understand by that original whole, in connection with which alone each individual can thrive, the invisible Church of the redeemed under their invisible head, Christ; if we attribute that unity only to spiritual communion, and that separation only to a separation in heart; but the fundamental error, by which every thing which is really true in itself received a false application, was the transference of these notions from all this to an external Church, appearing under distinct outward forms, and necessarily dependent on them; a Church, which had maintained itself from the time of the apostles, under its existing constitution, by means of the bishops, its pillars, the successors of the apostles, and the heirs of the power,

which had been delivered to the apostles. Christ, according to this view, had imparted to the apostles, and the apostles, by ordination, had imparted to the bishops, the power of the Holy Ghost; by means of this external transmission, the power of the Holy Ghost, by which alone all religious acts can receive their true efficiency, was shed abroad and preserved to all times through the succession of bishops. Thus by this living and constantly progressing organization of the Church, was maintained that Divine life, which is imparted by this intermediate step from the head to all the members that remain in union with this organization; and he who cuts himself off from outward communion with this outward organization, shuts himself out from that Divine life and from the way to salvation. No one can, as an isolated individual, by faith in the Redeemer, receive a share in the Divine life, which proceeds from Him; no one can, by this faith alone, secure for himself all the advantages of the kingdom of God, but to all this man can alone attain by the instrumentality of the Catholic Church, which has been preserved by the succession of bishops.

Now those who conceived the spirit of the New Testament with a more unprejudiced and purer mind, appealed with justice against this confusion of the visible and the invisible Church, to the promise of our Saviour, that, “where two or three are gathered together in his name, there is he in the midst of them:” Matt. xviii. 20; and they contended that every union of the really faithful, under whatsoever form it might be, was a true Church. But Cyprian answers this objection by saying, that Christ has at the same time set forth harmony among the faithful, the unity of hearts in love, as the condition on which the fulfilment of this promise rests. He, therefore, concludes, “How can such a one be in harmony with any one when he is not in harmony with the body of the Church itself, and with the whole host of the brethren? How can two or three be gathered together in the name of Christ, if they are severed from Christ and from his Gospel?” Taken by itself, undoubtedly, the remark is just, that the being together in the name of Christ includes alike the communion of brotherly love and the communion of faith. He might also justly say, that those only, in whom this mark was present, could apply this promise to themselves, and he might justly oppose the application of it to those

* [See Cyprian, p. 108, ed. Fell. This is the substance of a part of Cyprian's treatise, but not a literal translation of any part of it.—H. J. R.]

who, impelled by a self-seeking and an unkindly spirit, had founded divisions in the Church. But he was wrong also here, because he was confounding cause and effect; these separatists were not excluded from the fulfilment of that promise, because they had departed from outward communion with the great body of the Church; not through this outward separation, but through the feeling from which their outward separation had proceeded: yes! through that feeling were they excluded from inward communion with Christ, and from his kingdom, even before they had outwardly separated from the visible Church. And, therefore, none but the Judge who can search the inward heart, could decide whether such persons were excluded from the kingdom of God by their evil heart; but that outward act was always a fallacious token to determine that such an evil heart existed. As the visible Church, considered in itself alone, is not the spotless Church of saints, and always bears many marks of the old and sinful nature upon her, which may have led men to mistake the character really belonging to her; therefore, many may have been actuated by innocent motives, to quit a Church in which they could not recognise the Church of the saints. There might be right and wrong on both sides, and misunderstandings on both sides, and neither party was, therefore, justified in judging the other, and instantly to condemn on account of outward acts, which may have proceeded out of very different motives.

As a false principle, by means of the deductions which develop themselves from it, is the source of many errors, so the error of a necessary visible unity of the Church led to the erroneous idea of a necessary outward representation of this unity. This notion, in its first germ apparently very indistinct, and of little signification, became, as it was further unfolded, full of important consequences.

Such a representation of the unity of the Church, men found at first in the relation of St. Peter to the other apostles, a conclusion to which an unprejudiced consideration of history and Scripture could not give rise. No trace is there found of any pre-eminence assigned to St. Peter over the other apostles, and such pre-eminence would have been contrary to the brotherly relation, in which the apostles stood to each other, and to the spirit of the economy of the New Testament, in which all, looking only to one

Guide and one Master, were to serve each other mutually. Such worldly thoughts of grandeur, proceeding from carnal pride, had, indeed, scattered their seeds into the breasts of the apostles, but it was before they had been born again of the Spirit; but how completely did their Divine Master condemn such thoughts; how expressly did He show them that they should speak of nothing like pre-eminence, but only of a contest of humility, of self-denial, and mutual service. With Him, none should make himself the first, but each the least among them all. Luke xxii. 24. St. Peter had his own peculiar charisma; He who looks into man's inmost heart, had recognised in him from the very beginning the future rock of faith: He brought into the service of the holiest things the fiery disposition of St. Peter, and his thorough going activity, qualities we must avow, which first required the influence of the Spirit from on high to change their carnal turn into a spiritual, to purify and to ennoble them. Through these means, Peter might become, in a peculiar degree, an instrument capable of furthering the kingdom of God; after becoming, through that purification of his earthly fire of disposition, the rock of faith and power, he was to strengthen and confirm the weaker brethren. Luke xxii. 32. But, for all this, he had no pre-eminence above the rest of the apostles, the others had again other charismata, by which they would be enabled to effect what his graces might be unfitted for. When Christ called Peter the Rock on which He would build his Church, (Matth. xvi. 18,) this significant declaration did not refer to any station among the apostles, peculiarly assigned to St. Peter, nor on the person of St. Peter alone, but on St. Peter, as the real and lively confessor of faith in Jesus, as our Messiah, the Son of the living God,—that faith, which is the inviolably firm foundation of a Church, against which even the gates of hell shall not prevail. All who have received this faith not merely in the letter by human teaching, which can never *give* such a faith, but in spirit and in truth through the inward revelation of the heavenly Father, therefore become, like St. Peter, rocks and pillars of the Church of Christ, which all the powers of hell shall never conquer. To all such, in the person of St. Peter, as Tertullian and Origen have well remarked, is this word of the Lord spoken. The same spiritual power which Christ bestows in this place

on St. Peter, He attributes in the same manner to the rest of the apostles in other passages. Matt. xviii. 18. John xx. 22.

In the conversation which our Saviour held with this apostle after the resurrection, (John xxi. 15,) He certainly had no intention of investing him with any pre-eminence over the rest; but it was by far rather his intention, to try a mild reproof of St. Peter's former self-confidence, which his subsequent conduct had contradicted and shown to be unfounded, to exhort him to faithfulness in his calling, which was no other than that of the rest of the apostles, and, indeed, of all preachers of the Gospel. As before, St. Peter, hurried on by his impetuous temper, in rash self-confidence, without rightly weighing the import of his words, had promised, that even if all the rest should yield to the fear of man, yet he would remain true to his Lord, and willingly give up his life for him, (John xiii. 37. Matt. xxvi. 35,) our Lord here reminds him, in words of mild reproof, but full of love, of this promise, which, because it had not proceeded from a spirit of humility had come to shame: "Sayest thou still," He says to him, "that thou lovest me more than these thy fellow-disciples?" And St. Peter, now brought to a knowledge of himself, and to a spirit of humility, is in a totally different mood, and far from measuring himself with others, says, with a trembling spirit, "Oh! thou that knowest the heart, thou knowest how, notwithstanding that momentary fall, my heart burns with love to thee!" Our Saviour now points out to him, how this love must show itself in actively fulfilling the duties of his calling, and what proof of his love he must one day be ready to give. This love must show itself in a faithful care of the souls of men, who are to be brought, by the preaching of the Gospel, to the one true common Shepherd,* who alone can satisfy all their wants. He who, when his hour of suffering was at hand, deserted his Lord, was, through love to Him, to receive the power as a true shepherd of human souls, after the example of Christ, to sacrifice his life in the calling of a preacher of the Gospel.

History, and the interpretation of Scripture, therefore, never could have given rise to the notion of an apostolic primacy of St. Peter, unless, as often happens, men had set out from preconceived ideas, and sought and found a foundation for them

to rest upon in individual passages, which they dis severed from the historical and logical context, and which they made to mean every thing, which the *mere words*, taken by themselves, could possibly signify. So did it here happen, that when once the idea of a necessary visible unity of the Church had been formed, an idea, from which the notion of a visible representation of this unity in some definite spot in the Church could easily develop itself, this latter notion found support and foundation in a misunderstanding of the passages relating to St. Peter.

Cyprian justly remarks, in his book on the Unity of the Church, that all the apostles had received from Christ the same dignity and power as St. Peter; but yet, in one place, thought he, Christ imparts this power especially to St. Peter; he says in particular of him, that He will build his Church on him; He commits the care of his sheep to him in particular, to show how the development of the Church and of the priesthood should proceed from one point, and to point attention to the unity of the Church and of the episcopal power. The apostle Peter is here the representative of the one Church, remaining steadfast in her unity, which proceeded from a Divine foundation, and of the one episcopal power, a power which, although it be diffused among many organs, still is, and remains only one in its origin and nature. And therefore, he who departs from outward communion with the one visible, catholic Church, tears himself away from that representation of the unity of the Church, which was annexed, by Divine appointment, to the person of St. Peter. How then can any one expect to remain a member of the Church of Christ, while he quits the *Cathedra Petri*, on whom the Church is founded.*

But although we should agree to recognise the apostle Peter as the representative of the unity of the Church, it by no means follows that a similar representative must exist in all the ages of the Church. It follows still less, that this representative must necessarily be in connection

* One trace of this method of explaining the expressions relating to St. Peter, is found in Tertullian, *Præscript. Hæret.* c. xxii. This is a proof of the non-Montanistic spirit of that work, because, on the contrary, in his work, *de Pudicitia*, where he speaks as a Montanist, he applies these passages to the person of St. Peter only as an "*homo spiritalis*," and makes them also applicable to all who were "*spiritalis*," as well as St. Peter.

* See the parable in John x.

with the Romish Church; for although the tradition that St. Peter visited the Church at Rome has never been called in question on any sufficient grounds, yet it is quite certain that he did not found this Church, and that he had never been in any particular manner its president. This Church can as little be called the *Cathedra Petri*, as the *Cathedra Pauli*. Irenæus and Tertullian are aware that St. Peter and St. Paul founded this Church and gave it a bishop, and that they ennobled it by making it the scene of their martyrdom; but they were quite ignorant of any pre-eminence of the Romish Church over other "*sedes apostolicæ*," as the *Cathedra Petri*. Hence, as the idea of the outward unity of the Church might generate that of an outward representative of that unity, so also the conception of this representative, in the person of the Apostle Peter, might easily receive such an application, as if such a representative of the outward unity of the Church in one definite spot in the Church, essentially belonged to the outward unity of the Church, and to all periods. And as most of the Western Churches were now accustomed to consider the Church of Rome as their mother-Church, as the "*ecclesia apostolica*," to whose authority they specially appealed; as they were accustomed to call St. Peter the founder of the Romish Church, and to quote the tradition of that Church as proceeding from him; as Rome was then the seat of the political unity of dominion; it came to pass, that men became accustomed to look upon the Church of Rome as the *Cathedra Petri*, and to transfer what was usually said of St. Peter, as the representative of the unity of the Church, to this *Cathedra Petri*. In Cyprian we find this connection of ideas already thus formed. We need not refer to the passage in the book *de Unitate Ecclesiæ*, in which the reading is doubtful;*

* Even if the suspected words in the following passage, which are here inclosed in brackets, are genuine: "*Qui ecclesiæ renittitur et resistit, [qui cathedram Petri, super quem fundata est ecclesia, deserit,] in ecclesia se esse confidit?*" we have no right immediately to conclude that he was here directly thinking of the *cathedra Petri* in the Church of Rome, as existing in his time, but according to the context, the clauses, "*ecclesiæ reniti*," and "*cathedram Petri deserere*," would be by far better taken in apposition, so as to make him say, "He who breaks loose from the one Church, invades and injures the representation of the unity of the Church, bound up in the person of St. Peter by Christ himself. The whole apostolical and episcopal power and might, although it is set forth

in a passage beyond all controversy, (*Ep. lv. ad Cornel. Ep. lix. ed. Ox.*) he calls the Church of Rome "*Petri cathedra, ecclesia principalis, unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est.*"

It must be confessed that this idea was at first very confused and indefinite, but after the false principle had once been admitted and firmly rooted, it might be just so much the more introduced into such an indefinite representation, and unfold itself the better therefrom. This idea appears early to have obtained a firm and definite form in the minds of the bishops of Rome, and Roman ambition also appears early to have mingled itself with ecclesiastical matters, and to have come forward in a spiritual garb.

We observe that already, in early times, there were traces in the Romish bishops of an assumption, that a peculiarly decisive authority was due to them, as the successors of St. Peter, in Church controversies, and that the "*cathedra Petri*" was to have a prevailing sway before all other "*ecclesiæ apostolicæ*," as the source of apostolical tradition. The Romish bishop Victor, gave a specimen of this assumption, when he excommunicated the Churches of Asia Minor, about A. D. 190, in consequence of a trifling dispute about a mere external point.* In the Montanistic writings of Tertullian, we find that the Romish bishops had already issued peremptory edicts in ecclesiastical matters, and wished to make themselves considered as "*episcopi episcoporum*,"† and that they were in the habit of appealing to the authority of their "*antecessores*."‡

The Romish bishop Stephanus, allowed himself, after the middle of the second century, to be carried away by the same spirit of hierarchial encroachment as his predecessor Victor, and in a controversy of no importance,§ he also was desirous

in many different organs, is represented as one, in the spiritual power given by our Lord to St. Peter. To renounce obedience to the whole episcopatus, or the cathedra of all the bishops, considered as one whole—the *Cathedra Petri*—is here the meaning of the phrase to assault or invade the *Cathedra Petri*.

* A controversy about the time of celebrating Easter, which we shall have to mention in its proper place.

† Tertullian, *de Pedicidia*, c. 1. "*Audio, edictum esse propositum et quidem peremptorium; pontifex scilicet maximus, quod est episcopus episcoporum, edicit.*"

‡ Tertull. *de Virg. Velandis*.

§ The controversy, which we shall also have to treat of in another place, about the validity of baptism administered by heretics.

of imposing the tradition of the Romish Church as an invariable and decisive rule for all other Churches; and he excommunicated the Churches of Asia Minor and Africa, which would not submit to this rule.*

But it was far from being the case, that these assumptions of the Church of Rome had penetrated the whole body of Christians: in the first mentioned controversy, the Churches of Asia Minor, without being led into even a momentary error by the high language of a Victor, declared their principles, and they opposed the tradition of the Church of Rome by those of *their* "sedes apostolicæ." Irenæus, the bishop of Lyons, in a letter to the Romish bishop Victor, expressly blames his unchristian arrogance, although in the thing itself, which was the point in dispute, he agreed with him. He disapproved of the attempt of Victor to impose *one* form of churchly life upon all Churches; he declared that nothing was needed but agreement in faith and love, and that this, so far from being injured by differences in outward things, would only shine forth more clearly through these very differences, and he recognised the right of all Churches freely and independently to follow their ancient customs in such matters. Although Cyprian, as we have remarked above, considered the Romish Church as really the "cathedra Petri," and the representation of this outward unity of the Church, he was, nevertheless, far from deducing from these grounds that a right of decision, in controverted Church matters, belonged to this Church. On the contrary, he firmly and powerfully maintained the independence of individual bishops in the administration of their Churches after their own principles, and he carried through what he acknowledged as right, even against the opposition of the Romish Church. In the beginning of the second of those controversies to which we have alluded, when he communicated the principles of the North African Church, which he well knew were at variance with the usage of the Romish, to Stephanus, the bishop of Rome, he wrote to him in the name of a synod, as a college, which considered itself quite equal in dignity and rights, would do to another; and he said, "We have communicated these things to you, dearest brother, in virtue of our common dignity and in sincere love, for we trust

that, out of your own religion and faith, those things will be well pleasing to you which are agreeable to religion and truth. We are, however, aware that some men are unwilling to lay aside what they have once taken up, and are unwilling to change their principles, but that they retain some peculiarities of their own, without breaking the bond of peace and concord which binds them to their colleagues. In such matters we put no restraint on any man, nor do we lay down any law, since every president of a Church has the use of his freewill in the administration of his Church, for which he will hereafter have to give an account only to the Lord."*

After the violent declarations of the Romish bishop had been delivered, he proclaimed the same principle before an assembly of more than eighty bishops of Northern Africa, when he required of each of them to give his sentiments freely, for no one should make himself a bishop over the bishops. When Stephanus appealed to the authority of the ancient Romish tradition, and spoke against innovations; Cyprian said in reply,† that it was far rather Stephanus, who made innovations, and fell away from the unity of the Church. "Whence, then, is that tradition? Is it deduced from the words of the Lord, and from the authority of the Gospels, or from the doctrine and the epistles of the apostles? Custom, which has crept in with some people, must not prevent truth from prevailing and triumphing, for custom without truth is nothing but inveterate [or antiquated] error." He very properly remarks, that it is by no means beneath the dignity of the Romish bishop, any more than of any other, to allow himself to be set right where he has gone wrong. "For the bishop must not only *teach*, but also *learn*, for he surely *teaches* best, who is daily learning something, and advancing by learning what is best." Firmilianus, the bishop of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, in testifying his agreement with Cyprian, (Ep. lxxv.) expressed himself also very strongly against the unchristian conduct of Stephanus, when this latter forbade the Romish Church to receive the deputies of the North African Synod into their houses. He accuses him, while he boasts of being

* Nihil innovetur, nisi quod traditum est. He gave out, "se successionem cathedram Petri habere." Cyprian. Ep. lxxiv. lxxv.

* Pro communi honore et pro simplici dilectione. Qua in re nec nos vim cuiquam facimus aut legem damus, quando habet in ecclesiæ administratione voluntatis suæ arbitrium liberum unusquisque præpositus, rationem actus sui Domino redditurus. Cyprian. Ep. lxxii.
† Ep. lxxiv. ad Pompej.

the successor of St. Peter, on whom the unity of the Church was built, of destroying the unity of the Church, by his uncharitable and ambitious conduct. He opposes the tradition of other old Churches as well as dogmatical arguments, to the tradition of the Romish Church, which had been brought forward, and in order to show that the Romans did not observe the apostolical traditions in all things, he observes that, in many Church matters, they departed from the customs of the Church of Jerusalem and other old apostolical Churches, but that men had not thought it worth while to disturb the unity and the peace of the Catholic Church on account of these differences.*

Cyprian had already shown, on a former occasion of a different kind, how far he was from attributing a supreme authority in the Church to the bishop of Rome, and from supporting him in the exercise of it. Two Spanish bishops, Basilides and Martialis, had been deposed from their office by the synod, as *libellatici*, and on account of other faults, and they had themselves acknowledged the validity of the sentence. The provincial bishops, having convoked the Church over which Basilides had presided, had already chosen another in his place. But the two deposed bishops went to Stephanus, the bishop of Rome, and he, assuming to himself the authority of a superior court, reversed the sentence of the Spanish Church, and replaced both of them in their office; whether it was that he found the grounds of justification, which they alleged, satisfactory, or whether it was the custom at that time in the Romish Church, to take the part of those who appealed to it. A contest now arose in Spain, whether the first sentence or the reversal should be valid, and an appeal was made to the North African Church, to ascertain their sentiments. The North African synod, at Carthage, in whose name Cyprian answered, had no hesitation in declaring the sentence of the Romish bishop invalid, and they strongly charged the Spanish synod not to continue the two unworthy bishops in their offices. Cyprian did not enter into the question whether the Romish bishop had any right to make any such a judicial inquiry, but he declared without any further discussion that this unjust sentence, founded on

insufficient grounds, was void. In Ep. lxxviii., (Ep. lxxvii. ed. Ox.,) he writes thus: "The regular ordination (of the successor of Basilides) cannot be rendered invalid, on the ground that Basilides, after the discovery and the avowal of his fault, went to Rome and deceived our colleague Stephanus, who lives at a distance, and is unacquainted with the true circumstances of the case, so that he, who had been deposed by a just sentence, was able to obtain an unjust sentence to reinstate him." Perhaps the mortified hierarchical ambition of Stephanus, in this event, although Cyprian spoke of him as yet with great tenderness, may have had some influence in exciting him to the stubborn part which he took in the second controversy, which we have just been mentioning.

II. Church Discipline.—Excommunication from the visible Church, and re-admission into it.

THE Divine Founder of the Church, whose penetrating glance could trace its progress through the succession of ages, by the significant parable in which He represented its condition, (Matt. xiii.) had proclaimed, that it would consist, according to its earthly composition, of a mixture of true and false members, of such as, although united by the outward bond of the Church, were separated from one another by their inward dispositions, and in part belonged to the kingdom of God, in part to the ungodly world. He had before declared that this mixture should endure to the end of earthly things, and He reserved the public sifting and separation of this mass of men, so different in their dispositions from each other, to his final judgment alone. He had blamed that hasty and intemperate zeal of man, which, while it would separate the tares and the good seed before the proper season comes, is apt to pull up the hidden seed of the wheat with the tares, for much which is but weeds at first, may become changed to good fruit in the bosom of the Church. Many who at first had been members only of this visible Church, being gradually attracted by its influence from outward to inward things, might be formed into members of the invisible Church; and the outward Church may and ought in this manner to be not only the revealer and representation of the kingdom of God, which she is constantly for her genuine members, but also an *instructress* to educate man for the kingdom of God. Now no human eye is in a con-

* Eos autem qui Romæ sunt, non ea in omnibus observare, quæ sunt ab origine tradita, et frustra apostolorum auctoritatem prætere.

dition to effect such a separation in real truth; every human eye may be deceived by appearances, to which the inward thoughts do not correspond. But according to our Lord's expression, (Matt. vii.) the good and the evil tree are necessarily distinguished by their fruits, but the inward condition of this fruit, the disposition from which the works proceed, and on which, as far as the moral worth of actions is concerned, every thing depends, often cannot be inquired into by a mere human judgment. All evil does not show itself by gross outbreaks of passions and desires, so as to strike the eye, and much may *appear* to be done in the name of Christ, with Christian intentions, to the honour of Christ, and *seem* to produce great temporary results for the furtherance of his kingdom, which did not truly proceed from the Spirit of Christ, and is not recognised by Him as the work of His Spirit, as He says, that many will appear to have wrought great deeds in his name, whom He will not acknowledge as belonging to him. Matt. vii. 22.

Nevertheless, although no human judgment can fully separate the genuine members of the Church from those who are not so, yet even mere human judgment, if it would only have followed the rules of the Gospel, might have been in a condition to recognise as really evil *much* foreign matter, which had attached itself to the outward form of the Church, and showed itself in the open outbreaks of an unregenerated and ungodly heart, and then to eject it from the bosom of the visible Church. It belongs to the natural rights of every society, to exclude those who are untrue to its principles from the society, and hence this was one of the natural rights of *every Christian Church*. In regard to the exercise of this right, the Christian Church had only to follow the example of the Jewish, for there were already in the Jewish synagogues formulæ for the exclusion of those who had departed from the principles of true religion, either in theory or practice, and there were, besides, regular gradations of this exclusion. Many difficulties and disadvantages, which rendered the exercise of this right more difficult in aftertimes, when civil and ecclesiastical society had become more united, would perhaps have no existence while the Church remained one independent whole, entirely severed from the heathen state. In order to preserve the Church from the contagion of heathen immorality, to keep it as pure as

possible in its inward parts, and to discountenance the notion, that a man might be a Christian, and yet continue in heathenish habits of sin; the Churches, from the beginning, renounced all communion with those who had violated their pledges to a God-devoted life, and their baptismal vow of renouncing the kingdom of evil and all its works, by any great and notorious sins, or whose conduct openly showed that they were strangers to the practical influence of Christianity, and that they had continued to live like unconverted men, in the service of sin, or having left it, had relapsed again into it. These men were to be shown, that under these circumstances, they would be necessarily excluded, by their conduct, from the enjoyment of the rights and advantages which belonged to the Christians. By this exclusion of unworthy members from the society of Christians, the heathen would also be deprived of an opportunity of laying the crimes of individuals, who falsely called themselves Christians, to the charge of religion itself.

St. Paul, therefore, declared the Christian Churches not only justified in ejecting from their society those whose conduct rendered them clearly unworthy of the name of Christian brother, but absolutely bound to do so. 1 Cor. v. The Christians might eat with all the heathen, and live in any sort of intercourse with them; but they were to avoid entirely all dealings of every kind with those brethren who had fallen away from their religion, to show them, in the most pointed manner, that they had renounced all brotherly communion with them. Tertullian, therefore, might say to the heathen, "Those who are no Christians, are improperly called so. Such men take no part in our congregations; they do not receive the communion with us; they are become yours again through their sins; for we have no intercourse, even with those whom your cruelty has compelled to recant; and we should by far rather endure among us those who have departed from the principles of our faith by compulsion, than those who have done so of their own accord. Moreover, you have no right to call those men Christians who have never been recognised as such by the Christians, who are unable to dissemble themselves."*

But the Church must also prove an *instructress*, she must never give up the

* Ad. Nation. i. 5.

hope of recovering those who have fallen away! By this very exclusion from intercourse with the brethren, those persons, if they had still a single spark of faith within them, if they had ever received any wholesome impressions in their hearts, ought to be brought to a consciousness of their guilt, and awakened to a fruitful repentance. If there be any signs, as far as man can judge, of such a change in their life, then their brethren must offer them consolation, and receive them again into their communion. This was the arrangement of St. Paul. Many regulations were afterwards gradually made about the cases, in which excommunication was to take place, and on the kind of life which the excommunicated ought to lead, when they desired to be re-admitted to the communion of the Church; the proofs of repentance and penitence which they ought to give; the length of time which they ought to remain under excommunication: and all these things were arranged with due regard to the difference of the transgressions, and the different conduct manifested by the offenders. (Gefallenen. Lapsi.) That class of them who had been excommunicated for their offences, and by penitence, were earning for themselves at first re-admission into the Church, and admittance to the communion, were called the *Pœnitentes*. Tertullian says, (*de Pœnitentia*, c. ix.,) "that they should express their contrition by their whole appearance, and with fasting;" (which, in these early days, usually accompanied the special gathering up of the heart for prayer,) "they should pray to God for the forgiveness of their sins, make confession of their sins before the Church, and begging all their Christian brethren to pray in their behalf, they should throw themselves at the feet of the presbyters, and the known friends of God."* Origen (in the third book of his work against Celsus, p. 147,†) writes thus: "The Christians mourn for those who are carried away by lust, or any other passion, as if they were dead; and when they have given proofs, for a long time, of their real change of sentiments, they receive them again for catechumens, just as they would receive men that rose from the dead." After their repentance had been proved genuine for a length of time, absolution and re-admission into the Church was

imparted to them by the sign of peace and blessing, the laying on of hands by the bishop and the clergy.

The pastors of the Christian Church, who were animated by the spirit of vital Christianity, did not fail to point to the inward nature of Christian penitence, and to represent those outward acts of penance, as tokens of the inward feelings and sensations of the heart. "If a man condemns himself," says Tertullian, (*de Pœnit. c. ix.*,) "God acquits him; so far as thou sparest not thyself, believe me, God will spare thee." They laid great stress on the difference between the absolution of the priests and the Divine forgiveness of sins, and they declared that absolution can only reach its proper end in regard to him on whom it is bestowed, when he is really fitted for the forgiveness of his sins by the feelings of his heart, which are open to God alone, who can look upon the inward man. Thus Firmilianus, the bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, in the latter half of the third century, speaks after this manner: "The bishops and presbyters meet every year with us, in order to take counsel together on matters of general interest, and to consult for the spiritual cure of our fallen brethren, by means of penitence: not as if they received from us the forgiveness of their sins, but that they may be brought to a consciousness of their sins by us, and compelled to make a more perfect satisfaction to the Lord." (Cyprian, *Ep. lxxv.*) Cyprian himself declares, (*Ep. lii. ad Antonian. Ep. lv. ed. Ox.*,) "We do not prejudice God's jurisdiction in this matter, so that He should not be the ratifier of what we determine, if He find the penitence of the sinner true and perfect. But if any man has deceived us by a counterfeit repentance, then let God, who is not mocked, and can look upon the heart of man, decide on *that* in which we are unable to judge, and correct the sentence of his servants."

But even here, in this Church penitence, there was, in some degree, a mischievous taint of that confusion between outward and inward which we have above remarked; of that confusion between the visible and the invisible Church, and of that false representation of a New Testament priesthood, analogous to that of the Old. According to the pure evangelic view of this matter, it is an exclusion from the invisible Church alone that can prejudice the salvation of the sinner; and this, each man can only bring down upon

* [This is a loose translation of the original passage. I have followed the German.]

† [P. 143, ed. Spencer.—H. J. R.]

himself by his own dispositions; and, according to this view, there is only one means for him to obtain forgiveness of his sins, and admittance to the communion of the invisible Church—that is, penitence with faith, by which the sinner appropriates to himself what Christ hath done for the salvation of mankind. He who thus obtains communion with the Redeemer, is a member of the invisible Church, whether he be received into any visible Church or not. Every Christian for himself, every Christian, without any distinction, for others, can administer the priestly office, of announcing to himself or to his brother the forgiveness of sins, obtained for all mankind, and assured to them by the one eternal High Priest. This declaration can never properly be made, without the presupposed condition of a genuine repentance in faith. All must depend on this heartfelt penitence; all that is outward can have no meaning, except as a spontaneous fruit of that inward feeling, as a free declaration of that feeling, not dependent on any thing arbitrary whatever. These outward acts may be different, according to the difference of men's hearts, relations and circumstances. The feelings of the heart will not bear to have it prescribed, in what uniform mode, and by what outward demeanour of a settled and prescribed character, they shall be shown outwardly.

But then, after that error had once taken deep root, men must have attributed a greater importance to excommunication from the visible Church, than they ought to do, when considered in itself, in a pure and evangelical point of view, because this visible Church appeared to them the only means by which they could enter into communion with the invisible. This fundamental error might easily lead men to confound the confession of their sins before the outward Church,* which is no essential part of true penitence, the humiliation before an outward Church, before a visible priesthood, before men and creatures, an humiliation which cannot be prescribed fairly to any man—with an inward confession of sins before God, with an heartfelt humiliation before God, without which there can be no true penitence; it

might easily induce men to confound acts of penitence required by an outward Church, acts which no human authority was justified in exacting as part of the Divine law, acts which might be done in hypocrisy, and in which, as an “opus operatum,” that satisfied the law, men were apt to forget inward penitence; it might lead men, I say, to confound these acts with *that true inward penitence* of the heart, which is an indispensable condition of forgiveness of sins; and to confound likewise re-admission into the outward communion of the Church with a reception into the inward communion of the invisible Church; and lastly, the priestly absolution with the forgiveness of sins through God.* Absolution was, under this point of view, to be a peculiar act of the Judæo-Christian priesthood, which every Christian was not capable of performing, and it must have been looked upon as something more than the mere announcement of God's forgiveness of sin, which every Christian, as a preacher of the Gospel, was competent to make for himself and others. The spiritual power of the apostles, also, in this respect, would be conceived transferred to the bishops by means of ordination, and the power of binding and loosing committed to the apostles, was appealed to, although this promise of our Lord contained nothing to justify such an interpretation of it. It may be imagined that these words presupposed a gift bestowed by the power of the Spirit of God on the apostles,—a gift of looking into the hearts of men,—in virtue of which they were able to distinguish, in each individual case, the dispositions which made men fitted to receive the forgiveness of their sins, from those which excluded them from such a mercy; and therefore, was it, that their spiritual sentence of condemnation or acquittal, being founded on an infallible knowledge of men's hearts, by which they judged, must

* [This accusation has sometimes been made against the Church of England by those who will understand her forms of absolution in a sense which by far the greater part of her writers utterly disclaim, and a sense which in the form most assailed (the form in the visitation of the sick) is quite incompatible with the prayer which immediately follows it. Some of the usual misrepresentations on this subject are noticed in an article in the number of the British Critic for July, 1831, on Stratten's Book of the Priesthood.—H. J. R.]

† [“Ihr verdammender, oder friesprechender, geistlicher Richterspruch.” Germ. “Geistlicher” is, perhaps, here to be taken in the sense of ecclesiastical. I therefore, quote the original, that my readers may judge.—H. J. R.]

* As in the following words of the confessors, in a letter to Cyprian, Ep. xxvi. (Ep. xxxi. ed. Ox.) where they bring forward, as a mark of true penitence, the “humilitas atque subjectio, quæ alienum de se expectat iudicium, alienam de suo sustinet sententiam.”

necessarily harmonise with the judicial sentence of God, who declared his judgment by them, as his organs, and it would, therefore, infallibly be ratified and rendered efficacious. And in this case the Montanists, and in some degree, Origen,* would have had a full right to apply this promise, but to those only who had the same measure of illumination as the apostles. This would be a gift of a nature, of which we find some examples certainly among the apostles, as in the conduct of St. Peter towards Ananias and Sapphira; but then such a gift could only be required or serviceable for the *peculiar* calling of an apostle, and we cannot conclude from any passage in the New Testament, that such a gift should continue forever in the Church, and least of all that a priesthood should be propagated in the Church as the possessors of such a gift. And yet, after all, we do not so much as once find that even the apostles ascribed to themselves any *abiding* gift, by which their judgment on men's hearts was to be preserved infallible in every case.

If we now compare particularly the context of this promise, in John xx. 21, and similar passages, where Christ proclaims the apostles his trust-worthy organs in the preaching of the Gospel; we shall be led to see nothing in the power of the keys, as regards the kingdom of heaven, than the power which lies of itself in the power of preaching the Gospel, the power of proclaiming remission of sins and admission into the kingdom of

heaven to believers, in as far as they do believe, and of proclaiming condemnation and exclusion from the kingdom of God to the unbelievers, in as far as they exclude themselves by their guilty desires and dispositions from the only justifying and saving means, and from the only means of admission into that kingdom; for the Gospel, by its very nature, (2 Cor. ii. 14,) is a savour of life unto life, or of death unto death, just as men make it by their own dispositions. And thus there will be found in that promise nothing more than what is competent to every Christian, who preaches the pure Gospel.

If men had made clearly the distinction between the visible and the invisible Church, and declared clearly, that absolution is nothing else than the announcement of the forgiveness of sins, which is bestowed by Christ under the condition of faith and repentance, then the controversy between the milder and the stricter party, as to penance, might have been more easily set at rest. All were agreed on the distinction between those sins, into which all Christians might fall, in consequence of the sinfulness of their nature which clings to them, and those which clearly show, that he who commits them, is still living in the service of sin, as a constant habit, and that he is none of the redeemed nor regenerate, that he is no Christian, and is in the land of destruction—in short, the distinction between “*peccata venialia*” and “*peccata mortalia*,” or “*ad mortem*.” This distinction was found in the first Epistle of St. John; besides the denial of the faith, men reckoned as sins of the second class—deceit, theft, incontinence, adultery, &c. Now the principle of the milder party, which gradually obtained the upper hand was this:—the Church must receive every fallen member into whatever sins he may have fallen, she must hope for the forgiveness of the sins of all, under the condition of a sincere repentance, and, at least in the hour of death, the absolution and the communion must be given to all such as have shown true penitence up to that time. The other party would never consent to the re-admission into Church communion of those who had violated their baptismal covenant by sins of this latter kind. They said:—these men have despised the forgiveness of sins which Christ obtained for them, and which was assured to them in baptism, no decree of God is *revealed* in regard to them, the Church is, therefore, in no case justified

* Origen, who had experienced in his own person the prejudicial effects of the ecclesiastical power of judgment, assumed by the bishops, contends against it, (T. xii. Matth.) and says, that this power, committed to St. Peter, could only be conceded to those who partook with St. Peter of all the “*predicates*” contained in that passage, who alone enlightened like him by the Spirit of God, could pass an infallible sentence, through which God himself would judge. “But as for those who, in order to make themselves of consequence as bishops, made use of this passage and applied it to themselves, as to St. Peter, as if they had themselves received the keys of the kingdom of heaven from our Saviour; they must be told that they are quite right, *if they possess those things*, on account of which this was said to St. Peter—Him, who is not bound by the chain of his sins, neither God himself, nor he, that is St. Peter himself, can bind. But if a man be no St. Peter, and hath not that which is there named, he misunderstands the sentence of Scripture in his pride, and judges in his pride like Satan.”*

* [The passage from which this is abridged occurs in Huet's edition, vol. i. p. 279, 280, in § xii. on Matth.—H. J. R.]

in proclaiming to them the forgiveness of their sins, and she must leave them in the hands of God. The one party would not suffer any limits to be put to the grace of God towards repentant sinners; the other wished to uphold the holiness of God, and feared that men should make their brethren secure and easy in a sinful life, by a false reliance on the power of the absolution of the priest.

III. *The History of Divisions in the Church, or Schisms.*

THE schismata, or what in stricter language are called *divisions* of the Church, must be carefully distinguished from what are properly called *heresies*. The former are such separations from the prevailing Church, as arise from certain outward occasions and circumstances, which relate to the constitution and discipline of the Church; the latter are such separations from it, as spring from differences and controversies on points of doctrine. While, therefore, what we have to say of the latter is intimately connected with the genetic development and progress of Christianity, as far as regards its doctrines, the representation of the former is in the closest connection with the history of the constitution and discipline of the Church, and both illustrate each other mutually. In a dogmatical point of view, indeed, the history of the Church *divisions* is only important as serving to illustrate the progress of the doctrine about the Church, but then the development of *this* doctrine is completely interwoven with the history of the constitution of the Church, so that it seems the most suited to our purpose, to bring forward the history of schisms in connection with the chapter which treats generally of the constitution of the Church.

In this period we have to record two remarkable divisions in the Church, both of which, *as well* in regard to the time in which they arose, as to the Churches and persons who bore part in them, are intimately connected together. In the history of both these divisions, the monarchical episcopal system is seen coming forth victorious from the struggle with presbyterianism: in both, Catholicism rises victorious over separatism, and both divisions tended to the establishment of the system of the unity of the Church. These divisions are those of Felicissimus and of Novatian, the former proceeding from the Church of Northern Africa, and the other from the Romish Church.

The former had its source, remote indeed, but lying deep, in the circumstances which accompanied the election of Cyprian to the bishopric of Carthage: this person had been chosen by the voice of the Church; but a part of the clergy, from reasons with which we are unacquainted, and on which we can, therefore, pass no judgment, were discontented with this choice, (perhaps, because some one or other of the opponents of Cyprian had promised himself the episcopal office,) and the chief persons at the head of this party were five bresbyters.* Now these five presbyters continued their efforts, together with their supporters, to contend against the episcopal authority of Cyprian; and as the presbyters were still mindful of their former rights, and desirous to preserve their old influence on the government of the Church, it was impossible to avoid a contest between a bishop like Cyprian, a bishop who would act decidedly with strong views of the highest spiritual power, which he believed himself to possess by Divine right, and his antagonists in the college of presbyters.

It usually happens, where men, even those in whom a life proceeding from God has begun, but in whom the old man is not utterly destroyed, contend for their rights, instead of striving to excel in the execution of their duties in the spirit of charity and self-denial, that on both sides prejudice and passion make them look on wrong as if it were right: and this was the case here. But then, we are here deprived of the knowledge of all the circumstances necessary to enable us to decide and separate right from wrong on both sides, because we have only the partial account of one side of the question; and that too, an account which bears upon it, at times, plain marks of a passionate warmth.

An unprejudiced consideration will certainly not fail to recognise in Cyprian a disciple of Christ, a man animated by the spirit of love to the Redeemer and his Church. It is not to be denied that he was affected towards his flock, as a true pastor ought to be, that their advantage

* We see this from the words of Pontius, where he speaks of the election of Cyprian: "Quidam illi restiterunt, etiam ut vinceret:" compared with the passage in Ep. xl., where he speaks of the machinations of the five presbyters: "Conjuratiōnis suæ memores et antiqua illa contra episcopatum meum, imo contra suffragium vestrum et Dei iudicium venena retinentes, instaurant veterem contra nos impugnationem suam." (Ep. xliii. ed. Ox.)

lay sincerely at his heart, and that he wished to exercise his episcopal office so as to maintain discipline and order in his Church; but then, it is also certain, that he was not enough upon his guard against the fundamental evil of human nature, which is always ready to fix itself on some of the best qualities in man, and by which these best qualities of man may be adulterated and corrupted,—an evil which is exactly the most dangerous to those who are furnished with the choicest gifts and powers for the service of the Lord, and is then most dangerous when it takes a spiritual form; it is certain that he was not sufficiently upon his guard against pride, with all its overheated suggestions. That for which he struggled, the full power of the episcopacy, was exactly the rock on which his spiritual life made shipwreck; in the bishop “appointed by God himself, and acting in the name of Christ,” he forgot the man, living in the flesh, and exposed to all the temptations to sin, which others undergo; in the bishop called to govern, and gifted with inviolable authority from God, he forgot the disciple of Christ, the tender-hearted and humble Christ, appearing in the *form of a servant, for the service of his brethren*. Had he always remained true to this spirit of discipleship to Christ he would have been able, with more ease to himself, and more salutary fruits to the Church, to have conquered his enemies, than by all his insisting on the inalienable rights of episcopacy, and all his appeals to supernatural revelations, visions, and dreams, in which it might happen to him, to confound the self-delusions of prejudice and pride with the inspirations of the Holy Spirit. It was, for example, undoubtedly, a different spirit which allowed him to conceive the pretended heavenly voice to be a warning to his opponents, when it said: “He who believes not Christ, who appoints the priest, will hereafter be obliged to begin to believe Christ, who avenges the priest.”* Well might Cyprian take to heart the reproof which a layman who had joined the opposite party, gave him, by remind-

ing him that “*the priests ought to be humble, for even Christ and his apostles were humble.*”*

These five presbyters, or at least some of them, were probably presidents of separate Churches in or near Carthage, and had indulged themselves, in defiance of a bishop whom they hated, in many independent proceedings in the management of Church affairs, or at least in such proceedings as Cyprian, who looked upon the matter from the episcopal point of view, might consider an infringement of the bishop’s rights. One of them, by name Novatus, a man,† it would seem, of

* Cyprian, Ep. lxi. (Ep. lxi. ed. Oxon.) This layman was Florentius Pupianus, probably a confessor, who joined himself to the party of Felicissimus. The letter of Cyprian to him is not calculated to contradict the accusation of a want of humility. Pupian had declared that he had a scruple in his heart about Cyprian, which must first be removed, before he could acknowledge Cyprian for his bishop in real sincerity, (*scrupulum sibi esse tollendum de animo, in quem inciderat.*) Instead of applying himself to investigate and remove what might be a subject of reproach to Cyprian, in the opinion of this layman, who seems a well-intentioned person, although led astray by the hasty opponents of Cyprian, this letter appeals only, with episcopal pride, to the judgment-seat of God, who had appointed him bishop, and declaims against the iniquity of any man making himself a judge over the priest called to his office by God himself.

† This is all which we feel justified in saying of Novatus after an impartial investigation, as far as we can judge from the deficient and partial documents we possess. The accusations which Cyprian himself brings against him, Ep. xlix. (Ep. lii. ed. Ox.) would, we confess, if they are founded on fact, make him appear in a most unfavourable point of view; but these accusations bear completely the stamp of blind passion, which without investigating the matter competently, trusts deceitful rumours, and gives itself up to a most unjust mode of drawing conclusions. The usual mode of controversy was here employed: to attribute bad motives to the opposite party, and to assume these as certain, just as if man’s inward heart had been laid open, without giving a single proof in support of these suppositions. According to this representation, Novatus was about to be called before an ecclesiastical tribunal on account of his offences; his conscience condemned him, and he was rejoiced at the outbreak of the Decian persecution, which stopped all proceedings against him, and in order to escape the sentence of condemnation, which awaited him after this was over, he set on foot all those disturbances of which we shall have to speak hereafter, and broke loose from the ruling Church. How well put together are all these accusations, but how improbable are they! During the Decian persecution, indeed, Cyprian himself acknowledges Novatus as a proper presbyter. Ep. v. [I believe the Letter here alluded to is Ep. vi. (ed. Ox. xiv.) in ed. Pamel.—H. J. R.]

* See Ep. lxi. ad Florientum Pupianum. (Ep. lxi. ed. Oxon.) In these cases his adversaries had a right to blame him for the “*somnia ridicula et visiones ineptas,*” to which he was in the habit of appealing, although every thing of this sort need not have been the delusive reflection of prejudice and pride. There may have been gifts of grace present to him, on which self-delusion fixed itself, because they served to nourish pride, instead of being used with humility.

restless and enterprising character, and one who rejected, with the strong spirit of freedom that belongs to the Church, the yoke of episcopal monarchy, but one who gave way too much to his passionate disposition, being the president of a congregation and Church on a hill at, or near to Carthage, had without being first commissioned by the bishop, ordained one of his followers, by name Felicissimus, to be deacon of his Church.* This Felicissimus was one who was just calculated to become an enterprising partisan, and one who would possess an extensive influence among the congregation, from his personal connections. Cyprian declares this an infringement of his episcopal rights; but Novatus, with his views, and according to his presbyterian system, might think himself qualified, as a presbyter and president of a Church, to perform this. Which was right and which was wrong, was here not so clearly made out at that time, when the struggle was undecided between the aristocratical and

monarchical principles of Church government. Cyprian allowed Felicissimus to remain in his office, whether it was out of deference to a strong party, or whether it was only afterwards that the hostile conduct of Felicissimus induced him to represent his ordination as irregular and invalid, and a violation of his episcopal rights. This anti-Cyprian party now sought an occasion of coming forward openly against the bishop, and it was offered to them on the breaking out of the persecution of Decius, which took place very shortly after these events.

We have before observed, that at the beginning of this persecution Cyprian had withdrawn himself for a time from his Church, but he had, as we then saw, good grounds to justify this step, and the very best justification of it was afforded by his martyrdom afterwards; but still it was a conduct on which, of course, a difference of opinion might exist. Cyprian's enemies were glad to look upon the thing in the worst light, and accused him of having been induced by cowardice to violate his duty as a pastor.*

We must observe, besides, that this party of adversaries to Cyprian had many opportunities, from what happened during the persecution to increase their own number, and to instigate men's minds against the bishop. As we have before observed in the history of this persecution many were driven, by fear or force of the torture, to conduct which was considered as a denial of the faith, and involved an "ipso facto" excommunication. But most of them were afterwards disturbed by severe remorse for their guilt, and longed to return to the congregation of their brethren, and to partake with them of the Lord's Supper. An inquiry now arose; shall

In order to judge of the conduct of Novatus in these controversies, the following is an important inquiry: Whether he was one of the five presbyters who opposed Cyprian from the beginning? Moshem has brought much to combat this supposition, and the most weighty of his arguments will be adduced below. We are unable here to decide with certainty upon this point; but still, the whole connection of the history is in favour of an affirmative answer. In the Letter of Cyprian, Ep. v., we have just quoted, five presbyters write to Cyprian, in order to make a request to him. One of those here mentioned, namely, Fortunatus, belonged to the five presbyters, according to Cyprian's own declaration, Ep. lv. [I believe this is Ep. lix. ed. Ox. v. p. 131.—H. J. R.] As Novatus was then with Fortunatus, it is highly probable that all the four presbyters who here appear as one party, were no others than the old opposition party, the five presbyters, the Presbyterium Felicissimi. Also, in the answer, by anticipation, which Cyprian returns to their request, we may, perhaps, discover a new source of irritation against the bishop. The comparison of what Cyprian says of the machinations of Novatus, Ep. xlix. (Ep. lii. ed. Ox.) with what he says of the machinations of the five presbyters, Ep. xl. (Ep. xliii. ed. Ox.) and also with what Pontius says of the old enemies of Cyprian, will bespeak the existence of only one anti-Cyprian party from the very beginning—a party which held together, and in which Novatus took a conspicuous part.

* See Cyprian, Ep. xlix. (Ep. lii. ed. Ox.) on Novatus: "*Qui Felicissimum satellitem suum diaconum, nec permittente me nec sciente sua factione, et ambitione, constituit.*" All this tends to show, that the naming Felicissimus to a deacon's office, preceded the division caused by Novatus; but in the absence of more circumstantial accounts of the matter, there is still considerable doubt on this point.

* We may perceive by the manner in which the Roman clergy spoke of this matter in their first Letter to the Church of Carthage, Ep. ii. (Ep. viii. ed. Ox.) that some person had been able to put it in a disadvantageous light before them, and that hence at Rome they were not inclined entirely to approve of the motives assigned by Cyprian; for they say, "in which he *may* have done well" (*quod utique recte fecerit.*) Cyprian, in consequence of this, expresses a suspicion that this Letter, in which things so strange to him appeared, might be a counterfeit. Ep. iii. (Ep. ix. ed. Ox.) Afterwards, when he learnt that his opponents had represented his conduct in an unfavourable light at Rome, he thought it necessary to justify himself by a proper explanation of the whole course of the business, and he writes thus to the Roman clergy; "*Quoniam comperi, minus simpliciter et minus fideliter vobis renuntiari, quæ hic a nobis et gesta sunt et geruntur.*" Ep. xiv. (Ep. xx. ed. Ox.)

we instantly accede to their wishes, or shall we wholly reject their petition? or shall we devise a middle course, by opening to them a hope of re-admission into Church communion; but before it be granted in reality, try their conduct for a long season of time, and demand continued proofs of contrition at their hands? Shall we treat all these fallen brethren (lapsi) in the same manner, or shall we act differently by them, according to the difference of circumstances, and the difference of their offences? The Church was at that time without any general, recognised principles as to Church penitence in these respects; there was (see above) one party which would grant absolution to no man, under any conditions whatever, if he had once broken his baptismal covenant by a mortal sin, (as the phrase went,) and among these sins they reckoned every kind of denial of the faith and every relapse into heathenism. Cyprian,* who used to consider Tertullian as especially his teacher, might perhaps, from the study of his writings, have received a bias towards the principles of the stricter party, in respect to penitence. Many passages in those of his books which were written before the Decian persecution, lead us to conclude, that he had formerly been an advocate of the principle, that no man, who had committed a mortal sin, should receive absolution. As for instance, when he says,† “These are the words of the Lord in warning: ‘See! thou art become whole; sin no more, lest a worse thing befall thee!’ He gives the rule of life after he has bestowed soundness, and he does not allow men afterwards to run about unbridled; but rather as the man is bound to serve Him for having been cured by Him, He threatens him the more severely, because the guilt is less if a man sins before he knows the doctrine of the Lord; but *there is no more forgiveness for sins when a man sins after he has begun to know the Lord.*‡” It may be alleged, that Cyprian here only wished to mark strongly the *greater* guilt of a sin committed by a *Christian*, and that this passage is only to be understood relatively; but certainly more is intended in one of the positions laid down in his collection of

Biblical Testimonies: * “That to those who have sinned against God no forgiveness can be imparted by the Church.”† And from the passages‡ which are there quoted from Scripture, we see that by sin against God he understood nothing but a falling away from Christianity, which is a very unsuitable description of such transgressions, as if every sin were not a sin against God, and a falling away from God! but Cyprian judged more properly in this respect afterwards, as we shall see in the course of our history.

But, although Cyprian was an advocate of *this* principle, when he first entered upon his episcopal office, yet now the great number of the fallen brethren, who asked for absolution, and some of them with the bitterest tears of repentance, must in some degree have shaken him as a man of tender and fatherly feelings towards his Church. Were all these,—some of whom had only sinned from want of knowledge, and others had only yielded to the flesh under the severity of the torture,—were all these to remain forever excluded from the blessed communion of their brethren; that is, according to Cyprian’s mode of view, from the Church, in which alone is the road to heaven? The paternal feelings of the bishop struggled against such a resolution; but he dared not here to act on his own responsibility. In this state of indecision, he gave it as his opinion, that they should receive the fallen brethren, and exhort them to penitence; but that the decision on their fate should be postponed till the time when, after the restoration of tranquillity, the bishops, clergy, and Churches, might unite in some general principle on this matter, which so materially affected all Christians, by means of some general and considerate deliberation, after a due examination of the thing in all its bearings. It was also to be remembered, that there was a great difference between the offences of these fallen brethren, some of whom had run to the altars of the gods, without making the smallest resistance, only to avoid sacrificing any thing earthly, while others had only failed out of pure ignorance,

* De Testimoniis, lib. iii. c. 28.

† Non posse in ecclesia remitti ei, qui in Deum deliquit.

‡ The same passages which Cyprian introduces in the epistle to the clergy of Carthage, Ep. ix. (Ep. xvi. ed. Ox.,) on the subject of denial of the faith under persecution. So also in Ep. xi. (Ep. xvii. ed. Ox.,) we find the contrast: “Minora delicta, quæ non in Deum committuntur.”

* According to Jerome, de V. I., when he asked for Tertullian’s books, he used to say to his secretary, “Da magistratum.”

† De habitu Virginum.

‡ *Nulla venia ultra delinquere, postquam Deum nosse cœpisti.*

or by the weakness of the conquered flesh; and the unquiet of the times of persecution precluded any accurate discrimination between the offences and the moral state of individuals,—and yet to a proper judgment on the part of the clergy, regard must be had to these points particularly. And then, too, the fallen brethren themselves were to make themselves worthy of re-admission into Church communion, by active proofs of repentance which the persecution itself gave them the best means of doing. “He who cannot bear delay,” says Cyprian, “may obtain for himself the martyr’s crown.” Under these impressions it was that he acted, in comforting all the fallen brethren, who desired absolution, by directing their thoughts to the end of the persecution, when their circumstances should be inquired into. But some of the clergy, and as Cyprian afterwards learned, his old adversaries, took up these men, strengthened them in their demands, instead of exhorting them to submit quietly to the bishop’s decision, and made use of this opportunity to excite the schism in the Church which they were anxious to see.

If these fallen brethren had only been supported in their impetuous demands by the presbyters opposed to Cyprian, without finding any other support, their opposition against the bishop’s measures would have had less weight. They found means, however, to win over to their cause a voice which then had very great influence among the Christians, the voice of those “Witnesses of the Faith,” who had made confession of their faith under torture, or who went to meet a martyr’s death after making confession. It was altogether in the character and spirit of Christian martyrs, to make their last legacy *a legacy of love*, to speak with their latest breath *words of love* to their brethren; it was quite consonant to their spirit, that those who were about to enter into glory after a firm and victorious struggle, should show a sympathy with their weaker brethren, who had yielded in the fight; and, lastly, should commend these fallen brethren to the benevolent acceptance of the Church. And it was just also, that the word of these witnesses of the faith should be held in especial esteem, if men would only remember, that they also were sinful men, needing, like all others, the forgiveness of their own sins, and that they, as long as they were in the flesh, had still to struggle constantly with the flesh; and if these witnesses

would themselves also remember this; and if they would avoid being blinded by the excessive honour paid to them, and so being given up still more to the power of the hidden enemy, against whom they had still to fight as sinful men, and if they would take care not to use the momentary victory, which they had won through the grace of God, to the nourishment of a spiritual pride. Many yielded to this temptation; they granted the peace of the Church, to those who asked it of them, in an imperative manner, and acted as if there needed nothing but their voice for the absolution of the fallen brethren. The clergy, who ought to have set them right, in consequence of Cyprian’s exhortation, and to have led them to humility, only strengthened them still more in their notions, and used them as instruments to further their own machinations against the bishop. They put the bishop very often in no small embarrassment by their imperative, and often very indefinitely expressed, declarations. Such, for example, was the following: “Let this or that person be received into Church communion, *together with those that belong to him* :”* an expression which allows of such various and indefinite explanations and applications! Those who applied these indefinite expressions to themselves were very proud in the notion, that the confessors or the martyrs had given them absolution, and they would hear of no delay, and suffer no trial of their conduct to take place. The less they showed proper contrition and humility, the less Cyprian was inclined to accede to their impetuous demands, and hence he was easily held up to odium as an enemy to the honour due to the heroes of the faith.

He was fulfilling his duty as a pastor, when he powerfully and firmly opposed the exaggerated reverence paid to those

* “Communicet ille cum suis.” According to Cyprian, Ep. xiv. (Ep. xx. ed. Ox.) thousands of these “libelli pacis” were set forth every day by the confessors without examination. In the end of the second century, Tertullian speaks of this custom as of an ancient one. “Pacem in ecclesia non habentes, a martyribus in carcere exorare consueverunt.” Ad. Martyr. c. i. As a Montanist, he speaks violently against the misuse which took place in this matter, and he hints that many were confirmed in their sins, by means of the “libelli pacis” granted to them inconsiderately by the confessors. De Pudicitia, c. xxii. The Council of Elvira expresses itself thus against the abuses, which were caused by these letters of recommendation of the confessors, whether real or counterfeit: “quod omnes sub hac nominis gloria passim concutunt simplices.” Can. xxv.

witnesses of the faith, (which was likely to become the source of much superstition,) as well as the false confidence on their decision, which seduced men into security while in a life of sin. He pointed out to the confessors, that a true confession cannot be an "opus operatum," but that it must consist in the whole course of their conduct. [Ep. xiii. ed. Ox.] "The tongue which has confessed Christ must be maintained pure and undefiled in its dignity; for he who speaks that which conduces to peace, that which is good and right, according to the command of the Lord, confesses Christ daily." When he warns them against false security and against pride, he writes thus to them. (Ep. vi.) "Ye must lay it much to heart that what ye have happily begun, may be perfected in you. It is but little to be able to *obtain some advantage*, it is more to *keep* what one has gained. The Lord taught us this, when He said: 'See! thou art now whole! henceforth sin no more, lest a worse thing befall thee!' So also think thou, that He says to a confessor: 'See! thou hast become a confessor! sin no more, lest a worse thing befall thee!' Solomon, indeed, and Saul, and many others, were able, as long as they walked in the way of the Lord, to keep the grace bestowed upon them. As soon as the Lord's discipline was away from them, his grace went away also. . . .

. . . . I hear that some are swelling with pride; and yet it is written: 'Be not proud, but fear.' (Rom. xi. 20.)* Our Lord was brought as a lamb to the slaughter; and as a sheep before his shearers is dumb, so He opened not his mouth. . . . And shall then any one, who lives through Him and in Him, dare to be proud and high-minded, unmindful alike of the conduct which He pursued, and of the commands which He laid on us, either by his own mouth or by the apostles? The servant is not greater than his master; let then those who follow the Lord be humble, quiet, and silent, and so walk in his footsteps; the lower each man makes himself, the higher will he become!"†

When a certain Lucian, a confessor, "in the name of Paul, a martyr," in compliance with whose last commands he

pretended to be acting, bestowed the peace of the Church on the fallen brethren, and gave them what were called certificates of communion, (*libellos pacis*), Cyprian would not allow these to be valid, but said on the contrary, "Although the Lord has declared, that the nations must be baptized in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and receive forgiveness of their sins; yet this man, forgetful of the law of God, preaches peace and forgiveness of sins in the name of Paul. . . . He remembers not, that the martyrs do not make the Gospel, but the Gospel the martyrs." Ep. xxii. [Ep. xxviii. ed. Ox.] He also made the same declaration expressly, in the discourse* which we have quoted above, after his return to the Church: "Let no man deceive himself; the Lord alone can show mercy. He alone can grant pardon to sins which are committed against himself, who bare our sins, who suffered for us, whom God gave up for our sins. Man cannot be greater than God; nor can the servant forgive the sins committed against his master; lest a new crime be added to the guilt of the fallen brethren, because they know not that which is written: 'Cursed is he that putteth his trust in man.' Jerem. xvii. 5. We must pray to the Lord; the Lord must be appeased for our satisfaction, who declares that He will deny those who deny Him, who alone has received all judgment from the Father. . . . Do the martyrs give any commands? It is well, if what they command be lawful and just. . . . Do the martyrs give any commands? That which they command ought to be what is written in the law of God; we must know beforehand that they have obtained, at the hands of God, what they desire; and then we are to do what they command, but not before; for it does not follow, as a matter of course, that the Divine Majesty has granted whatever human promises have declared. . . . Thus either the martyrs are nothing, if the Gospel can be annulled, or they who are martyrs by the Gospel can have no power against that Gospel. [Let none of you, my beloved brethren, tarnish the fame of the martyrs; let none destroy their glories and their crowns. The strength of uncorrupted faith remains unimpaired;] nor can he speak or do any thing against Christ, whose hope and

* [St. Paul's expression is *μη ἐπὶ ἡλθοσεναι*, which Cyprian has made into "Noli altum sapere."—H. J. R.]

† [This passage is taken with some abridgment from Cyprian. Ep. xiii. ed. Ox.—H. J. R.]

* Sermo de lapsis.

*faith, whose virtue and glory are all in Christ.**

And yet Cyprian was not firm and consistent enough in the opposition which he made to the extravagant honour paid to the martyrs; and he himself was in some degree carried away by the spirit that prevailed among the multitude, which he ought to have conquered and guided by the spirit of the Gospel. The heat of the summer in the climate of Africa producing many sicknesses, he yielded so far as to give absolution to those among the fallen brethren, who desired the communion in sickness and in the fear of death, and supported their claim to it by *one of the certificates of peace* (*libelli pacis*) *conferred upon them by a witness to the faith.*† In his report to the Roman Church he gave, as his grounds for this conduct, that he wished, by means of this compliance, in some degree to assuage the violence of the multitude, and thus to counteract the machinations of those who were at the bottom of the mischief, and to remove from his own character the imputation of having refused the due and becoming share of honour to the martyrs.‡

We see from this how injurious any compromise with a prevailing prejudice, any halfway defence of truth, must always be, whether it proceed from a want of independence and firmness in our own opinions, or from fear of man and a false policy. If, on the one hand, Cyprian combatted the false confidence in the intercession of the martyrs by the weapons of truth, he supported it, on the other, by yielding; for it is evident that the recommendation of the martyrs must have had a peculiar force and meaning, as soon as all the fallen brethren in a like condition and in the same moral state were not treated alike, but only those who had this recommendation were to receive the peace of the Church and the communion at the hour of death, *solely on account of this recommendation*; while it was still highly probable that many, who had

sought no support from this one means, had nevertheless, distinguished themselves by repentance and penance more than those who had received this support. Now this conclusion, to which his conduct would give a very fair handle, is favoured by the language which he made use of in granting this permission, “to those who might be assisted in regard to their sins in the eyes of God by the help of the martyrs,”* instead of pointing the attention of all, without distinction, to reliance only on one Mediator, and of blaming most unreservedly the fanciful self-confidence of those who believed that they had really gained something of consequence by means of the human mediation, of which they had been assured. This inconsistency was exactly the thing to lay him open to his enemies in a manner which they well knew how to use.

Another circumstance, which would of course serve to give greater weight to the opposition party in its connection with the fallen brethren, was the powerful voice of the Church of Rome, which had declared itself in favour of the milder principle, not in the case of all the fallen, but of those who had become sick afterwards. Cyprian declared also, that regard for the Roman Church, with which he was always unwilling to have any differences, had partly moved him to this compliance.† But this Church had acted more in the spirit of evangelic truth, because she directed the fallen brethren to the one only Mediator, and allowed of no distinction among them except that of repentant and unrepentant. In that first letter addressed to the clergy of Carthage, she had declared in regard to the fallen brethren, Ep. ii. (Ep. viii. ed. Ox.) “We have separated them from us, yet we have not left them to themselves, but we have exhorted them, and do exhort them, to be penitent, if they may thus be able to receive *pardon from Him, who alone can bestow it*: that they may not, being deserted by us, become worse. . .

. If, therefore, any who have fallen into this temptation are seized with sickness, show repentance, and desire the communion, they must be assisted.”

And yet, by Christian prudence in the rest of his conduct, by uniting mildness with earnestness, by instructions and by

* [I have taken the liberty of supplying one lacuna from the original of Cyprian, and inclosed it in a parenthesis, page 76.—H. J. R.]

† Ep. xii. xiii. xiv. (Ep. xviii. xix. xx. ed. Ox.)

‡ Ep. xiv. (Ep. xx. ed. Ox.) “Ad illorum violentiam interim quodquo genere mitigandam—, cum videretur et honor martyribus habendus, et eorum, qui omnia turbare cupiebant, impetus comprimendus.” Of the other lapsi, on the contrary, he speaks thus, Ep. xiii. (xix.) “Qui nullo libello a martyribus accepto invidiam faciunt;” and this “invidia” or “odium” he was, therefore, afraid of.

* Auxilio eorum adjuvari apud Dominum in delictis suis possunt.

† Ep. xiv. (Ep. xx. ed. Ox.) to the Roman clergy: “Standum putavi et cum vestra sententia, ne actus noster, qui adunatus esse et consentire circa omnia debet, in aliquo discreparet.”

friendly, fatherly representations, by which he won the better spirits among the confessors, by the firmness with which he opposed the obstinate resistance of the presbyters, by the love and the respect with which the greater part of the community viewed him, bishop Cyprian appeared already to have restored tranquillity to Carthage, and he was enjoying the hope of returning, as soon as the Decian persecution ceased, to the Church, from which he had unwillingly been absent a whole year, and of celebrating with them the feast of Easter, A. D. 251. But before this hope could be realized, he had to learn that the machinations of the party had been of a deeper nature, and that they were too closely bound together to allow of their being separated so easily. The fire which was smouldering in secret, only wanted an opportunity to break out openly. Cyprian afforded them this opportunity, by the exercise of his episcopal power in a matter of considerable importance.

He despatched, it seems, before he returned to his Church, two bishops and two presbyters, as his deputies, with full powers to hold a visitation: they were to assign to the poor, who from age or sickness were unable to do any thing for their own support, so much out of the Church chest, as might be necessary for the supply of their bodily necessities; they were to give whatever might be needful to those who, though they had an employment, were unable to earn a livelihood by it, or who wanted money in order to enable them to buy the tools and materials necessary to carry on their trade, or who, having been ruined in their business by the persecution, were inclined to begin it again; and lastly, they were to prepare a description of all the poor to be maintained by the Church chest, distinguishing their ages, circumstances, and conduct during the persecution, in order that the bishop, whose business it was to learn to know all of them accurately, might promote the worthy ones, and what was here particularly designed, the tender and humble-minded, to such offices in the Church as they were capable of filling. The latter regulation had this advantage, that the powers of these persons would be suitably employed for the service of the Church, that they would also receive a proportionate degree of care, and at the same time a burden would be removed from the Church chest. The qualities, which were particularly to be attended to, *mildness and humility*, were peculiarly requisite, during

this time of ferment and unquiet in the Church, for those who were to enter its service, that thus the peace of the Church might be restored on a safe foundation, and the seeds of dissension choked. The presbyterian opposition party might not concede to the *bishop* the right of undertaking such a visitation, and making such a distribution of the Church chest of his own power, without calling together the whole college of presbyters, or at least they might object to such a right being exercised by Cyprian, on the ground that they did not any longer acknowledge *him* as their bishop; but it would have been utterly *against* their plan to allow him to carry through such an act of episcopal Church government, by which his own authority would be confirmed in the Church, and the Church would be united more closely with him, and thus his party would gain a considerable accession of strength. The deacon Felicissimus, who might very well possess considerable influence over some part of the Church in his capacity of deacon, (for the deacons appear to have had greater power in the North African Church, as well as in its cognate Church,* the Spanish, than elsewhere,) who was, also, from some circumstances which we do not know very accurately, a very influential organ of that party, and, perhaps, particularly so in consequence of having the administration of part of the Church chest† under his care;

* Concil. Illiberit. c. lxxvii. "Diaconus regens plebem."

† We may learn from Ep. xlix. (Ep. lii. ed. Ox.) of Cyprian, that in the North African Church, the deacons had to keep and administer the funds of the Church chest. The accusations made against Felicissimus of "fraudes" and "rapine," Ep. lv. (Ep. lix. ed. Ox.) "pecunie commissæ sibi fraudator," relate to this point. There were similar accusations against Novatus, the presbyter and president of the Church, to which Felicissimus was appointed deacon. Cyprian was, however, an enemy to both of these men, and we must not take these accusations from his mouth, as the evidence of an unimpeachable witness. An independent application of part of the Church funds, which were deposited in this Daughter-Church, in which, according to their views, they might believe themselves justified by their relations to the bishop, an application of these funds perhaps directed by party spirit, and partial views, would probably be represented by Cyprian as an unfaithfulness in their duty. At all events, we are too destitute of unprejudiced accounts, to be able to decide with any thing like certainty on the subject.

[It appears* from the following passage of Ori-

* [This addition to the note is incorporated from the addenda in vol. iii.—H. J. R.

this deacon thought that he was justified in speaking a word or two, in a matter which concerned the application of Church funds;—he used all his persuasion, all his influence and power to excite a determined spirit of opposition to this episcopal ordinance; he declared in particular to the poor, who belonged to the Church of Novatus, in which he was appointed deacon, that he would soon contrive to satisfy all their wants; and he threatened them, that if they appeared before the episcopal commissioners, he would never afterwards admit them to the communion of the Church.* This Church became now the assembling place of all the fallen brethren, who would not wait with patience till the time for the decision of the whole matter; here they were all received into Church

communion without any preparatory steps, and here, therefore, was a rallying point for all discontented spirits, which could not fail to have the most prejudicial consequences in regard to the discipline and order of the Church.

Cyprian was induced, by these troubles, to delay his return to Carthage till after Easter, A. D. 251, until he could reckon on meeting with his North African colleagues for the purpose of holding the yearly synod, and thus find a support in them against the obstinacy of his opponents, and be able to unite himself with them, under the circumstances of the present controversy, after mature consideration, in some firm and consistent line of conduct, based on general principles. This Council of the North African Church decided on a middle plan between the extravagant harshness of denying all hope to the fallen brethren, and the opposite extreme of weak compliance; so that they might uphold Christian discipline, and yet not drive the fallen brethren to despair, by refusing them unconditionally, and forever, absolution and re-admission into Church communion, in such wise as to bring them, perhaps, at last, to give themselves wholly up to their vices, or relapse into heathenism. First, the different nature* of their offences was to be well weighed, and the communion was to be administered to all, even the "sacrificati" (those who had sacrificed to the heathen idols,) if they showed repentance in their conduct, at least in any case of mortal sickness. If these persons afterwards recovered, they were not to be curtailed of the benefit bestowed upon them by the grace of God, but were to continue in the communion of the Church.† When the persecution broke out again with increased violence, a relaxation of this rule was voluntarily made, which was prompted by the spirit of Christian love and wisdom, which was this—the communion was to be administered to all who had shown proofs of repentance in their conduct, in order that they might not go into the struggle unarmed, but strengthened by communion with the body of the Lord.‡ But those who, while they had shown no single mark of repentance in their whole behaviour, first expressed their wish for the communion of the Church on the bed

gen, Commentar, in Matth. f. 443, that the deacons had to attend to the distribution of the Church funds; *οὐ δὲ μὴ καλῶς διακονοῦντες τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας χρήματα, ἀλλ' ὡς μὴ ταῦτα φελλοῦντες, οὐ καλῶς δὲ αὐτὰ οὐκονοῦντες, ἀλλὰ σαρφύοντες τὸν νομίζοντι πλουτῶν καὶ χρήματα, ἵνα πλουτήσῃ ἐκ τῶν εἰς λόγον πτωχῶν δίδωμεν. κ. τ. λ.]*

* Every thing here depends on what is the genuine reading and the proper explanation of the difficult words in Cyprian: Ep. xxxviii. (Ep. xli. ed. Ox.) whether we should read "comminatus, quod secum in morte," or "in monte non communicarent, qui nobis obtemperare voluissent." According to the reading "in morte" two explanations may be offered: the one by referring the words "in morte," to Felicissimus, and then the sense would be, that he himself, even in his dying hour, would never recognise them as Christian brethren, that he would excommunicate them, and never be reconciled to them. We do not, however, in this case, see very well, why such a threat should be so very dreadful to the Christians of Carthage. Again, if we refer the words "in morte" to the subject contained in the verb "communicarent," which certainly comes nearer to the run of the whole passage, then the sense will be this:—that they should never, even in their dying hours, be received into Church communion by him; that is to say, they should never receive the communion from him as deacon, an office in which it was his business to bring the consecrated sacrament to those who were sick. This last explanation makes good sense, if we bear in mind that Felicissimus was deacon of one particular parish Church, and had a good understanding with Novatus, the pastor of that Church, so that he would have the power of refusing the communion to those who dwelt in this part of the Church diocese. An entirely similar sense will result from the reading "in monte." We must then suppose that the Church, to which Novatus and Felicissimus belonged, was situated on an eminence in or near Carthage (in monte,) and in this case we should be reminded of the Donatists at Rome, who were called Montenses, from holding their congregations on a hill. Felicissimus threatened to exclude all those, who chose to obey Cyprian, from communion in this Church.

* The different guilt of the "sacrificati," according to the different modes in which they had been brought to recant, and of the "libellatici."

† Cyprian, Ep. lii. (Ep. lv. ed. Ox.)

‡ Ep. liv. (Ep. lvi. ed. Ox.)

of sickness, were not then to receive the communion, because it was not sorrow for their sins, but the warning of death hanging over them which induced this wish; and he deserves no consolation in death, who does not think of death before it is close at hand. In this exposition, the truly Christian endeavour is decidedly made, to call men's attention to the essentials of a true repentance, and to warn them against a false reliance on the 'opus operatum' of absolution and the communion.* But yet, in many cases, nevertheless, a true repentance may be produced by the near approach of death, which He alone, who can look into the inward heart can distinguish from a hypocritical penitence, which is so much more common; and therefore, they might well have avoided this harshness, without giving any room for false security, if they would only have explained, more justly and clearly the real nature of absolution, (see above.) In this Church synod, a sentence of condemnation was also pronounced against the party of Felicissimus, and Cyprian was thus able, by his connection with the North African bishops to crush this division. But the party did not immediately give up their opposition; they endeavoured to spread themselves more widely in this part of the Church; and several individual African bishops, who were at variance with their colleagues, or had been deprived for their bad conduct, joined them. They elected Fortunatus, one of the five rebellious presbyters, to the bishopric of Carthage, in the place of Cyprian. They sent deputies to Rome to win over this chief Church [Hauptkirche] of the west to their side, and they obtained there a hearing for their accusations against Cyprian; but they were unable to dissolve the bond of union between him and Cornelius, the bishop of Rome, although their outcry had caused a momentary impression. So, in a letter, in which the spirit of the episcopal theocracy, a Jewish, rather than an evangelical notion, which is, in fact, the fancy of the Old Testament priesthood in the Christian Church, is very prominently displayed, Cyprian urges it on the Romish bishop, that he should defend the unity of the Church, founded on the mutual connection of the bishops against schismatics; and in the same letter he also zealously advocates the independence of bishops, in their dioceses; "for, since it is agreed

upon by all of us," he writes, "that it is just and right that each man's cause should be tried in the place in which the offence was committed, and since to every pastor a *portion of the flock* is assigned for him to govern, and render up hereafter an account to the Lord of his government; those who are under our jurisdiction ought not to run about, and, by their delusive arts and boldness, destroy the unity of the bishops, who are united together; but they ought to plead their cause there, where they can have also accusers and witnesses of their offence."*

The second schism arose in the Church of Rome; and as Cornelius of Rome co-operated with Cyprian of Carthage, to quash the first, so in this, Cyprian joined with Cornelius to maintain the unity of the Church. Like the former, this second dissension arose from a contest about the election of a bishop, and from a contention of opposite opinions on the subject of Church penance; only with this difference, that there the schism was set on foot by the laxer, and here by the stricter party. Much which had taken place during the Decian persecution, gave the outward occasion to the outbreak of this schism, as it had done with the other. We have before observed, that the prevailing tendency in the Roman Church, on the subject of penance, was to the milder doctrine; but still, it had also a stricter party, at the head of which was Novatianus, who had made himself known as a theological writer. We are without accurate accounts of the character of this man, from which we could obtain sufficient light to enable us to judge properly of his notions on this point, and his whole conduct in this matter, when considered with relation to his individual disposition: for what his angry enemies have said of him, and what completely bears upon it the mark of passion and exaggeration, naturally deserves no credit. If we endeavour to eliminate the real facts from the disfiguring and spiteful representations made by the enemies of Novatian, the following seems to be the most probable statement of the case: Novatian, in consequence of mental struggles, which proceeded from the earnestness of his disposition, had fallen into a nervous disease or phantasy; such a condition, in short, as was then considered a case of demoniacal possession. Having probably beforehand,

* Ep. lii. (lv. ed. Ox.)

* Ep. lv. ad Cornel. (Ep. lix ed. Ox.)

by his inward struggles, been prepared to believe in the divinity of Christ, and the Divine nature of Christianity, he had to thank the prayers of an exorcist for a temporary relief from his calamity. From this powerful convulsion of his whole nature, he fell into a severe illness, from which, in the first instance, his real and radical cure proceeded. In this sickness his faith was decided, and when he thought himself near his end, he was baptized on his sick bed. In Christianity he found peace and tranquillity, and a healing power. As he distinguished himself by his firmness in the faith, by the clearness of his Christian knowledge, to which his writings bear witness, by a happy power of teaching, and by a zeal for holiness, which afterwards led him to an ascetic life, bishop Fabian ordained him presbyter, overlooking the circumstance that he had first made known his faith, and been baptized on the bed of sickness. The clergy of Rome, were from the first, discontented with this proceeding, because they maintained firmly *the letter* of the law of the Church, which was, that no man, who was baptized on the bed of sickness no "clinicus," should be ordained; but Fabian judged more wisely, according to the spirit of this law, the only intention of which was, to keep out of the clerical profession all those who, without real repentance, persuasion, and knowledge, had been induced to be baptized by the temporary agitation caused by the fear of death. In Novatian, the necessity for such a precaution was contradicted by his subsequent conduct. For a considerable time, he exchanged the active life of a practical member of the clergy, for the still, retired life of an ascetic; yet, nevertheless, he afterwards suffered himself to be induced to return to the active duties of his office, but, perhaps, not until they wished to put him at the head of a party.*

Some slight intimation of Cyprian's by no means amount to a proof, that Novatian, before his conversion, had been a Stoic philosopher, and that in some de-

attained a living faith, a genuine Christian disposition, and a pure Christian knowledge. This reproach of Cornelius, that Satan had been the occasion of Novatian's faith (ὁ θεὸς ἐφ' ἡμῶν τοῦ πτωτοῦ γεγονεν ὁ σατανας,) was as foolish as it was unworthy of a Christian; just as if the workings of evil must not often serve as the foundation of the kingdom of God. 'After the cure of this demoniacal possession, he fell into a severe sickness,' (which may be explained naturally enough; the crisis in his whole organic frame, to which he may attribute the cure of his state of phantasy, being the cause of the sickness,) 'and, being in danger of death, he received the rite of baptism only by sprinkling, as his condition required,' (the baptismus clinicorum—not the baptism by immersion, as then usually practised,) 'if one can properly say, that such an one as he was really baptized.' (How carnally and grossly does the prejudice of passion and the narrow-hearted spirit of the Romish hierarchy here make the bishop speak.) 'After this he received none of those things, which the Church requires to be received, and he was not confirmed by the bishop; and how, therefore, could he thus expect to receive the Holy Spirit!' A bishop of Rome, apparently Fabian, afterwards ordained him presbyter, although the rest of the clergy would not allow the ordination of a person baptized by sprinkling to be valid. The bishop here must have wished to make an exception—apparently a person of a more free and evangelic spirit who acted quite rightly in accordance with the spirit, if not the letter, of that ecclesiastical law against the ordination of persons so baptized. (The council of Laodicea, which expressed this ancient law in its twelfth canon, gives as the reason for it,—that such a faith, first making its appearance when a man lies on a bed of sickness, does not arise from free persuasion, but is something forced; which may be true in many cases, and the council, therefore, allowed an exception to be valid in the case of any one, who gave proofs of zeal and faith; and such an exception may have been made in regard to Novatian.) Cornelius further reproaches him with having shut himself up in a chamber out of fear, during the persecution, and refusing to leave it in order to exercise his priestly office in favour of those who needed assistance. When his deacons required him to do this, he sent them back with this answer, 'that he was now the votary of a different philosophy.' We must here, we acknowledge, have recourse to conjecture to separate the facts, which are the groundwork of this part of the history, from the form in which the hatred of Cornelius has represented them. By the words ἰστέα φαρισαῖα, we are probably to understand the more retired life of the ascetic, as contrasted with the clerical profession; Novatian might have retired for a time into solitude, as an ascetic, and have withdrawn himself from public business. This answers well to the strict character, which his principles of penitence bespeak, and, as an ascetic, he was likely to be held in considerable reverence by the Church. Novatian

* We must here take particular notice of the synodal letter of Cornelius, bishop of Rome, to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, of which Eusebius (vi. 43,) has preserved a fragment. This letter is well worthy of attention, as characteristic of that tendency of the churchly spirit to confuse the outward and the inward, which began to prevail so strikingly at Rome from early times. It is made a matter of reproach to Novatian, that the healing of the so-called demoniacal possession (see above) by the exorcists of the Roman Church was the first cause of his believing. Whether this be true or not, it cannot bring a taint on Novatian's Christianity in any case. It was indifferent through what channel he was led to Christianity, provided that, when he had once become a Christian, he

gree the spirit of the Stoic morality, mingling itself with his Christianity, had produced the sternness of his notions in these things. As his principles are so clearly to be explained from the sternness of his Christian character, and as he was acting in this instance in the spirit of a whole party of the Church, existing at that time, there is the less need to resort to an explanation, deduced from an external cause, which is supported by no historical proof.*

The passionate adversaries of Novatian accused him of being induced by ambitious desires of the episcopal dignity, to excite these disturbances, and set himself up for the head of a party. But this is in the usual style of theological polemics: namely, to deduce schisms and heresies from external and unhallowed motives, although they have no proof of their existence. Novatian, on some opportunity after the vacation of the Roman see by the death of Fabian, had pledged himself by an oath, that he would not sue for the episcopal dignity, nor desire such an office, although he might, through the reverence entertained for him, as an ascetic and a dogmatical theologian, by a great part of the Church, perhaps have obtained

may have been wrong in allowing himself to be seduced by a false asceticism, and to forget Christian charity, so as to refuse to leave his spiritual tranquillity and solitude, and assist his brethren, who needed his priestly assistance; but Cornelius allowed himself to ascribe to this conduct a different motive, which was utterly unsuited to the character of Novatian.†

* It is by no means clear that the enemies of Novatian themselves believed in this account of the source of his notions. Though Cyprian accused his notions of being more stoical than Christian, (Ep. lii. ad Antonian.; Ep. lv. ed. Ox.) yet this may very naturally be explained as alluding to the *nature* of these notions, and not to their source; and though he reproaches him thus: "Jacet se licet et philosophiam vel eloquentiam suam superbis vocibus prædicet;" yet the first part of this sentence alludes to the *ρεῖβαν*, the pallium of the *σοφιστής*, (see the foregoing note,) or to the fame of an admirable dogmatical writer, which Novatian had acquired as the author of the book "de Regula Fidei," or "de Trinitate," as even Cornelius says of him, in the letter we have quoted in the foregoing note. *ὥς ὁ διγματοστής, ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς πίστεως ὑπερασπιστής.*

[† I have distinguished the passages which Dr. Neander has taken from the letter of Cornelius in Eusebius, by inverted commas, to distinguish them from his remarks upon them, which are in parentheses. He has left them in the German without any marks of quotation; but I felt them requisite for the sake of clearness in English. The theological reader need not be reminded, that in Eusebius and other Greek writers, Novatian is commonly called Novatus.—H. J. R.]

it easily. We have no reason here, with bishop Cornelius, to accuse Novatian of perjury. An ascetic who loved repose, and a theologian, who busied himself undisturbedly with his dogmatical speculations, he might be in good earnest, when he declared, that he had no inclination for an office so overwhelmed with business, as the bishopric of Rome then was. However, Cornelius knew that he sighed *in secret* after the episcopal dignity; but whence, we may ask, had Cornelius the eyes to see in secret and penetrate the hidden recesses of his adversary's heart! Cyprian himself gives us a hint that a party controversy about principles, which at first was considered wholly of an objective kind, had preceded, and that when a schism was by this made unavoidable, the opposite party then first set up another bishop, as their head, in opposition to Cornelius.* Novatian's zeal only out of regard for the supposed purity of the Church, moved him to contend against the decay of Church discipline, without wishing or meaning any thing further. This man, therefore, firm in his persuasion, and violently zealous in defence of that persuasion, but as far as natural disposition is concerned, utterly removed from all restless and outward motives, was made the head of a party, against his own will, by those who agreed with him in principles, and compelled to take upon himself the rank of bishop. He might, therefore, in this respect, in his letter to Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, justly appeal to his *having been carried on against his will.*†

The man who was really *the active soul* of this party, and whose influence probably caused the party to break loose from Cornelius entirely, and create another bishop for itself, came from a different quarter. That Carthaginian presbyter, Novatus, who had been the soul of dissension in the North African Church, had removed himself thence, when Cyprian obtained the upper hand; whether it was that he was no longer contented with the principles of the party of Felicissimus, and yet would not be reconciled to Cyprian, and acknowledge him for his bishop; or whether it was *only the failure* of his machinations against Cyprian which drove

* Cyprian, Ep. lxii. (Ep. xlv. ed. Ox.) "*Diversæ partis obstinata et inflexibilis pertinacia non tantum matris sinum recusavit; sed etiam gliscente et in pejus recrudescente discordia, episcopum sibi constituit.*"

[A few words, of no great importance, are left out in this quotation.—H. J. R.]

† *ὅτι ἀνεν ἤχθην.*

him to this step. He had betaken himself to Rome, and there he found the seeds of that contention already sown. It was in his very nature not to be quiet and neutral, while strife and agitation were going forward. According to the principles which he had defended at Carthage in connection with the four presbyters and Felicissimus, he ought to have espoused the cause of Cornelius. But whether it was, that he had entirely changed his sentiments on the subjects in dispute—which might have happened through the influence of Novatian as his superior in theological theology, or from his own violent disposition, so ready to go from one extreme to another—or whether he only took an interest in one object of contention,* at Rome as well as Carthage, and that he was from disposition constantly a friend to the party in opposition, that he was inclined to join that party, at the head of which there was no bishop, and that Cornelius was hated by him from some other grounds;—it is enough for us, that Novatus passionately espoused the principles of the party of Novatian, and entered warmly into the contest. It was his mode of proceeding, whether at Rome or at Carthage, to be the moving spring of all troubles, and yet not to set himself but another, at the head of the party. It might, therefore, be in consequence of his active influence, that the breach grew still wider, and that the honoured Novatian was obliged to take the lead, and assume the rank of bishop.

In respect to those who had fallen away from the faith during the Decian persecution, Cornelius had acted according to the milder principle, and had admitted many to the communion of the Church, who were, at least, accused by the other party as “sacrificati.” Novatian, and his adherents, made this a subject of accusation against him, as having polluted the Church

by the reception of unclean persons into it; and (after the usual way of passionate controversialists) as on the one hand, Cornelius had accused Novatian of having made all this stir out of an ambition which thirsted after the episcopal office; so on the other, a part at least of the followers of Novatian, imputed the mildness of Cornelius towards other men, to the circumstance that his own conscience accused him of a similar offence, for he was a “libellaticus.” Cyprian, Ep. lii. [Ep. xlv. ed. Ox.] Both parties endeavoured, as is usual in contentions like these, to win over to their side the voice of those great head Churches at Alexandria, Antioch, and Carthage, and sent deputies to them. The zeal for the strictness of Church discipline, and the purity of Christian conduct, which Novatian showed, and the weighty influence of certain confessors who were at first in connection with him, procured him access hither and thither, and even a bishop of Antioch, Fabius, was on the point of joining his party. Dionysius, the bishop of Alexandria, a man of mild, moderate, and free spirit, was from the beginning an opponent of the principles of Novatian, but he endeavoured at first to move Novatian to give in, by means of friendly persuasion. He wrote thus in reply to him: “If thou art, as thou sayest, carried away against thy will, prove it by retracting of your own accord; for thou oughtest to have suffered any thing, rather than have founded a schism in the Church. And a martyrdom, in order to avoid a schism, would not be less glorious than one to escape offering to idols,† nay, in my opinion, it would be something greater; for in the one case a man becomes a martyr for the sake of his own soul; in the other, he does so for the sake of the whole Church. If, therefore, thou wilt now persuade or constrain the brethren to return to unanimity, the

* Mosheim defends Novatus against the accusation of contradicting himself, by supposing that he did not belong to the five presbyters, and that he did not agree with them and with Felicissimus in this respect, but only in a common opposition to Cyprian. But the proofs cited above make against this supposition. The strongest ground which Mosheim brings forward for his opinion is this;—that Cyprian who raked up all possible grounds of accusation against Novatus, nevertheless does not charge him with contradicting himself, when he had a capital opportunity of doing so. But we may, perhaps, imagine, that Cyprian would be tender of touching on this point, because he might fear a retort, reminding him of the change in his own sentiments.

* Euseb. vi. 45.

† [Και ἢ οὐκ ἐδίδουσα τῆς ἑνῆς τοῦ μη σχίσαι μαρτυρίας, κατ’ ἐμὴν δὲ καὶ μεζῶν.]

The passage stands thus in the edition of Reading, but it gives then no reasonable sense. There is a note from Pearson and W. Lowth, recommending the reading *θυσαι* instead of *σχίσαι*, which the translation of Rufinus seems to support. In the elaborate edition of Euseb. H. E. just published by Heinichen (Lips. 1829), he has adopted the reading supported by Stroth, *ἀδίδουσα τῆς ἑνῆς τοῦ μη εὐδολογησῆσαι γινώσκους ἢ ἑνῆς τοῦ μη σχίσαι μαρτυρίας*, and supposes this line to have been omitted in Valesius by a typographical error. It is to be hoped that this work may be followed up by the other ecclesiastical historians.—H. J. R.

good thou doest by this means, will be greater than the evil thou hast caused. The one will not be reckoned to thee; but the other will be praised; even if thou art unable to persuade them, and fail in thy purpose, yet at any rate try to save thy own soul. Mayest thou keep peace in the Lord! I wish thee heartily farewell." But as Novatian was too deeply rooted in his opinions, and too much occupied by his polemic zeal, to be able to listen to such representations, the kind-hearted Dionysius now declared himself more strongly against him, and endeavoured also to draw away others from his party. He accused him* of bringing forward the most unhallowed doctrines about God, and of calumniating the merciful Jesus Christ as an unmerciful being.

Novatian might have better hopes of finding support in North Africa, because Cyprian himself had been inclined, in earlier days, to principles of the same kind in regard to penitence; but he had, in the meantime, as we above remarked, changed his opinions and his line of conduct, on account of which he was accused of inconsistency and variableness,† and he saw, at the same time, in Novatian, the disturber of the unity of the Church, a man who opposed a bishop regularly chosen, appointed by God himself, and one who wished to prescribe his own principles to the Church, as its law.

The controversy with the party of Novatian turned upon two general points:—

1. On the principles of penitence.
2. On what constitutes the idea and the essence of a true Church.

In regard to the first, Novatian has often been unjustly accused of maintaining the following doctrine: No one who has violated his baptismal covenant by a sin, can ever obtain again the pardon of his sin, he is sure of eternal condemnation. In the first place, Novatian never maintained that a Christian was a perfect saint; and he was not here speaking of all sins, but he presupposed the distinction of "*peccata mortalia*," and "*peccata venialia*," and only spoke of the former. And in the next place, he was not speaking at all of the *forgiveness of sins by God*, but only of the judgment of the Church, of the *absolution* of the Church. The Church, he meant to say, has no right to give absolution to a man, who, by a mortal sin, has

forfeited the forgiveness of sins obtained by Christ, and appropriated to him in baptism. God has revealed no determination in regard to such men; for the forgiveness of sins promised in the Gospel, relates only to sins committed *before baptism*. These fallen brethren must certainly be taken care of; but nothing more can be done for them than to exhort them to repentance, and commend them to the mercy of God. According to Socrates, (iv. 28.) Novatian wrote thus:—"We must not receive the '*sacrificati*' to the communion, but only exhort them to repentance, and leave the forgiveness of their sins to God alone, who has the power to forgive sins." Even Cyprian supposes these to be the principles of Novatian, although, in the heat of controversy, he did not always remember it, as we see when he says, Ep. lii. (Ep. iv. ed. Ox.) "Oh! what mockery of the deluded brethren! oh! what a vain deception of those unhappy men, who are lamenting! to exhort them to a penitence by which they are to give satisfaction to God—and to withdraw from them the medicine, which might give them the means of this satisfaction! To say to your brother: lament and shed tears, sigh day and night! do all the good in thy power, to wash away thy sins, but after all, thou shalt die without the Church. Thou must do the things pertaining to peace, but the peace thou seekest thou shalt never attain!* Who would not perish instantly? Who would not give up from mere despair? Dost thou believe, that the husbandman could labour, if a man were to say to him: 'Spend all thy care and labour on the culture of thy field, but thou shalt never reap an harvest!'"

As we see from the above quoted explanation of Novatian, from the work of Socrates, at first the controversy regarded only *one of the offences*, which went under the name of "*peccata mortalia*;" they were only debating about the conduct which implied a denial of Christianity. On the supposition, that Novatian was at first so severe on this kind of transgression, Cyprian was perfectly justified in combating the whole moral view, which was the foundation of this line of conduct, he was quite justified in contending against the notion, that only

* To say the truth, this was an opinion not quite suited to Novatian, whose language would rather be: "Do all in thy power to attain again to thy lost peace with God; but *no man* can give you a *certain pledge* that you have attained it."

* Euseb. vii. 8.

† Ep. lii. (Ep. iv. ed. Ox.) "*Ne me aliquis existimet, a proposito meo leviter recessisse.*"

such offences, as a denial of God, or a denial of Christianity, were to be called offences against God, as if every sin were not an offence against God, and a practical denial of God and Christianity: "Now the offence," says Cyprian, Ep. lii. (Ep. lv. ed. Ox.) "of the adulterer and deceiver, is far worse than that of the 'libellaticus'; the one sins by compulsion, the other by choice; the 'libellaticus' is deceived by the notion, that it is enough not to have sacrificed. . . . Adulterers and deceivers, according to the saying of the apostle, (Ephes v. 5,) are as idolaters. For as our bodies are members of Christ, and as every one of us is a temple of Christ, he who injures the temple of God by adultery, injures God; and he who does the will of the devil in Committing offences serves the devils and idols. For evil works came not from the Holy Spirit, but from the instigation of the adversary; and evil desires, born of the evil spirit, compel men to act against God, and to serve the devil." But afterwards, at least, the party of Novatian applied their principle to the whole class of 'peccata mortalia,' which most probably Novatian himself had intended from the very first, although the immediate subject of controversy led him only to speak of *one* sort of "peccata mortalia." We cannot suppose an ascetic, like himself, to be very much inclined to treat voluptuous sins too mildly.

And besides, Novatian in the extract from Socrates, speaks only of such as had sacrificed. But if Cyprian does not misrepresent Novatian, he most unjustly classed together, at least at first, all who had been unfaithful, in any way whatever, during the persecution, "libellatici," as well as "sacrificati," without regard to the various gradations of their offences, and the different circumstances which accompanied them: and without considering that so many among the "libellatici," were guilty of an error and a misunderstanding, rather than of a sin, he utterly refused absolution to all the "libellatici" as well as to the "sacrificati."

Beautifully, in the manner in which Cyprian combated these principles of Novatian,* does the paternal and loving heart of the pious shepherd, who followed the example of his Lord, speak forth, as well as the spirit of Christian love and tenderness which animated him.

He puts the supposition, that many of the "libellatici," whose conscience did not reprove them, would be led away by despair, to tear themselves away from the Church, and to ask for admittance into some sect of heretics: and he says, "It will be laid to our charge, in the day of judgment, that we cared not for the sick sheep, and that we have lost many healthy sheep on account of one that was sick. While the Lord left the ninety and nine whole sheep to seek that which was wandering and weary, we, it would seem, not only do not seek the lost sheep, but when it returns, we reject it." He then opposes this harshness by passages from the writings of the apostles, 1 Cor. ix. 22; xii. 26; x. 33, &c.; and he adds, "The case stands quite differently with the philosophers and stoics, who say, that all sins are equal, and that a steadfast man must not easily be brought to bend. But there is a vast difference between Christians and philosophers. . . . We must avoid what comes not from the mercy of God, but from the presumption of cruel philosophy. . . . The Lord says in his Gospel, 'Be ye merciful, even as your Father has mercy on you;' and again, 'the whole have not need of a physician, but they that are sick.' What healing can he perform who says, 'I care only for the healing of the whole—of those who need no physician.' . . . See! there lies thy brother, wounded by the enemy in battle. On the one side, Satan endeavours to kill him, whom he has wounded: on the other, Christ exhorts us not to allow him to perish, whom He has redeemed. To which of these two do we give our assistance? on whose side are we standing? Do we further the devil's work, and allow him to kill, do we pass by our brother, lying half dead, like the priest and the Levite in the Gospel? or do we, like priests of God and Christ, following what Christ has both taught and done, carry off the wounded man from the fangs of his adversary, that we may reserve him for God's final judgment, when we have done what we can for his cure?"*

Beautifully and truly as all this was

* "Ut curatum Deo judici reservemus," that is to say, upon the supposition that absolution cannot forestall the judgment of God, but only, that, if God, who looks upon the inward parts, finds man's heart corresponding to this absolution, and fitted for it, it is valid at God's own judgment-seat.

* Ep. lii. (Ep. lv. ed. Ox.)

said against the *spirit* of Novatianism, yet the principles of Novatian could not be met and contradicted by it. Even Novatian declared that the fallen brethren must be received and exhorted to penitence. He also acknowledged the mercy of God towards sinners, and he would also allow men to commend these fallen brethren to that mercy, but he would not allow men again with certainty to announce to them that forgiveness of sins which they had once forfeited, because he found no objective grounds for such a confidence. The only method of effectually answering him, was by showing him such an objective ground of confidence for all sinners, namely, in the merits of Christ, which the sinner always needed only to appropriate to himself, by penitence united with faith, and by a firm reliance on those merits. But on this point the opponents of Novatian were not themselves explicit enough, because in opposing his principles they sometimes appealed to 1 John i. 1, 2, but then they so expressed themselves, as if the forgiveness of sins, obtained for man by Christ, only related to sins committed before baptism, and as if in respect to sins, committed after it, there was need of a peculiar and personal satisfaction by good works. Once lay down this position, and Novatian was fairly entitled to ask, "And who will give us a pledge that any such satisfaction is available?"

As far as concerns the second point* in dispute, the notion of the Church, Novatian held the following opinion: As the mark of purity and holiness is one of the essential marks of a *true* Church, every church which, neglecting the right use of Church discipline, suffers those who have violated their baptismal vow by great sins, to remain in the midst of her, or receives them into her again, ceases thereby to be a true Church, and loses all the rights and advantages of such a Church. The Novatianists, therefore, as they claimed to be the only unstained, pure Church, called themselves, *οἱ καθάροι*, "the pure." It was justly said, in opposition to Novatian, that each man could be answerable and punishable only

for his own sins, and no man for those of another, in which he had no share; that only the inward communion with sinners, by the dispositions of the heart, not the outward association with them, was defiling in its nature; and that it was a piece of arrogance and human pride, to wish to exercise that judicial power of separating the real and false members of the Christian Church, which the Lord had reserved to himself. Beautifully does Cyprian say on this subject, "Although there appear to be tares in the Church, let not this disturb our faith nor our charity, so as to induce us to leave the Church, because there are tares in the Church. We must labour to belong to the wheat, that, when the wheat is gathered into the garner of the Lord, we may receive the recompense of our labours. The Apostle says, 'in a great house, there are not only vessels of silver and gold, but vessels of wood and clay, and some to dishonour, some also to honour.' Let us, therefore, labour, as far as we are able, to be those golden or silver vessels. To destroy the vessels of clay, is only given to the Lord alone, to whom the rod of iron has been given also. The servant cannot be greater than his Master, and no one can appropriate to himself what the father has given only to his Son, namely, to believe himself capable of carrying the winnowing fan, to cleanse and purify the threshing-floor, or of separating the tares from the wheat."*

But here, again, men were unable to find the only direct argument to oppose Novatianism on this point, and the enemies of Novatian were, in fact, in the same fundamental error with himself, only that they differed in the application of their principle. That error was a confusion between the ideas of the visible and of the invisible Church; and from this error it was that Novatian, while he transferred the attribute of purity and unstained holiness, which belongs to the invisible Church, the communion of saints, as such (see Ephes. v. 27), to the visible form of the invisible Church, drew the conclusion, that every Church, which has unclean members in it, ceases to be a true Church. Of the invisible Church alone could he maintain, and that justly too, that she would belie her nature, and lose her marks

* Pacianus, of Barcelona, who wrote in the latter half of the fourth century, shortly comprises the two principles of Novatian in the following words; "Quod mortale peccatum ecclesia donare non possit, immo quod ipsa pereat recipiendo peccantes." Ep. iii. contra Novatian. Galland. Bibl. Patr. t. vii.

* [Dr. Neander has made no reference here to Cyprian. The passage to which this quotation appears to approach the nearest, is in Ep. lv. p. 112, ed. Ox.—H. J. R.]

and her rights, if she admitted false members into her; but this would be a false conclusion if it were applied to the visible Church, in which the members of the invisible Church, who are *united* by the bond of the Spirit, *lie scattered*. It was a confusion of outward and inward, when he maintained, that men became themselves unclean by mere outward society, in the same outward communion of the Church, with the unclean. But the adversaries of Novatian were unable to discover this fundamental error, from which all the other single ones proceeded, because they were themselves the slaves of the very same error. Instead of appealing to an entirely different application of the idea of the Church, Cyprian contents himself with opposing Novatian only by bringing forward a twofold condition of the Church—one, her condition here below; the other, her condition in glory, after that separation has been completed by the last judgment. As Cyprian himself was entangled by the same error of confusing the outward with the inward, it happened also that he himself, on an after-occasion, where he had not the con-

troversy against Novatianism before his eyes, came very close to the principles of Novatian; this was in Ep. lxviii. [Ep. lxvii. ed. Ox.,] where he declared to the Spanish bishops, that they were themselves defiled by suffering unworthy priests among them, and that those who remained in connection with sinners, became themselves partakers of their sins.* Here Cyprian, not distinguishing mere outward communion from inward communion of feelings, has expressed himself indistinctly, and with only half truth.†

From this contention also, the Catholic system of the Church, firmly established, and thoroughly compact in all its parts, came forth victorious, and the Novatians extended themselves, in later centuries, only as a small separate sect.

* *Consortes et participes alienorum delictorum fieri, qui fuerint delinquentibus copulati.*

† [Mosheim, in his book *de Rebus Christianorum ante Constantinum*, has treated the controversies about Novatus, Novatian, and Stephanus, very fully. *Sæc. iii. § 11—17*. His views nearly coincide with those brought forward here.—H. J. R.]

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE

TO THE

SECOND PART.*

To the readers, who have given to the first half of the first volume of my Church History such a reception, as makes me still more responsible to them, as an author; I here communicate the continuation of my work. On the object at which I have aimed in treating the History of the Church I need not add any thing further, after what I have stated in the preface to the first part; to him, who finds himself on too opposite a position, in regard to knowledge and to life, to be able or willing to understand what is here advanced, I cannot expect to make myself intelligible by further explanation; our disagreement is unavoidable. Even with regard to those readers, for whom I have written, I need not express more fully my gratitude to them. The word which comes *from* the heart and the spirit, finds, as it can, without further preface, its way *to* the heart and spirit; *discourse must find its own hearers, and writings their own readers,*† nothing further can be done to recommend and attract.

I feel only that it is a duty to add a word on one subject; *viz.* the extent to which this volume has proceeded, which may appear disproportionate to many. It was from the beginning my plan to treat the History of the Church in the three first centuries at great length, because this period appeared to me the most weighty for every Christian and every theologian; because I believed that the establishment and the propagation of just and unprejudiced views on the composition of the Christian Church, on Christian worship, on Christian life, and Christian doctrines, would be particularly important and salutary, both in a general point of view, and in particular for our times in opposition to different kinds of errors now in circulation from many different quarters. The fermentation which the appearance of Christianity produced in the moral, religious, and intellectual nature of mankind, is of particular service in directing attention to the peculiar nature of the Gospel in the greatest number of different points of view,‡ and therefore, this extraordinary object certainly requires and deserves consideration in the greatest number of lights. We recognise here the different directions of the human mind and spirit, which are repeated in following periods, often only under other forms, and often in a less free and original manner. When these foundations of the whole History of the Church, are more fully developed, in the following centuries much may be presupposed and handled in a shorter and more compressed manner. The history of the sects

* This preface belongs to the second of the three brochures in which this first portion of the History of the Church was written. It contains Sections iii. and iv.

† *Das Wort muss sich seine Hörer und die Schrift ihre Leser selbst suchen.* This seems to be a proverbial phrase, especially as it is printed in what are equivalent to our italics.

‡ The literal translation would here be 'in the most *many-sided* manner;' and 'the most *many-sided* consideration.'

of this period,—in which the differences and contradictions proceed from the inmost depth of the human spirit and heart, and, being as yet uncontrolled and forcibly repressed by the deadening influence of a court, and State Church, can develop themselves *with more breadth and freedom*—is so much the more interesting and instructive than the doctrinal controversies of the Oriental Church in the succeeding centuries, which often lose themselves in dry dialectics, and are often debased by the mixture of the miserable elements of the party-squabbles of the Byzantine court.

These and similar grounds induced me to treat this first volume of the Church History with greater fulness, and we are, therefore, by no means to reckon the number of volumes likely to follow upon the same scale. The third part, which is about to appear D. V., at Easter next, will contain the conclusion of the first volume, and, if possible, the representation of the Apostolic age, of which I spoke in the preface to the first part. I must request the learned reader to suspend his judgment on the arrangement of the whole to the conclusion of the first volume.

A. NEANDER.

SECTION III.

CHRISTIAN LIFE AND WORSHIP.

(1.) *Christian Life.*

EVER since Christianity has been introduced as an element of human nature, it has acted in all cases, where it has taken root, with the same Divine sanctifying power; and wretched would be the state of the Church if this Divine power were liable to become extinct by the lapse of ages. In regard to the sanctifying power which resides in the Gospel, *this* period, therefore, in which Christianity first appeared to work on human nature, could have no advantages over the succeeding ages of the Christian Church. The only difference between the first ages of the Church and the succeeding centuries, was, that men, who in these early days turned from the sinful service of paganism to Christianity, felt the power of Christianity to form and reform man's nature more deeply, by comparing what they had been and what they were, and that this change of life, which had taken place in them, was more conspicuous to the rest of the world: as the apostle St. Paul, in writing to Christians converted from heathenism, reminds them of what they once were—that they once walked after the course of this world, after the spirit who hath his work in the children of unbelief—and as he, after relating the prevailing crimes of the corrupted heathen world, says to them, “And such were some of you, but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus.” (1 Cor. vi. 11.) The church-teachers, who had previously been heathens, often appealed to these effects, which they had experienced in their own case. The language of Cyprian,* in the first warmth of feeling, after his conversion, is to this effect: “Hear that which is felt before it is *learnt*, that which is not collected together by long study, but which is received in a moment by the power of grace, which hastens its work. While I lay in darkness and in blind night, and while I was driven about with uncertain and wandering feet by the waves of the world, doubtful of the conduct of my life, a stranger to

truth and light, that which the Divine mercy promised for my salvation, seemed to me, after my then way of thinking, something altogether hard and difficult, that a man *should be born again*, and laying aside what he had once been, the whole corporeal frame still remaining the same, should become in soul and mind an entirely different man. How, said I, is so great a *change* possible, that what has so long taken root, should at once be done away. . . . As I was bound and entangled by the errors of my former life, from which I believed that there could be no deliverance, so I gave myself up to the vices which beset me, and while I despaired of amendment, I encouraged my evil dispositions as if they had been a part of myself. But when, the water of regeneration having washed away the stains of my former life, the light from above shed itself into a heart freed from guilt, and purified, when the Spirit from heaven had been breathed into me, and formed me by a second birth into a *new* man, then most wonderfully that became certain to me, which had been doubtful before; that was open which had been closed; that was light where I had before seen only darkness; that became easy which had been difficult; that became practicable which before had seemed impossible; so that I can now perceive that the life I led, when being born after the flesh I lived subject to sin, was a worldly life; but the life which I have now begun to lead, is the beginning of a life proceeding from God, a life animated by the influence of the Holy Spirit. From God, I say, from God is all our might, from Him we receive life and power.” Justin Martyr paints the change which took place in Christians thus: “we who once delighted in debauchery, now love only purity; we who once used magic arts, have now consecrated ourselves to the good and unbegotten God; we who once loved gain beyond all things, now give up to the common use even what we have, and share it with every

* Ad Donat.

* Apolog. ii. c. 17. [Apol. i. p. 20. ed. Thirlb. —H. J. R.]

one that has need; we who once hated and murdered one another, we who would not enjoy the hearth in common with strangers on account of the difference of our customs, now live in common with them, since the appearance of Christ: we pray for our enemies, we seek to persuade those who hate us unjustly, that they may direct their lives according to the glorious doctrine of Christ, and may share with us the joyful hope of enjoying the same privileges from God, the Lord of all things." Origen* says, "The work of Jesus Christ is shown in the whole world, where the Churches of God founded by Christ, and consisting of men reformed from a thousand crimes, exist; and the name of Jesus still further has a wonderful efficacy in introducing mildness, decency of manners, humanity, goodness and gentleness among those who embrace the belief of the doctrine of God and Christ, and of a judgment to come, not for any worldly advantage nor purpose, but honestly and uprightly."†

As the contrast of heathenism and Christianity, which is no other than that between the old and the new man, was so strongly marked in the different periods of the lives of individuals, so was it also with regard to the relation between Christians, considered collectively, and the corrupt heathen world in which, after the flesh, they still lived, and from out of which, after the spirit, they were already departed. Although in later times the world, still heathenish in disposition and feelings, had put on the garb of Christianity, and it was difficult to distinguish the few genuine and upright Christians from the general mass of nominal ones, yet at this earlier period heathenism stood forth in all its naked deformity, the prevailing party in the world, in distinct opposition to Christianity. To this contrast Origen appeals when he says, "Compared with the communities of the people among whom they are placed, the communities of Christians are as lights in the world."‡

Whatever inducements there may have been in later times to a mere outward Christianity—the external advantages connected with the profession of Christianity, as the religion of the state, and

custom which makes men cleave to a religion inherited from their ancestors, without any peculiar inward call and feelings in their own case—all these in this period (especially in the first half of it) had no existence. The greater number of converts in these days was from a religion which education, the reverence for antiquity, the power of custom, and the external advantages united to its observance recommended to them, and it was a conversion to a religion which had every thing *against it*, which the other had *in its favour*, and which from the very first required many sacrifices from its converts, and set before them many dangers and sufferings.

And yet we should altogether mistake the essential qualities of *man's nature* which, in its relation to Christianity, is always the same, we should altogether mistake the nature of *Christianity*, which uses no *magical* means to work on man's will to attract and reform him, and we should also mistake the nature of *this age*, if we expected to find, in any point during this period, a time when the Church consisted, I will not say of perfect saints, for there are none of these on earth, but wholly of genuine Christians, animated entirely by pure Christianity, or faith working by love. Although the inducements to an *hypocritical* profession of Christianity were fewer, yet they were not wholly wanting. The support which the poor received in Christian communities, may, perhaps, have proved a means of attraction to many, who had no religious interest in the matter; and there is a hint to this effect in the above cited passage of Origen, where he says, that the name of Christ can show its Divine efficacy only among those, who do not feign their belief from human motives.

But without considering these feigned Christians, yet even among those, in whose hearts the seed of the Gospel had really fallen, our Lord's parable of the sower must often have proved itself true. This seed could not find, in every heart into which it fell, the ground fitted for its reception, the ground in which it could spring up as it ought, and bring forth fruit. It might well happen in this age, as in every other, that men, who were for a moment touched by the power of truth, might not use these impressions as they ought, might become faithless to the truth, and instead of consecrating to it their whole life, might wish to serve God and the world at the same time, and thence,

* Contra Cels. Lib. i. § 67. [(p. 53. ed. Spencer.) This quotation is abridged from the original.—H. J. R.]

† Ἐν τοῖς μὲν διὰ τὰ βιωτικὰ ἡ τὴν ζωὴν ὑπερβωτικὴν ἀποσκοποῦμεν.

‡ Contra Cels. Lib. iii. c. 29. [p. 128, ed. Spen.]

at length, again be completely enslaved by the world. He who did not watch over his own heart, who did not constantly with fear and trembling, endeavour, in his inward being under the guidance of the Divine Spirit, to separate that which is of the Spirit from that which is of the world, was exposed to the same sources of self-deception, and thence to the same danger of falling as in other times. Some sources of self-deception, to which, in fact, ultimately, all others are to be referred, are grounded in human nature itself; and these only show themselves in a different manner under different relations, and attach themselves, sometimes on one set of outward circumstances, sometimes on another; others, again, are peculiar to different centuries, and, indeed, all external circumstances, however desirable, considered in themselves alone, they may be for man, may, if true light be not shed on his inward heart, and he watch not over himself, become means of self-delusion to him. It cannot be unconditionally declared of any circumstances or condition, considered abstractedly, *that by them vital Christianity must be furthered*; all depends constantly on the tendency of man's own will, to which the use or misuse of these circumstances is entrusted. The very same circumstances which further Christianity in one man, may, if they are not used as they ought to be, become the cause of stumbling in the case of another.

The striking opposition between Christianity and the heathenism which was then the prevailing rule of life, between the Christian Church and the world, preserved the Christians from many of those intermixtures between the Church and the world, between spiritual and worldly things, which became so common in later days; but to many, who did not view this opposition in the proper light, it became a source of dangerous self-delusion. When they had sternly renounced every thing which externally came to them in a heathen shape; when they had outwardly renounced the service of heathen superstition and heathen profligacy, they believed that they had done enough; and so, while they made of this outward renunciation a kind of *opus operatum*, which served to cherish and support a pride, which was utterly a stranger to the spirit of love, and a false confidence, they overlooked, on that account, the still more severe struggle

with the spirit of heathenism within them, the manifold springs of selfishness and of a more refined love of the world, which are the more dangerous, because they are more concealed, and because they come in the shape of a friend. The plain and open contrast between Christianity and heathenism, the Church and the world, might mislead many into priding themselves, after a fleshly manner, on their superiority over the heathen; as if, by the mere outward profession of the faith, and the habitual use of the outward observances of Christianity, they were raised far above the heathen, as servants of Satan, and might fairly consider themselves already citizens of that heavenly kingdom, from which the heathen were excluded. And even among those who made being a Christian no *opus operatum*, but who justly estimated the requirements of this calling, and seriously strove to fulfil them, there was still a source of danger in the violence of spiritual pride and bitter enmity, with which they regarded the heathen, because it gave room in their hearts for other feelings than those of humility and thankfulness, arising from the consciousness that they once lay in the same corruption, and the same spiritual death as their heathen brethren, from which the grace of God had now delivered them; and other feelings than those impulses of love which would urge them to endeavour to lead their still unhappy brethren, with whom they were connected by so many ties of nature, and for whom Christ had also died, into that blessedness which had been bestowed on themselves by the grace of God. When once such feelings had been taken up, how easily would they find means of making their way among men, who were still living in the flesh, and of extending themselves widely!

The outward fight against the world, which reminded the Christians of their calling to battle (as *milites Dei et Christi*), might serve to awaken their faith and Christian virtue; but this very fight also, if the inclinations of the old man were not constantly repressed by the power of the Holy Spirit and the ardour of love, might generate and maintain a certain gloomy and austere temper, utterly repugnant to that spirit of love and friendship, which the apostle names among the fruits of the Spirit, and calls *χρηστοτης*. In the outward battle the inward might be forgotten, and the victory in it, as we have often had occasion to remark, might become

the means of cherishing pride, false confidence, and fleshly security.

Many, however, were induced, by the consciousness of sin, to seek forgiveness, and this want led them to Christianity; but they could not resolve to give to the Gospel that sacrifice of the heart which it requires, and without which none of its blessed, sanctifying, and happy influence can be revealed. They conceived the doctrine of the forgiveness of sins and of grace in a fleshly manner, pressing Christianity into the service of their fleshly imaginations, and so they wished to have forgiveness of their sins without leaving the practice of them, a fancy against which St. Paul so often had warned mankind, as when he said, "Shall we then continue in sin, that grace may abound? God forbid! How shall we that are *dead* to sin, *live* any longer therein?" They transferred their heathenish notion of the magical power of lustrations to baptism, and they thought that by it they should receive at once, without the proper preparation in the heart, a magical extinction of sin, so that under this idea they delayed their baptism, and in the mean time gave themselves up to their lusts. The teachers of the Christian Church set themselves heartily to work, to combat his notion. Tertullian says against it, in his book on Repentance, ch. vi., "How foolish and how wicked is it, not to fulfil the duty of repentance, and yet to expect pardon for sin! it is exactly this, not to pay the price and yet to stretch the hand out for the goods, for *this* is the price at which God has set the pardon for sin. . . . As, therefore, those who sell any thing, examine first the money for which they have agreed, to see that it be neither scraped nor worn, nor counterfeit; so we suppose also that the Lord makes trial beforehand of our repentance, when he is about to give us so valuable a possession as eternal life. . . . The divine grace, that is, the forgiveness of sin, remains unimpaired for those who are to be baptized; but then they must perform their part, so as to become capable of receiving it. . . . You may, indeed, easily steal into baptism, and by your protestations deceive those, whose business it is, into administering the rite to you. But God watches over his treasure, and will not allow the unworthy to steal into it. . . . Envelope yourself in whatever darkness you may, God is light. But many think that God is bound to keep whatever he has pro-

mised, even with those who are unworthy of it, and they bind his free grace in terms of slavery."* Tertullian justly appeals to experience, which shows, that in those who come in such a spirit to baptism, the effects of Christianity could not be shown, and that they often fell away again, inasmuch as they built their house upon the sand. Against such persons, Origen argues that the benefits of baptism wholly depend on the hearts of those who receive it, and are only bestowed on those who come to it in a true spirit of penitence; but, on the contrary, that to those with whom this spirit is wanting, baptism only tends to condemnation; and therefore, that the spirit of renovation, which accompanies baptism, is not bestowed upon all.† In order to guard against the notions of such unreal Christians, in Cyprian's Collection of Testimonies for the Laity, after he has laid down the position that no one can belong to the kingdom of God, unless he has been baptized and born again, he adds, "And yet it is but of little use that a man should be baptised and receive the sacrament, unless he shows himself bettered in conduct and in his works:‡" and the passages of the New Testament which he adduces, are well calculated to show the worthlessness of such a mere nominal Christianity: 1 Cor. ix. 24. Matt. iii. 10; v. 16; vii. 22. Philip. ii. 15; and then he also says, "He that is baptized, may also lose the grace that he has received, if he remains not in a state of purity from sin." And he cites in proof the following passages of the Bible: John v. 14. 1 Cor. iii. 17. 2 Chron. xv. 3.

It must certainly be acknowledged, that however earnestly the teachers of the Church combated a notion so prejudicial to the Christian life, yet the partially injurious consequences of that interchange of *outward* and *inward* things, are to be traced in the doctrines about the Church and sacraments; and it was here that this notion would find support, and something to attach itself to. It is, on this account, of great practical importance, that the doc-

* Exactly like those Jews, so full of fleshly pride, whom St. Paul combats in his Epistle to the Romans,—men who thought that God could never reject them, the trueborn heirs of his kingdom, and banish them from it.

† T. vi. Joh. c. 17.

‡ Lib. iii. 25, 26. "Parum esse baptizari et eu-charistiam accipere, nisi quis factis et opere proficiat."

trines of religion should be preserved by the clearest development of the ideas belonging to them, from a perversion, which the fleshly appetites of man are naturally inclined to cherish.

As one set of persons, by substituting the outward observances of religion for its inward feelings, supported their continuance in the practice of sins which they were unwilling to renounce, another made themselves easy by the semblance of an inward religion, independent of every thing outward. "God," said they, "is satisfied, if He be honoured in heart and soul, although there be a deficiency of works in consequence of human weakness." "This is," says Tertullian, in holy indignation, "to *sin* without violating the reverence due to God, and without violating our faith; but then, such persons may be condemned without any violation of God's mercy."*

It was peculiar to Christianity, that it could find its way into men's hearts by addressing the fleshly knowledge and feelings of man, and form this fleshly gradually into a spiritual nature, while it worked upon the inmost foundations of human nature, and by communicating a Divine principle of life, produced a conduct, the consequences of which, in relation to the whole spiritual and moral life, could only develop themselves gradually in their full extent. In our estimate, therefore, of the men of this time, who received this new and abundant spirit in the form which clung to them from their former carnal education and modes of thought, we must be careful not to judge harshly of their inward feelings from many of the rude notions that still remained to them, and from which they could only be freed gradually by the spiritualization of their whole habits of thought.* The great saying of the apostle may here often find a just application in this sense; that God's treasures are received into earthen vessels, and there preserved for a long time in order that the abundant power may be of God, and not of men. It is, therefore, a very superficial and unjust judgment to pass on men, who formed to themselves wonderful imaginations about God, and Divine things, and the kingdom of God, immediately to conclude, that they had nothing of Christian life within them. When, indeed, men of this sort, having been induced to believe by some outward or inward motives, did not, in conse-

quence, give themselves up to the Spirit of Christ, so that He might complete his work of regeneration in them; when they still obstinately adhered to the fleshly Christ of their own fancy, and expected from Him, though not now, yet hereafter, only carnal things; and when they would not be of those who having known Christ only according to the flesh, would know Him thus no longer? we may conclude that they belong to those, with whom the seed fell among thorns, and the thorns grew up and choked it; they had heard and received the word, but their fleshly thoughts, which they would not renounce, choked the word, so that it could produce no fruit. Even although the expectation of a sensual happiness in a remote futurity, of which, with all the enthusiastic powers of imagination, they formed to themselves such conceptions as would enchant their sensual notions, was sufficient to induce them to deny the appetites of the moment, and even to bear tortures and to meet death, they might, nevertheless, be far from that real new birth, by which alone man can enter into the kingdom of God; and the spirit of ennobling love, which is the essential mark of a disciple of Christ, and which, even where something of earthly dross remains, comes forth in such manifestations as are not to be mistaken, at least by the spiritual eye,—this spirit could never have found, in that sort of life, access to their hearts.

We must, therefore, be cautious, on the one hand, that we do not expect to find, in these first days of the Church, any exclusively *golden age* of purity; nor, in the visible Church, any community, entirely glorious, and without spot or wrinkle,* nor any thing of the sort; and, on the other hand, that we do not fail to perceive the heavenly beauty which really did beam through the stains and blemishes

* The apologetic writers themselves do not deny, that there were many that passed under the name of Christians, who yet belied the very nature of Christianity by their lives, and gave occasion to the heathen to calumniate Christianity; but then they declare, that these men were never recognised as Christians by the Christian Churches; and they require the heathen to judge all according to their lives, and whatever they found worthy of punishment, to punish it, wherever it might be. So Justin Martyr, and so Tertullian, (*ad Nation. lib. i. c. 5.*) The latter says, "When you say that the Christians are the basest of men in regard to covetousness, luxury, and dishonesty, we are not about to deny that there are some of that kind; even in the cleanest body a mole will sometimes make its appearance."

* Tertullian, *de Pœnitentia*, c. v.

of the early Church. If a man look only on one side or on the other exclusively, he figures to himself either some form of ideal perfection or some disfigured caricature; but an unprejudiced representation, after unprejudiced observation, will avoid both these errors.

That which our Saviour himself, in his last conversation with his disciples, proclaimed as the mark by which his disciples might be known, the mark of their fellowship with him and their heavenly Father, and the mark of his glory dwelling among them—namely, that they should love one another,—this was assuredly the prominent feature of the early Christian Churches; a feature which did not fail to strike even the heathen themselves. The names “brother” and “sister,” which the Christians interchanged, were not empty names; the kiss of brotherhood, which was bestowed on every person at his admission into the Christian Church, after baptism, by those Christians into whose immediate society he was about to enter; this kiss, which the members of a Church bestowed on one another, before the celebration of the communion, and with which every Christian saluted another even when he saw him for the first time, was no mere formality,* but all this was originally an expression of Christian feeling, and a token of the relations in which Christians

considered one another. This was the thing, as we have before had occasion to remark, which, in an age of cold selfishness, most struck the heathen—that men, from so many different countries, of such different circumstances and relations one with the other, and of such different degrees of education, should appear in such inward harmony and union with each other; as, for instance, that a stranger coming into a town, and having made himself known to the Christians, through an “*epistola formata*,” as a real brother Christian, immediately received, even from those to whom he was personally unknown, all the attentions and the support befitting a brother.

The care of providing for the support and maintenance of the stranger, the poor, and the sick, of the old men, widows, and orphans, and of those who were imprisoned for the faith’s sake, devolved on the whole community. This was one of the chief purposes for which voluntary contributions at the times of assembling for divine service were established, and the charity of individuals outstripped even this. How peculiarly this was considered as the business of a Christian mistress of a family, we may judge from Tertullian, where, in painting the disadvantages of a marriage between a heathen and a Christian woman, he peculiarly dwells on this, that the Christian would be obstructed in that which was usually reckoned as in the circle of a Christian woman’s domestic duties. “What heathen,” says he, “will suffer his wife, in visiting the brethren, to go from street to street, into strangers’, and even into the most miserable cottages? Who will suffer them to steal into prisons, to kiss the chains of martyrs? If a stranger-brother comes, what reception will he find in a *stranger’s house*?* If she has to bestow alms on any one, the safe and the cellar are closed to her.”† On the other hand; he lays it down as one of the joys attendant on a marriage between Christians, that the wife may visit the sick and support the needy, and need not be under anxiety about her alms-giving.‡

The active brotherly love of each

* Every one who knows human nature, will easily see that this cannot be affirmed of any thing, and of any period, entirely without limitation. What was originally only a pure expression of heartfelt sensations, and remains so among a great many, may yet become, among others, only a counterfeited gesture, and in their self-delusion they may, perhaps, think that they thereby make amends for the *spirit*, in which they are wanting, and which cannot be counterfeited. Clement of Alexandria accordingly complains, that there were many in his time who made a matter of ostentation of the brotherly kiss, and gave great offence to the heathen unnecessarily, by that means, and who placed the essential of brotherly love in the brotherly kiss. He says, on this subject, (*Pædagog. lib. iii. p. 256, 257.*) “Love must be estimated by benevolence, not by the brotherly kiss. But there are many, who only disturb the Church with the brotherly kiss, without having the spirit of love in their hearts (*οἱ δὲ οὐδὲν ἄλλ’ ἢ φιλημάτων καταψεύδονται τὰς ἐκκλησίας, το φιλούν ἴδιον οὐκ ἔχοντες αὐτο.*)” This has also spread about an evil jealousy and accusations, because men give publicly the brotherly kiss, which ought to be done privately. The salutations also of those who are dear to us, in the streets, so as to be seen of the heathen, are not of the smallest value. For if it be right to pray to God in our chamber in secret, it follows from this, that we ought to show our love to our neighbour also in secret in our inward heart, and yield to the times, because we are the salt of the earth.”

* Tertullian apparently lays a particular stress on the word “stranger,” “in aliena domo,” the house which is a strange one to the Christian; as the house of a Christian woman ought not to be a strange one to him.

† *Ad Uxorem*, ii. 4.

‡ *Loc. cit. c. 8.* “*Libere æger visitatur, indigens sustentatur, eleemosynæ sine tormento.*”

Church was not, however, limited to its own narrow circle, but extended to the wants of Churches in distant places. Under any pressing necessity of this nature the bishops appointed special collections to be made, and also appointed fastdays, in order that what was spared from the daily expenses even of the poorer members of the community might be contributed to the general need.* If the Churches of the provincial towns were too poor to meet any pressing distress, they applied to the richer one in the metropolis. A case, for example, had occurred, in which Christian men and women from Numidia had fallen into captivity among the neighbouring barbarians, and the Numidian Churches were unable to raise the sum requisite for their ransom; they applied to the richer Church of the great North African metropolis. Cyprian, the bishop of Carthage, soon raised a sum of more than four thousand dollars,† and sent it with a letter which breathed the true spirit of Christian sympathy and brotherly love.‡ “In cases like these,” he writes to them, “who would not feel sorrow, and who would not look upon his brother’s suffering as his own! as the apostle Paul says: ‘When one member suffers, all the members suffer with it,’ and in another place, ‘Who is weak, and I become not weak?’ Therefore must we consider the captivity of our brethren as our own captivity, and the sorrow of those in danger as our own affliction, inasmuch as we are bound together into one body; and not only love, but religion ought to incite and cheer us on in redeeming the lives of the brethren who are our members. For the apostle Paul again, in another place, says, ‘Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwells in you? (1 Cor. iii. 16,) and so even if love will not move us to give assistance to our brethren, we ought to remember here, that it is the temple of God which is in captivity, and we ought not, by long delays and by a neglect of these calamities, to suffer that the temple of God should remain long in captivity. . . . For since the apostle Paul says, ‘As many of you as are baptized, have put on Christ,’ so must we see Christ

in our captive brethren, and we must redeem Him from captivity, who redeemed us from death, so that He who has saved us from the jaws of Satan, and who now dwells and remains in us, may himself be freed from the hands of barbarians, and that he may be redeemed by a sum of money, who redeemed us by his cross and blood; and He hath allowed this in the mean time to take place, in order that our faith may be tried, whether every one will do that for others, which he would wish to be done for himself, were he in captivity among barbarians. For who that is alive to the feelings of humanity and mutual love, would not, if he is a father, look upon it as if it regarded his own sons, or if he be a husband, would not feel that, as it were, his own wife is taken captive, to the shame and the sorrow of the conjugal yoke? . . . And we wish also, that for the future nothing of this sort may happen, and that our brethren, by the might of the Lord, may be preserved from similar calamities. But if any thing like this should again occur, to prove the love and the faith of our hearts, delay ye not to give us tidings of it by your letters, being persuaded that all our brethren here pray that these things may not occur again, but that they will again readily and plentifully give assistance if they do.”

That which stamped a Christian character on these acts of benevolence, could only be the lively feelings which here declared themselves, if these works proceeded only out of a childlike love and thankfulness towards the Redeemer, and out of brotherly love towards their companions in redemption, and if they joyfully proceeded out of the inward impulses of love. If, on the contrary, men thought to deserve something by works like these, if they bowed themselves unwillingly as it were under the yoke of a compulsory law, then the Christian character was lost, and good works, which ought to be the spontaneous fruits of faith working through love, were only forcibly wrung from a selfish spirit, not subdued through the spirit of love to the Redeemer, by a law which commanded, which threatened, and which promised,—nay, they might be the very fruits of a refined selfishness, and afford food to the sinful parts of human nature. The old man has constantly been inclined to seek such support, and to betake himself to outward observances instead of inward holiness, and as soon as men relinquished the notion of setting the whole Christian

* Tertullian, de Jejunii, c. 13. “Episcopi universæ plebi mandare jejunia assolent—industria stipium conferendarum.”

† Sestertia centum millia nummorum. [About £800.—H. J. R.]

‡ Ep. lx. [Ep. lxii. ed. Ox.]

life on the single ground of faith and confidence, they forgot that the whole life of a Christian can be nothing but the constant and increasing appropriation and application of the merits of Christ to the weakness of humanity, an increasing revelation of fellowship with Him, which constantly more and more penetrates the whole nature and ennobles it; and thus this error obtained a deep foundation. In the third century we see that just evangelical conception of benevolence, and this unevangelical one at times side by side, as in the writing which Cyprian composed in order to encourage the Christians, among many of whom brotherly love had waxed cold during a long season of earthly repose, to the exercise of this virtue. (*De Opere et Eleemosynis.*) Cyprian beautifully addresses a father of a family, who excused himself from the duty of benevolence, under the plea of a numerous family, in the following language: * "Think not him a father to your children, who is a feeble and mortal man, but seek another father for them, even the eternal and Almighty Father of all spiritual children. Let Him be the guardian and provider for your children; and the protector of them by his Divine majesty against all the evils of the world. When you bestow more care on earthly than on heavenly possessions, you are seeking to commend your children to Satan rather than to Christ; you commit a double sin, for you neglect to obtain for your children the protection of God, and you teach them to love possessions rather than Christ."

In any times of public calamity in the larger cities, the contrast was very striking between the cowardice and selfishness of the heathen, and the brotherly love and willingness of the Christians to sacrifice their own interests. We shall take a representation of this contrast from Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, who had an opportunity of observing it in the different conduct of the heathens and the Christians during a terrible pestilence in that city, in the reign of the emperor Gallienus. "That pestilence appeared to the heathen as the most dreadful of all things, as that which left them no hope; not so, however, did it seem to us, but only a peculiar and practical trial. The greater part of our people, in the abundance of their brotherly love, did not spare themselves, and mutually attending to each

other, they would visit the sick without fear, and ministering to them for the sake of Christ, they would cheerfully give up their life with them. Many died, after their care had restored others from the disease to health. The best among our brethren, some priests and deacons, and some who were celebrated among the laity, died in this manner; and such a death, the fruit of great piety and strong faith, is hardly inferior to martyrdom. Many who took the bodies of their Christian brethren into their hands and bosoms, closed their mouth and eyes, and buried them with every attention, soon followed them in death. But with the heathen matters stood quite differently; at the first symptom of sickness they drove a man from their society, they tore themselves away from their dearest connections; they threw the half-dead into the streets, and left the dead unburied; endeavouring by all the means in their power to escape contagion, which, notwithstanding all their contrivances, it was very difficult for them to accomplish."*

In the same manner the Christians of Carthage let the light of their love and Christian conduct shine before the heathen in a pestilence which visited North Africa, a little before, in the reign of Gallus. The heathens, out of cowardice, left the sick and the dying, the streets were full of corpses, which no man dared to bury, and avarice was the only passion which mastered the fear of death, for wicked men endeavoured to make a gain out of the misfortunes of their neighbours; and the heathens accused the Christians of being the cause of this calamity as the enemies of the gods, instead of being brought by it to the consciousness of their own guilt and corruption.† But Cyprian required of his Church, that they should behold in this desolating pestilence a trial of their dispositions. "How necessary is it, my dearest brethren," he says to them, "that this pestilence, which appears to bring horror and destruction, should prove the consciences of men! It will determine whether the healthy will take care of the sick, whether relations bear tender love one to another, and whether masters care for their sick servants."‡ That the Christians should show a spirit of mutual love among

* Euseb. vii. 22. [This account is considerably abridged from the original.—H. J. R.]

† Cyprian, ad Demetrian.

‡ Lib. de Mortalitate.

themselves, was not sufficient to satisfy a bishop who formed his notions after the model of the great Shepherd. He, therefore, called his sheep together, and addressed them thus: "If we do good only to our own people, we do no more than publicans and heathens. But if we are the children of God, who makes his sun to shine, and his rain to descend upon the just and upon the unjust, who sheds abroad his blessings, not on his own alone, but even upon those whose thoughts are far from Him, we must show this by our actions, endeavouring to become perfect even as our Father in heaven is perfect, and blessing those who curse us, and doing good to those who persecute us." Encouraged by his paternal admonition,* the members of the Church addressed themselves to the work,—the rich contributing money, and the poor their labour, so that in a short time, the streets were cleared of the corpses which filled them, and the city saved from the dangers of an universal pestilence.

The peculiar spirit of Christianity was constantly shown in this, that in the new duties it commanded, it always preserved exactly the proper medium between the opposite dispositions, by which the natural man, according as his inclinations induce him to prefer an easy state of enjoyment, or a wild and ardent activity, is commonly led into error. It is thus no uncommon thing in human life to observe the development of two such opposite feelings, the one a cowardice which honours man more than God, and would sacrifice all divine truth, and all the dignity of human nature to the commands of earthly power, and the other a wild defiance of all existing human institutions. Christianity gave its sanction to all existing human institutions, as far as there was nothing in them which contravened the laws of God: it left its genuine professors to walk in the laws and institutions which they found existing, even where they were oppressive to them, with resignation and self-denial. The spirit of love to God, from whom as its original source all earthly power and order is derived, and for *whose* glory they felt themselves bound to submit to all the ordinances of man which are not at variance with his laws—the spirit of love to their neighbour, which endeavoured through the means of such compliance to win

him for God,—these were the feelings which caused them to bear this yoke with joy; and the consciousness of freedom in the inward man, because he belonged to heaven, taught them to see in this yoke no yoke at all; and while the fear of man can only bring eyeservice, with them the looking towards Him, for whose sake they did every thing, instilled into their hearts a spirit of *conscientious obedience*, even where no human eye could see them. But then the same spirit of Christianity which taught them to obey man for the sake of God, taught them also to obey God rather than man, to sacrifice every consideration whatever, and to despise their property and their life, where human power required from them any compliance which would break the laws of God; and here it was that the Christians showed the true spirit of freedom, against which no despotism was ever able to prevail. The first section of this history has already given us an opportunity of observing the effects of the spirit of Christianity in both these respects. With these feelings, Justin Martyr says, (Apol. ii.,)* "Taxes and customs we pay the most scrupulously of all men, to those who are appointed by you, as we were taught by him. (Matth. xxii. 21.) Hence we worship only God alone, while at the same time we serve you willingly in all other respects, because we recognise you as our human sovereign." Tertullian was able to appeal to this very circumstance, and declare, that what the state lost in the revenues of the temples by the extension of Christianity was more than counterbalanced by that which it gained in taxes and customs, if they would only compare the readiness and fairness of the Christians with the false statements, &c., which were usual in the payment of these duties.† The Christians were accustomed to keep the above cited saying of our Lord, (Matth. xxii. 21,) constantly in their mouth and heart, as the rule of their daily conduct, and he gives in opposition to those who used it, according to his opinion, in too wide and indefinite a sense, the following interpretation of it: "The image of Cæsar, which is on the coins, is to be given to Cæsar, and the image of God which is in man, is to be given to God; therefore, thou

* [Apol. Prim. p. 26. (ed. Thirlb. 1722).—H. J. R.]

† Apologet. c. 42, "Si ineatur (ratio) quantum vectigalibus pereat fraude et mendacio vestrarum professionum."

* [See Pont. Vit. Cyprian. p. 5.—H. J. R.]

must give the money, indeed, to Cæsar, but thyself to God; for what will remain to God, if all belongs to Cæsar?"*

The principles, according to which man must act in these respects, were easily laid down in theory, and easily to be deduced from Scripture, and from the nature of Christianity, and hence, as far as theory was concerned, all Christians were agreed; but the application of these principles to individual cases was a matter of great difficulty, because this involves drawing the limits generally between that which is Cæsar's and that which is God's, and deciding what things are indifferent in a religious point of view, and what are not. The heathen religion was so closely interwoven with the whole civil and social life, that it was not always easy to separate mere civil and social things from religious affairs. Much which had originally proceeded from religious sources, had long ago lost all connection with religious concerns with the multitude, and, becoming clear only to the learned antiquary, had lost all its religious character in the sight of the people. The question, therefore, arose, whether persons were justified in considering such things as indifferent in a religious point of view, and ought in them to follow the customs of the age, as merely civil and social matters, or whether they were not bound, in consequence of the connection these customs had with heathenism, to set all other considerations aside.†

And still further, the nature of Christianity was such, that it was certain to pass a sentence of condemnation on every thing ungodly, while at the same time, appropriating to its own purposes all that was pure in human relations and tendencies, instead of destroying them, it would sanctify and ennoble them. But then, again, the inquiry would arise, what is pure in human things, and therefore, capable of being received in connection with Christianity, and what, on the contrary, originally proceeding from the corruption of our nature, bears on its very nature the stamp of ungodliness, and, therefore, must be utterly rejected from Christianity? Now, inasmuch as Christianity appeared as a

new leaven in an old world, and as it was destined to produce a new creation in an old one, of a totally different character and spirit, the inquiry would, therefore, arise the sooner, what of all that now exists in the world requires only to be reformed and ennobled, and what must be utterly destroyed. There might be a great deal really existing at that time, which, under the direction of the corrupt world, might appear utterly at variance with the essentials of Christianity, but which, however, by means of a different direction and another sort of use, might be brought into perfect harmony with Christian principles. The consequence of this would, of course be, that some men would condemn the good use of which things were capable, because of the misuse of them, while others would advocate the existing misuse itself, in virtue of the possible good use of them.

Many institutions also might exist, which would never have been formed in a state of society under the influence of Christianity, and which were certainly foreign to pure Christianity, but which, nevertheless, under the guidance of a Christian spirit, might be so modified and applied, that they no longer contained any thing at variance with its principles. As Christianity was not in the habit of producing any violent and convulsive changes in external things, but reformed and amended these by beginning from within, in the case of such institutions, for the avoidance of a greater evil, and in order not to step out of its own peculiar sphere of spiritual efficacy, it might very well allow them to exist, at least for a time, in such a way that a new spirit might be imparted to the old form, which did not suit the spirit of Christianity; and, at last, when men were prepared for the change, by the influence of Christianity, the form itself might drop, and *all* become new.

Under these circumstances, therefore, the application of principles, on which all were agreed, might yet cause differences among the Christians, as a difference of habits of thought and dispositions was likely to give a different colour to the relations which things around bore to them; a sort of difference, which in aftertimes often occurred again in the case of missions among strange people, in the organization of new Churches, and in the decisions which at various times were made about matters of indifference (*ἀδιαφορέα*.) An error might here be committed on one side or the other, either by too lax accommo-

* Tertullian, de Idololatria, c. xv.

† We may, for instance, compare what Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria, out of the treasures of their learning, following in the footsteps of heathen writers, have said of the religious meaning and reference of the ceremonies of crowning—things which certainly in common life no one would have thought of.

dation or by too abrupt rejection. With the exception of those few, who having already made a further progress in genuine evangelical freedom, had united enlightened considerateness with the depth of Christian zeal, the latter error was more prevalent than the former among real Christians; they were more inclined to cast away much of that which, in the days of heathenism, they had used to the service of sin or of falsehood, but which was still capable of a very different use, than to retain any thing which had the slightest savour of heathen corruption; they were eager to cast away every thing which came before them in contact with sin or heathenism; they were inclined to do too much, far rather than to nullify even the smallest portion of Christianity, that jewel, that pearl, for which they were ready to sell every thing; and this was natural enough, for in the first warmth of genuine conversion, in the first fire of real love, man is more inclined to reject with abruptness all that belongs to the world, than to err by retaining it in a lax spirit of accommodation. One of these two parties appealed to the saying of our Saviour, that we must render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, to show, that in all which relates to civil order, men must obey the existing laws, and give no useless offence to the heathen, and besides, must not give them occasion to speak injuriously of God, and in short, that they must "become all things to all men," in order to win them *all* to the Gospel. The other party could not deny that these principles were deduced from Scripture; but then, said they, while we consider all external and earthly things as belonging to Cæsar, our whole heart and life still must belong to God: that which is Cæsar's must not come into competition with that which is God's. If it be unconditionally true that we must give the heathen no opportunity whatever of calumniating the name of Christian, we must give up all Christianity. Let them calumniate us forever, provided we give them no opportunity of doing so by unchristian conduct; let them continue to calumniate us, if they only abuse what is truly Christian in us. In the proper sense, we are willing "to become all things to all men," but not if we are expected to become worldly to the worldly; for we have it written, "if I please men, I am not the servant of Christ."* It is easy to see that both these parties were right in the principles

which they laid down, but the only question was, how to apply these principles justly.

Those who exercised trades contrary to the general and recognised principles of Christianity, were not admitted to baptism, before they had pledged themselves to relinquish them.* They were obliged to begin a new trade, in order to obtain a livelihood, or in case they were unable to do so, they were received into the number of the poor of the Church. Among these trades were reckoned all which had the smallest connection of any kind whatever with idolatry, and might contribute to its furtherance, as those of artists and workmen, who employed themselves in making or adorning images of the gods. Many who wished to continue these trades, as a means of subsistence, excused themselves under the plea, that they were no worshippers of idols, and that they considered these images not as objects of religion, but as mere objects of art; but in those days it must have argued great lukewarmness in religious feeling, to separate religion and art so sophistically. Tertullian, on the contrary, declares with pious warmth, "And yet most assuredly, to obtain honour for idols, is to honour them yourself; you bring no offering, indeed, of any thing else to them, but you offer up your own spirit to them—your sweat is their drink-offering, and you light the torch of your cunning in honour of them."† Among these unlawful callings were also reckoned all kinds of astrology and magical arts, then such prevailing and profitable sources of delusion and deceit.

The cruel pleasure which the Roman people received from the sanguinary shows of gladiators, gives a remarkable proof how completely the moral and humane feelings of our nature may be repressed by education and habit, and how a narrow-hearted political sentiment may destroy the common sentiments of humanity. This was a pleasure which those who aspired to the character of civilization scrupled not to partake in, which law-givers and statesmen, and even those who claimed the name of philosophers, were not ashamed to approve of, and promote. The feelings, however, of universal love and charity, first called into life

* Apostol. Constitut. lib. viii. c. 31. The council of Elvira also, can. 62., "Si auriga et pantomimus credere voluerint, placuit, ut prius actibus suis renuntient et tunc demum suscipiantur, ita ut ulterius ad ea non revertantur. Qui si facere contra interdictum tentaverint, projiciantur ab ecclesia."

† Tertull. de Idololat. c. vi.

* Tertullian, de Idololatria.

and action by Christianity, must, from its earliest rise, have struggled against this species of cruelty, which the laws and the prevailing sentiments of the Romans allowed and approved. Those who attended the combats of gladiators and of wild beasts, according to the principle which the Church established, were excommunicated. Irenæus, with horror, calls it the extremest denial of the Christian character, when some among the wild, fanatical, and antinomian sect of the Gnostics would not even refrain from participating in those bloody shows, the objects of hatred at once to God and man.* While Cyprian is proclaiming the joy of a Christian, in feeling that he has departed from the corruptions of the heathen world, and while he is looking on these from a Christian's point of view, he says,† “If you cast your eyes upon the towns, you meet with an assembly which is more frightful than solitude. A combat of gladiators is in preparation, in order to gratify the thirst of cruel eyes with blood. A man is put to death for the pleasure of men, murder becomes a profession, and crime not only practised, but even taught.” Tertullian says to the heathen,‡ who defended the shows of gladiators, and in their defence alleged, that those who were capitally guilty were often made use of in these combats, “who but a criminal can deny that it is well criminals should be punished? and yet the innocent can never rejoice in the punishment of his neighbour; nay, it rather becomes the innocent to lament, when a man, his fellow-creature, is so guilty, that he requires so cruel a mode of execution. But who will give me any security that only the guilty are ever thrown to wild beasts, or condemned to any other capital punishment, and that innocence never suffers this mode of death, from the love of vengeance in a judge, from the weakness of its advocate, or from the power of torture? . . . But at any rate the gladiators come to the combat uncharged with any guilt, but solely to become the victims of a public passion. And as to those who are sentenced to these combats, is it proper that the punishment, which ought to serve as a means of amendment to men guilty of a venial

transgression, should expressly lead them to become murderers?”

But it was not the participation in these cruel amusements alone, which appeared to the Christians incompatible with the nature of their calling, but this condemnation extended also to every kind of spectacle exhibited in those days, to the pantomimic shows, the tragedies, and comedies, the chariot and foot races, in short to all the amusements of the theatre and the circus. As the Romans of those days were passionately addicted to theatrical entertainments, it was no uncommon mark by which a man's conversion to Christianity was ascertained, that he wholly withdrew from the theatre.* Theatrical exhibitions were supposed part and parcel of idolatry, inasmuch as they derived their origin from the heathen worship, and were still connected with many of the heathen festivals. These exhibitions were especially included in the pomps of idolatry and Satan, (the πομπη διαβολου,) which Christians were bound at their baptism to renounce, by the pledge which they took upon themselves at their entrance into the rank of soldiers of the kingdom of God—(the sacramentum militiæ Christi.) In many of them much took place which violated the moral feelings and decencies of Christians, and even where this was not the case, yet even then the hour-long pursuit of idle and vain objects—the unholy spirit which reigned in these assemblies—the wild uproar of the collected multitude, seemed hardly to suit the holy seriousness of the Christian's priestly character. The Christians considered themselves as priests, consecrated to God for their whole life, as temples of the Holy Ghost; all, therefore, which was foreign to that Spirit, whose dwelling-place in their hearts they were bound to keep ready for him, was to be kept far away from them. “God hath commanded,” says Tertullian, de Spectaculis, c. xv.,† “that the Holy Spirit, a Spirit essentially tender and kind, should be received with tranquillity and gentleness, with peace and stillness, and not be disquieted by passion, rage, anger, and the violence of irritated feelings. How can such a Spirit put up with the exhibitions of the playhouse? For no play goes

* Irenæus, lib. i. ch. vi., ‘ὅς μιντε της παρα Θεο και ανθρωπων μεγαλητης της των θρησκευτων και μονομαχιαις ανδρικοιεν της απεισθησθαι ενους αυτων.

† Ep. ad Donat.

‡ De Spectaculis, c. xix.

* Tertullian de Spectaculis, c. xxiv. “Hinc vel maxime ethnici intelligunt factum Christianum de repudio spectaculorum.”

† [Part of this passage is in c. xvii. and part in c. xxv.—H. J. R.]

off without violent commotion of the minds of the spectators. . . . No one, in the theatre, thinks of any thing else than to see and to be seen. Amidst the clamour of the players can any man think upon the promise of a prophet, or meditate upon a Psalm during the melodious strains of an enunch? . . . Now, since with us all immodesty is an object of horror, how can we dare there to listen to things which we dare not speak, while we know that all useless and trifling discourse is condemned by the Lord?" Matt. xii. 36. Ephes. iv. 29; v. 4. So constantly had the Christians in their judgment on all their relations in life, the pattern of the Divine word and the nature of their Christian calling before their eyes!

To Tertullian, who was, no doubt, inclined to behold in every kind of art a lie which counterfeited the original nature created by God, the whole system of plays appeared an art of mere representation and lies: "The Creator of truth"—says he, l. c. ch. xxiii—"loves nothing false, with him all fiction is falsehood; he who condemns all hypocrisy, will never approve of any man, who counterfeits voice, sex, age, love, hatred, sighs, and tears.

When persons of weak minds, who thought really that it was unchristian to frequent the theatres, yet suffered themselves to be carried away by the prevailing manners, and frequent them; things which sometimes occur to them there, which inflicted a deep wound on their Christian feelings, produced remorse of conscience in them, and destroyed their peace of mind, in a manner which long continued to be prejudicial to them.* Others, after they had once or twice, against the voice of their Christian conscience, suffered the love of pleasure to bring them to the theatre, again took a liking for these things,† and by their pas-

sion for theatrical amusements, they were again by degrees drawn back into the vortex of heathenism.

The heathens and Christians of a light and trivial disposition were in the habit of urging on the more serious the following arguments: Why should they withdraw from these public pleasures? Such outward pleasures of the eye and ear need not banish religion from the heart. God would not be injured by the pleasures of men, and to enjoy these, in their proper place and season, without any violation of the fear or the reverence due to God, could be no crime.* So Celsus, when he challenges the Christians to partake in the public festivals, says to them, "God is the common God of all, he is good and without wants, and free from jealousy. What then should prevent those who are so especially consecrated to him from partaking in the public festivals.† This is quite in accordance with the usual ways of levity, and a cold-hearted love of the world, which, in opposing itself to moral seriousness of a high order, generally puts on a most imposing air of philosophy. Tertullian gives the following answer: "But it is then our business to show, how these pleasures cannot possibly consist with true religion and true obedience towards the true God."

Another argument, by which some who were devoted to amusements endeavoured to silence their Christian conscience, was the following: that in these exhibitions only such things were made use of as belonged to the gifts of God, which he had bestowed on man in order that man might enjoy them. No place either of Holy Writ could be alleged, in which plays were expressly forbidden. In regard to chariot races, the riding in chariots could have nothing sinful in it, for Elijah was taken to heaven in a chariot. Music and dancing in the theatre could not be forbidden, for we read in Scripture of choirs, of stringed instruments, of cymbals, horns, and trumpets; we read of king David's dancing and playing before the ark of the covenant, (1 Chron. xvi. 29,) and we find the apostle Paul borrowing for the exhortation of Christians, similes from the

* Tertullian gives us some examples, l. c. ch. xxvi. A woman, who went to the theatre, returned home from it in the miserable condition of a person possessed by an evil spirit; and when it was attempted to exorcise the spirit, and he was asked how he dared to take possession of the soul of a believer, he said, or the sick person, who imagined that he was speaking in the name of the evil spirit, said, "I was quite justified in what I did, I seized upon her while she was in a place where my dominion lies." Another, after visiting the theatre, saw a fearful vision in the night, and it was, perhaps, in consequence of the alarm into which she was thrown by it, that she died five days afterwards.

† Tertullian, de Spectaculis, ch. xxvi. "Quot

documenta de his, qui cum diabolo apud spectacula communicando a Domino exciderunt!"

* Tertull. l. c. ch. i.

† Origen, c. Cels. Lib. viii. c. 21. 'Ο γὰρ μὲν Θεὸς ἀπλῶς κινεῖται, ὁ γὰρ Χρὶς τε καὶ περὶ τοῦ, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ φθονοῦ. Τὴν οὖν καρδίαν τοῦς μαλλιστάχρηστους αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν δαμνέτων ἐν τῶν μεταλαμβάνει.

gymnastic games and the circus.* Ephes. vi. 13. 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8. Philipp. iii. 14. Tertullian, in reply to this sophistry, says, "Oh! how acute in argument does human ignorance fancy itself, especially when it is afraid of losing some of the pleasures and enjoyments of the world." Against the first argument he says, "Assuredly all things are the gift of God; but then the question is, to what purpose were they given? and how may they be used in subservience to their original destination? what is the original creation of them, and what their sinful abuse? for there is a wide difference between the original purity of nature and its corruption, between the creator and perverter of it." Against the second he says, "Although no express, verbal prohibition of games and shows is found in Scripture, yet it contains general principles, from which this prohibition follows as a matter of course. All which is said in general terms against the lust of the flesh and of the eyes, must be applicable also to this particular kind of lust. If we can conclude that rage, and cruelty, and wrath are permitted to us in Scripture, we are certainly at liberty to visit the amphitheatre. Are we such as we call ourselves, and shall we delight ourselves in witnessing the shedding of human blood?" Against those who perverted Scripture in the manner above mentioned, the author of the treatise "De Spectaculis," in Cyprian's writings uses the following language: "I may safely affirm that it were better for such men never to know the Scriptures, than so to read them, for the words and examples, placed there to exhort to the virtues of the Gospel, they pervert to the defence of vices; for this was written to awaken our zeal in things of real importance by the consideration, that the heathen show such great zeal and eagerness in trivial things. . . . Reason of itself may deduce from the propositions laid down in Scripture those consequences, which are not themselves expressly unfolded.† Let every man take counsel of his own heart, and commune with the person he professes to be as a Christian, and he will never do any thing unbecoming to him, for the conscience, which binds itself to none but itself, will always have the most weight."‡

Tertullian calls upon the Christians to compare the real spiritual pleasures, which their faith gave them to enjoy, with those false pleasures of the heathen world, (Ch. xxix.) "Tell me then, what else is our desire, than that which was also the wish of the apostle, to depart out of the world and to be with the Lord. There is thy pleasure, whither thy wishes ascend. . . . Canst thou be so unthankful, that thou art not satisfied with the many and great pleasures which the Lord hath already bestowed upon thee, and acknowledgest them not? For what is a subject of higher rejoicing than reconciliation with God, thy Father and Lord, than the revelation of truth, the knowledge of error, and the remission of so many sins already committed? What can be a greater pleasure than the contempt of such pleasures, and the contempt of the whole world; or than true freedom, a pure conscience, and a guiltless life? what pleasure greater than not to fear death, and to feel that thou mayest trample the idols of the heathen to the dust, mayest cast out evil spirits, heal sicknesses, and pray for revelations? These are the pleasures, these the games of the Christian, holy and eternal, and such as no man can buy with money. . . . And what, too, are those of which it is said, that no eye hath seen them, no ear heard them, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive them?" The author also of the work we have cited as found in the writings of Cyprian, says—"He can never look with wonder on the works of man, who hath reckoned himself a child of God. He falls down from his high and noble pre-eminence, who looks with wonder at any thing but the Lord. Let the believing Christian give all his diligence to the holy Scriptures, and there he will find the shows of faith, shows worthy to be looked upon, and shows such as he who has lost his eyesight may delight in."

When Christians renounced even being present at the representation of these games and plays, the trade of an actor must of course, *à fortiori*, have been for-

enim ponderis habebit conscientia, quæ nulli se alteri debebit, nisi sibi.

* In this enumeration, which in its high tone of conscience and feeling, speaks the Christian sentiments of these early ages of Christianity, we may, besides the general Christian spirit which pervades it, remark the characteristic spirit of Tertullian—a spirit which was constantly inclined to place too great stress on individual and striking gifts of grace, and too little to regard what is said in St. Luke x. 20, and 1 Cor. xiii. 1.

* The treatise "de Spectaculis" in Cyprian's works.

† Ratio docet, quæ Scriptura conticit.

‡ Unusquisque cum persona professionis sue loquatur et nihil unquam indecorum geret. Plus

bidden to them. In the time of Cyprian the case had occurred in the North African Church, that a player, although a Christian, wished to procure his living by instructing boys in the art which he himself had formerly practised. The bishop Cyprian was asked in consequence whether such a person could be suffered to belong to the community, and he expressed himself most strongly against it: "Since it is forbidden, in Deut. xxii. 5, to a man to dress himself in woman's clothes, and a curse is declared against any one who does this,* how far more wicked must it seem to make a man act the part of a woman thus immodestly, to put on indecent gestures, and to falsify God's creatures by the arts of the devil?" "Suppose such an one," continues Cyprian, "should bring forward the pretext of poverty, his necessity may be relieved, among the rest whom the Church maintains, provided he will content himself with a more moderate way of life, indeed, but an innocent one. He must not, however, imagine that his ceasing to sin should be bought of him at a price, because he does this, not for our sake, but for his own. . . . If the Church, where he live, is too poor to maintain him, let him come to Carthage; here he may receive what is needful for him for meat and raiment, in order that he may not teach others, who are without the pale of the Church, what is criminal, but may himself learn in the Church that which is salutary."†

Among the circumstances foreign to its nature, which Christianity found established at its first propagation, was the existence of slavery. As the natural man, in whom selfishness is the leading principle, impresses on every thing which is the offspring of man's natural condition, his own peculiar stamp and character, as even

the brightest feelings of man's nobler nature are tarnished and stained by this defect, (selfishness,) so we find its traces even in the political spirit of freedom among the ancients, although, perhaps, the marks of the original worth of man's nature might shine through this spirit. It does, however, itself bear the stamp of that selfishness, by which every thing, which does not spring out of man's regenerate nature, is debased. The zealous friends of freedom robbed a large portion of their fellow-men of that which they thought the greatest of blessings, they deprived them of all enjoyment of those rights, for the possession of which, in regard to themselves, they were so jealous and anxious; and the bitterest enemies of slavery were perfectly contented to dwell surrounded by thousands of their fellow-creatures, who served them as slaves. Their zeal for freedom, which ought to be the common possession of all men created in God's image, limited itself entirely within the narrow confines of their native country; they knew of the rights of freedom only as the rights of citizens, and not as the universal rights of man; and much as the condition of slaves was often mitigated by civilization and morals, yet they were always in many respects treated not as men, but as things. In a judicial investigation all the cruelties of torture might be used upon an *innocent* slave; and if a master had been murdered by one of his slaves, according to the Roman law, an hundred of the slaves who were in his service, although their innocence was as clear as day, were executed with the murderer. Christianity first prepared an entire change in these circumstances, because it taught the originally equal rights, and the originally equal destinies of all men created in the image of God, and because it represented God as the Father, and Christ as the Redeemer of *all* mankind, and every individual as an immediate object of God's providential care. Masters, as well as slaves, were obliged to acknowledge themselves the slaves of sin, and all alike to receive their deliverance from the slavery of sin, *the true, the highest freedom*, as the gift of God's free grace. Servants and masters, by becoming believers, were mutually bound together in the same bond of an heavenly union, destined for immortality. They became brethren in Christ—with whom there is neither bondsman nor free-man—they became members of one body, made to drink of one Spirit, and heirs of the same heavenly possessions. Servants

* It was, however, it must be remarked, no uncommon error in these days for men to cite isolated passages of the Old Testament, a work in which religious and political regulations are so closely interwoven, and apply them immediately and unconditionally to the Christian Church, without inquiring whether they suited the peculiar temper and nature of the economy of the New Testament, without inquiring, for instance, whether they belonged to that eternal law, which was not to be destroyed but fulfilled by the Gospel. Although, however, the particular law here mentioned no longer existed as a *positive ordinance* in the economy of the New Testament, yet it is easy to perceive that the *moral* ground of the prohibition still continued, and therefore, the law might still be appealed to and put in force anew.

† Ep. vi. ad Eucrat. [Ep. lxi. Ed. Pam. ii. ed. Ox.]

often became the instructors of their masters in the Gospel, after they had caused the light of their faith to shine before them in their narrow earthly sphere;* and masters saw in their servants no longer their servants, but their beloved brethren; they prayed and sang together, and would sit down together at the feasts of brotherly love, and together receive the body of the Lord. And besides, by the very spirit and practice of Christianity, such ideas and feelings were naturally engendered, as were utterly inconsistent with this institution of slavery, however well it might correspond to the then established notions. Christianity would necessarily introduce a wish that all men should be placed in those circumstances, in which they would be the least hindered in the free and independent use of their spiritual and moral powers according to the will of God: and thus St. Paul says to the servant, (Cor. vii. 21,) "If thou mayest be made free, use it rather." Nevertheless, Christianity never began by external changes and alterations: for these, wherever they did not begin from the inward man, and there fix their first and firm foundation, would always have failed in their salutary designs. The new creation, which it produced, was in all respects an inward one, from which all outward effects, in their whole compass and extent, were to flow, at first by degrees, and therefore, with more certainty and greater benefit. It left external relations to exist for a time as they were, but by infusing into them a new spirit, it prepared their complete reformation, by its internal effects on men's minds. It first gave to the slave that true and inward freedom, without which all earthly and bodily freedom is but a name, and which, wherever it exists, no earthly bond, no earthly yoke, can overwhelm and subdue. St. Paul says, "He that is called in the Lord, while he is a servant, is the Lord's freeman." Tertullian, in showing how far exalted this heavenly freedom is above the earthly, says,† "In the world, those who have received their freedom, are crowned. But thy freedom has already

been bought by Christ, and bought, too, very dear. How can the world give freedom to him, who is already the servant of another? All in the world is appearance only, and nothing reality. For then thou wast free in regard to men, as one bought by Christ; and now thou art a servant of Christ, although set free by a man. If thou dost esteem the freedom which the world can give thee a real freedom, thou art again become by this a slave to men, and hast lost the freedom bestowed on thee by Christ, because thou esteemest it a slavery." One of the imperial slaves, named Eulpistus, being conducted before the tribunal with Justin Martyr and other Christians, spoke thus: "I also am a Christian, and I have received freedom through Christ, and through his grace I partake in the same hope."* The servant was to turn his state of service into freedom by serving his master for the sake of God, with a free heart and spirit—by recognising in his spirit God alone as his master, who placed him in this state, and by keeping Him before his eyes—by seeking, with a faithful heart, the advantage of his earthly master, rendering him due service and obedience, without the fear of man, in all things which did not contravene the laws of God, and ceasing to obey him, where the commands of men were against the laws of God. If an earthly condition, which suited his destination as a man, and his calling as a Christian, better were offered to a Christian, he was to accept it with joy. St. Paul says, "Art thou called, being a servant? care not for it, but *if thou mayest be made free, use it rather.*" But if this choice were not given to him, the Christian was not to boast of his rights, or lift himself up, as a Christian, above his heathen master, but in the spirit of self-sacrificing love, of humility, and self-denial, which animated him, he was to let the light of his Christianity shine before his earthly master, that he might win him for the common Lord and Master of all in heaven. Irenæus, bishop of Antioch, writes thus to Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, (ch. iv.) "Be not proud towards servants and maidens, but at the same time they must not exalt themselves, but serve with more zeal to the honour of God, that they may receive that higher freedom at the hands of God. They must not expect their freedom to be bought by the Church, lest they should be found the servants of their own lusts."

* The example of Onesimus was often repeated. Tertullian appeals to cases where a master, who having patiently put up with the former crimes of a servant, when he found him quite reformed, but at the same time heard that this reformation was owing to Christianity, sent him to the house of correction, out of pure hatred to Christianity. Apologet. c. iii., "Servum jam fidelem dominus olim mitis ab oculis relegavit."

† De Corona Militis, c. xiii.

* Acta Mart. Justinii.

Another question, on which men's opinions were divided, was this: Whether a Christian could conscientiously accept a magisterial or a military office, and especially with regard to the latter. As the heathen state religion was so closely interwoven with all the relations of political and social life, all such offices would be likely to produce cases, in which a man could not avoid partaking in the ceremonies of the heathen religion. All Christians, on this view of the question, proclaimed with one voice, that no necessity could ever excuse this. In this respect, what Tertullian says is certainly spoken from the hearts of all Christians: "Christ never changes. There is one Gospel and one Jesus, who will deny all who deny Him, and confess all who confess God; with Him the believing citizen (*paganus*) is a soldier of the Lord, and the soldier has the same duties to perform as the citizen."^{*}

But the question, whether a Christian, supposing his faith not compromised, was at liberty to accept such an office, was quite a distinct one, and was answered in the affirmative by one party, and in the negative by another. The question must be carefully considered, with a due regard to the circumstances in which the Church was then placed. The prevailing idea of the Christian life was this: to follow a Redeemer, who had entered the world in poverty and low estate, and had hidden his glory under the form of a servant—to follow Him in humility, in self-denial, and in renunciation of every thing earthly. The Christian's glory was in heaven with his Saviour; in his earthly appearance, that which was utterly devoid of authority and splendour, and most like the appearance of his Saviour, was most befitting. He despised the power and the glory of this world, while he felt himself exalted by the consciousness of partaking in the power and glory of a far different one. But, then, this renunciation of earthly things consisted in the state of the mind, and the affections of this might remain the

same under outward circumstances of very different complexions; and the outward possession of earthly property, and of earthly splendour, when a man's condition and circumstances required it, and the use of earthly power and might in an earthly calling, was not necessarily prohibited; all this might and ought to be sanctified by means of Christianity. But it was natural that the Christians, in the first warmth of their conversion, should not make these distinctions between *outward* and *inward*, and that they should be inclined to conceive in an outward manner the necessity of imitating a Lord, who had appeared in the form of a servant; it was natural, that in their first ardour they should willingly cast away from them all those earthly things, which they saw serving the purposes of heathen corruption, and reject earthly might and glory, which they saw so often opposed to the will of God.* Under this point of view Tertullian says, (*de Idololatria*, c. xviii.): "Thou, as a Christian, must follow the model of thy Lord; he, the Lord, came in humility and low estate; he was without any fixed habitation; 'for the Son of man,' says he, 'hath not where to lay his head:' he came clad in the garb of poverty, for otherwise he would not have said, 'Behold, they that wear soft clothing are in king's houses,' and he came without beauty or comeliness of appearance, as Isaiah foretold, (ch. iii.) If he would not even once exercise the rights of dominion over his own, for whom he performed the most menial service, if he, fully conscious as he was of his regal power, yet shrunk from being made a king, he gave a perfect example to all his disciples, to avoid all which is high and glorious in earthly rank and power. For who had a better title to make use of these things than the Son of God? What fasces, and how many of them, would he have made to precede him! what purple would have flowed from his shoulders! what gold would have gleamed from his head! had he not declared that the glory of the world benefited neither him nor his. He condemned also that which he rejected."[†]

Many Christians also imagined, with a

* *De Corona Militis*, c. xi. "Apud hunc tam miles est, *paganus fidelis*, quam *paganus*, miles *infidelis*." I have here translated as if the reading were "*fidelis*," for which emendation, what Tertullian had before said of "*fides pagana*," gives some authority. The common reading may, however, be taken in the following sense: "The faithless soldier, he who violates the duties of Christian fidelity, is to him as a '*paganus*' in regard to his militia; he is one excluded from the order of the '*milites Christi*,' the duties of which he has violated."

* Hence, the heathen in Minucius Felix, c. viii., describes the Christians as men who, while they were themselves half naked, despised honours and purple robes. "*Honores et purpuras despicunt ipsi seminudi.*"

† (*Gloriam seculi*) "*quam damnavit in pompa diaboli deputavit.*" These are the words of Tertullian, one of the most violent advocates of these

conscientiousness which, abstractedly considered, always deserves our admiration, that passages like Matt. v. 39, were to be interpreted literally. This arose from not considering that the passages in question chiefly related to the disposition of the heart, and that their object was to banish all thirst for revenge from the hearts of men, so that love alone might reign there, although even love itself is often obliged to inflict pain, for a season, on the very objects whose real advantage it is seeking. Their Christian feelings would not allow them to suffer themselves to become the instrument of another's pain, and to assist in the execution of the law, where a spirit of severe justice, to the exclusion of the spirit of mercy and love, was the leading and the animating principle.*

Christians, under the then existing circumstances, were generally accustomed to consider the state as a power hostile to the Church, and it was far from their imagination to conceive it possible that Christianity should appropriate to itself also the relations and offices of the state.† The Christians stood aloof and distinct from the state, as a priestly and spiritual race, and Christianity seemed able to influence civil life only in that manner which, it must be confessed, is the purest, by practically endeavouring to instil more and more of holy feeling into the citizens of the state. When Celsus required that the Christians should take up arms for the protection of the rights of the emperor, and fight in his armies, Origen answered, "We do, in fact render the emperor Divine assistance, by putting on the Divine armour, in which we follow the command of the apostle, 1 Tim. ii. 1. And the more pious any man is, the more able is

he to render the emperor a more effectual assistance than the ordinary soldiers. We may also use the following argument with the heathen: 'Your priests keep their hands pure, that they may be able to offer the accustomed sacrifices to the gods, with hands unstained with blood, and you do not compel your priests, even in times of war and difficulty to take the field. Their duty is, as priests of God, to combat by prayer for those who are waging a just war, and for the lawful emperor, in order that all which opposes those that have right on their side may be annihilated. The Christians render greater service to their country than other men, inasmuch as they instruct the citizens, and teach them to become pious towards God, on whom the welfare of cities depends, and who receives those whose conduct in a poor and miserable city has been good, into a divine and heavenly city.'"* When Celsus argued that the Christians ought to undertake the duties of the magistracy in their native country, Origen replied, "But we know that in every city we have another country, whose foundations are in the word of God, and we require it from those who are competent by their talent and pious lives, to take upon themselves the offices requisite for the maintenance of order in the Churches."

Those, on the contrary, who determined that it was allowable for a Christian to accept civil and military offices,

* A few critical remarks are necessary to establish the propriety of the translation here given of this passage, which is taken from the eighth Book of Origen, against Celsus. In the words of Origen the reading *εἰς τὸν πολίτην θεὸν* appears to be the genuine, and *εἰς τὸν τῶν ὅλων θεὸν* a false reading. It is easy to understand how the predicate contained in the former reading, which is very unusual in a Christian's mouth, should be changed into the latter, which is common enough; but a change "vice versa" is difficult to be accounted for. There is, however, nothing to startle us in Origen, even from a Christian point of view, calling God *πολίτης*, as a comparison with *θεὸς πολίτης* was before his eyes. The word *πολίτης*, so often repeated in this passage, speaks for this play on words. If we take this reading, the play on words further makes it probable that we ought to read *ἀναλαμβάνοντες* instead of *ἀναλαμβάνοντες*.

[This passage is considerably abridged from the original; it appears to me that this abridgment has slightly altered the turn of the passage in one sentence, although the general sense is adhered to. I mean the passage beginning, "Their duty," which I have translated from the German and not from the Greek. In the original this sentence appears to me to apply to the Christians, not to the heathen priests. The passage is taken from B. viii. ch. 73, 74, ed. De la Rue.—H. J. R.]

opinions, it must be confessed, and a writer with whom they appear carried to the very extreme, as well as every thing else, which seized upon his mind and animated him.

* Tertullian, in treating on this subject, first separates those cases in which a Christian cannot, under any circumstances, administer a magisterial office. "Jam vero quæ sunt potestatis, neque iudicet de capite alicujus vel pudore, feras enim de pecunia, neminem vinciat, neminem recludat aut torquat, si hæc credibile est fieri posse." The Council of Elvira, canon 56, ordained, that no magistrate should be allowed to visit the Church during any year in which he had to preside as Decemvir over cases of life and death.

† How little Tertullian imagined that the emperors themselves would ever be Christians, may be judged of from the following expressions, Apologet. c. xxi., "Sed et Cæsares credidissent super Christo, si aut Cæsares non essent sæculo necessari aut si et Christiani potuissent esse Cæsares."

supported their opinion by examples out of the Old Testament. A just and obvious answer in this case was, that we are not at liberty to conclude that every thing, which was consonant to the nature of the dispensation of the Old Testament, would also suit the nature of that of the New.* Even when it was advanced, that John the Baptist had not commanded the soldiers, who came to him, to give up their profession, but had prescribed rules for them to practice it in a manner agreeable to God, it might be alleged in reply, that John had stood only on the limit between the old and the new dispensation. But when they appealed to the case of the centurion, whose faith Christ himself had praised, (Luke vii.) and of the believing Cornelius, their adversaries had more reason to acknowledge the weight of their appeal, and even Tertullian himself, the warm opponent of the profession of arms among Christians, did not feel himself authorised altogether to condemn those who, having become Christians while they were soldiers, continued in their old profession, provided it was unattended with any thing which caused them to violate their fidelity as Christians.† Many also argued against the propriety of Christians becoming soldiers, from Matt. xxvi. 52, considering that when our Saviour commanded Peter to put the sword into the sheath, He had given the same command to all Christians,‡ although this passage, when taken with the context, can be considered as opposed only to an *unauthorised* taking up of arms, and as meant to reprove the self-willed spirit of man, which is desirous of furthering by means of outward might the cause of God, which God alone is capable of conducting by his word and Spirit.

Christianity was destined by its peculiar nature to conduct human life between two extremes, a vain devotion to the world, and a gloomy and proud contempt of it. The centre and the fundamental doctrine of Christianity, the doctrine of redemption, here also stamped its peculiar spirit and character upon the Christian life. The redeemed no longer belonged to himself, but to his Redeemer: in his inward life he had departed out of the world, as far as the

world is opposed to the kingdom of God, and his conversation was to be in heaven. His *whole life* must, therefore, receive a new complexion; it was to be a sacrifice of thanksgiving for the grace of redemption, and consecrated to God under the influence of the Redeemer's Spirit. With these feelings was the Christian bound to use and to enjoy every thing he did enjoy, and these feelings were to sanctify all the ways and all the pleasures of the citizen of heaven, while his fleshly abode was still in the world. Among the heathen, the feeling which stood contrasted with a reckless enjoyment of all that youth and freshness can find to gratify their desires, was a mournful acknowledgement of the fleeting nature of the world,—that melancholy, which having found the nothingness of all on earth, abandons itself to despair, or sinks into cold resignation, and flies enjoyments so deceitful, and a world, whose false pleasures are so seducing and delusive, with lofty contempt; or with the despair of one who, having found that all below is fleeting and false, has nothing real and abiding, wherewith to replace it. On the one hand, a lawless life of wild and reckless enjoyment;—on the other, a life under the burden of the law, where the law has evoked the consciousness of guilt, and man, pursued by the feeling of impurity and guilt, carries this feeling into every thing around him, a life where to the impure all things are impure! To one in this state, all nature appeared unclean, all its enjoyments defiling, and sense and matter the seat of evil. On the one hand, stood the spirit of polytheism, deifying all the powers of nature, and, under their influence, with fresh and vigorous feelings abandoning itself to all the pleasures which the natural life is capable of deriving from individual objects,—on the other, the dark, proud spirit of pantheism, despising all that is individual, together with all the energies and pleasures which are derived from it, as mere false appearances, as a delusion which carries man away captive, and as a narrow limit which cramps his views,—a spirit which only sought by serious abstract contemplation to unite itself with that one substantive Being, which hides itself under the deceitful guise of these individualities. The first was certainly the prevailing spirit in the Roman and Grecian heathenism; but, nevertheless, as the youthful life of the old world was daily waning away, as every thing grew old and died, the latter

* Tertullian, de Idololatria, c. xviii. "Scito non semper comparanda esse vetera et nova, rudia et polita, cæpta et applicita, servilia et liberalia."

† Tertuil. de Corona Militis, c. xi.

‡ Tertullian, de Idololatria, c. xix. "Omnem postea militem Dominus in Petro exarmando discinxit."

spirit constantly gained ground; and besides this, during these times of powerful spiritual excitement, and lively intercourse between the Western World and the distant East, the theosophic and ascetic spirit of the latter had extended itself also widely over the West. Christianity, on the contrary, universally raised up a new life out of death, and only killed, in order that a nobler life might have power to rise up. As soon as it had brought man to the consciousness, that the source of evil and impurity was not without, that it was not to be sought in nature, or in sense and matter, but in his own inward heart, in sin; that to the impure all things are impure, and to the pure all things are pure; and as soon as it had freed him from this oppressive consciousness of guilt and uncleanness, by faith in the Redeemer, it restored to him the universal range of nature, as a purified and ennobled temple of God, where the redeemed must glorify his God. The fruits of the Spirit, of which St. Paul speaks, are not a dark and haughty moodiness, but love, joy, and friendship. It is joy in the Holy Spirit to which he appeals so often, as the characteristic of the Christian life.

As Christianity opposed a thoughtless thirst for pleasure with a holy seriousness, so also it opposed to that ascetic self-righteousness, that dark and proud contempt of the world, the spirit of humility and the childlike feeling of delight in the grace of our heavenly Father, which receives with thankfulness all his gifts, even those of an earthly nature, as tokens of eternal love. The Christian was not to escape out of this corrupted world, but he received a call, by means of the spirit which animated him, as a light, as salt, and as leaven, to contribute his share towards the general renovation of human nature, and of the human race.

It was, we must avow, natural enough, that to the heathen, who delighted in the pleasures of the world, Christianity should seem a gloomy and dark religion, and Christians appear as a race of men who abhorred the light, and, having utterly died to the world, were no longer useful in it.* (See above, p. 86.) But

Tertullian thus answers these accusations against the Christians, *Apologet. c. xliii.*, "How can such an accusation lie against those who live among you, who share the same fare with you, and the same clothing, and have the same common wants of life? For we are no Brahmins, nor Indian Gymnosophists; we are no dwellers in the woods, no men who have left the common haunts of life; we feel deeply the gratitude we owe to God, our Lord and Creator; we despise not the enjoyment of any of his works; we only desire to moderate this enjoyment in such a manner, that we may avoid excess and misuse. We, therefore, inhabit this world in common with you, and we make use of baths, of shops, workshops, and fairs, and all that is used in the intercourse of life. We also carry on, in common with you, navigation, war, agriculture, and trade; we take part in your occupations, and our labour, when needful, we give to the public service."*

Still, although Christians did not by any means retire from the business of life, yet they were accustomed to devote many separate days peculiarly to examining their own hearts, and pouring them out before God, while they dedicated their life anew to Him with uninterrupted prayers, in order that they might again return to their ordinary occupations, with a renovated spirit of zeal and seriousness, and with renewed powers of sanctification. These days of holy devotion, days of prayer and penitence, which individual Christians appointed for themselves according to their individual necessities, were often a kind of fastdays. In order that their sensual feelings might less distract and impede the occupation of their heart with its holy contemplations, they were accus-

sive, must have thought Christianity a kind of pietism, a religion carried to excess, "*immodica superstitio, nimium pietatis.*" In a monumental inscription at Lyons, quoted by Gilbert Burnet, in the first of his letters, a heathen husband says of his Christian wife, that she had become impious by becoming too pious, "*quædum nimia pia fuit, facta est impia.*"

* A passage of Irenæus, where he speaks of their dependence on the heathen, under whom they lived, in respect of maintenance, will show how foreign to the notions of Christians in general was that monkery, which grew up in later days. It occurs, *lib. iv. c. 30.* "*Etenim, si is, qui tibi hæc imputabat, separatus est a gentiliis cæto, et nihil est alienorum apud eum, sed est simpliciter nudus, et nudis pedibus et sine domo in montibus conversatur, quemadmodum aliquot ex his animalibus, quæ herbis vescuntur: veniam merebitur, ideo quod ignoret necessitates nostræ conversationis.*"

* In Minucius Felix, *c. 8*, the heathen calls the Christians "*latebrosa et lucifuga natio;*" and certainly among the heathen, the frivolous man of pleasure, or the man of the world, who was accustomed to comply on the easiest terms with the demands of religion, and thought a few outward ceremonies and a few good works were amply suf-

tomed on these days to limit their corporeal wants more than usual, or to fast entirely. In the consideration of this, we must not overlook the peculiar nature of that hot climate in which Christianity was first promulgated. That which was spared by their abstinence on these days, was applied to the support of the poorer brethren. There were also many who, in the first warmth of zeal, at their baptism, made over to the Church chest, or to the poor, a large portion of their earthly property, or sometimes all that they had, because they felt themselves bound to declare, with all their power, their contempt of earthly things, by which their hearts had till now been enslaved, and to declare again with all their power what their heart was now full of, their cheerful readiness to offer and to sacrifice all they possessed to their Saviour, that they might win his heavenly crown. They felt as if the Lord had said to each of them, "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven, and come and follow me." They led, in the midst of the community, a quiet retired life, maintained themselves by the labour of their hands, and remained unmarried, that undistracted by worldly cares, they might devote themselves to prayer and to the study of Scripture, to holy contemplations, and to endeavours after the kingdom of heaven. And what they could spare from the produce of their labour, living on the lowest possible allowance of the poorest food, they applied again to the purposes of Christian charity. Such persons were called the *abstinent*, the *zealous aspirants after Christian perfection*, "continentes," ἀσκηταί.* There were besides many who from childhood, by means of a pious Christian education, were filled with so deep a love of the Divine nature, that they desired as far as possible to loosen all their earthly ties. People of this description were found in both sexes, and the females were especially called παρθένοι, "virgines."† Among the heathen them-

selves, "philosopher and ascetic" were kindred* ideas, and from them this same connection of ideas, and this same sort of expression, passed over to the Christians, whom it particularly suited to refer the name of philosophy to a system of practice; and in later times, therefore, the name of φιλοσοφία was given to monkery. It was in part the case that some of these heathen ascetics, being led to Christianity by their serious endeavours after moral perfection, continued their former habits of life after their conversion, because they contained nothing, which necessarily of itself and by itself was repugnant to Christianity, or, perhaps, that others, in whom Christianity had first produced a seriousness of character, embraced these habits of life, as a token of the change which was wrought in them. The attention which they attracted by publicly appearing in the philosopher's cloak,† the garb of the philosophic ascetics, they might make use of in order to enter upon philosophical and religious conversations with those whom curiosity or veneration gathered around them in the public walks and porticos, and to represent to them Christianity as the new and heavenly philosophy,‡ which had come to them from the East. Justin Martyr is assuredly painting from the life, when he relates§ that when he appeared on a public walk early in the morning, a multitude came to him with the words, "Good morrow, philosopher!"|| and one of them said that he had learned from his master in philosophy, that the cloak of the philosopher was never to be slighted, but that those who appeared in it were to be welcomed in a friendly manner, and their conversation sought after; which then introduces a dialogue concerning the marks of true religion and on Christianity. "Rejoice," says Tertullian to the philosopher's mantle, "rejoice, for now a better philosophy has deigned to enclose itself within thee, since thou hast begun to be the garb of the Christian."

By what has been said, it will be judged natural, that from the opposition to worldly pleasures which Christianity called into

purposely from the beginning embraced this course of life.

* See, for instance, Artemidor. Oneirocrit. iv., where he speaks of an Ἀλξάνδρος ὁ φιλοσοφῶν, ἐμὲν δὲ αὐτῷ ὄντι ἄνδρ' ἀπικτινὺς οὕτε γαμῶν οὕτε κοινῶν αὐτὸς πλουτῶν and v. 18., ἐφίλοσοφῶν ἐπ' ἑνὶ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τῇ ἀσκήσει χρησάμενος ἀκαλοφῶντος.

† τριβων, τριβωνιον—pallium.

‡ Dial. cum Tryph. Jud.

§ φιλοσοφία των βρεβερων. || φιλοσοφί, χαιρι!

* *Ασκη, οσκητης*. These were common words at that time among heathens and Christians alike, to denote particular exercises and practices of a moral tendency.

† Tertullian speaks of these, de Cultu Fœmin. lib. ii. c. 9. "Aliqui abstinentes vino et animalibus esculentis, multi se spadonati obisignat propter regnum Dei." And Justin Martyr also, Apol. ii., πολλοὶ τινες καὶ πολλοὶ ἐξηνκέντουσι καὶ ἐβόμηνκέντουσι, οἱ ἐκ παντὸς ἐμμελυνόμενοι τῷ Χριστῷ, ἀφ' ὧν ἐς διαμενεύσι. This passage, however, will by no means bear us out in saying that all of these

action, this tendency to an ascetic life should have sprung up. We cannot look upon asceticism, abstractedly considered, as any thing unchristian, and condemn it, as long as those who practised it considered it only as a means towards the furtherance of holiness, particularly adapted to their own individual character, or as a means, under certain circumstances, particularly adapted to the furtherance and progress of the kingdom of God; as long as they did not make the means the end, nor forget the end in the means; as long as in the "opus operatum" of asceticism no merit was claimed, nor the outward appearance of holiness deemed sufficient, while the real, essential, and inward purification of the heart, which is founded on love and on humility, was neglected or forgotten; in a word, as long as men attended to the important words of the apostle, who utters the following warning: "And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing." But as soon as this was forgotten, the transition would be rapid to a state, where the inward charnel-house of corruption would be whited over with the outward appearance of holiness; and under a Christian semblance, such an asceticism would be most inimical to the real interests of vital Christianity. Oh! that all ascetics had been animated by the spirit of humility and self-denial which the young Alcibiades showed among the confessors imprisoned at Lyons.* He had been accustomed, as an ascetic, to live only on bread and water, and he continued this habit also in prison, when it was revealed to Attalus, another of the confessors, by the voice of the Spirit in his inward heart, that Alcibiades was doing wrong, not to enjoy what God bestows, and to create by that means a jealousy among the other Christians. So Alcibiades immediately obeyed this exhortation, and without raising any scruples, enjoyed every thing, without distinction, in a spirit of thankfulness towards God.†

As Christianity did not produce any momentary or magical change on human nature, but imparted to it a Divine principle of life, which, with man's co-operation, was by degrees to penetrate and enoble his whole nature, as the old man constantly dragged himself along by the

side of the new, it was to be expected, that the different dispositions of the old man, which at first opposed themselves in open array against the introduction of Christianity, again, in a later age, having stolen unperceived into the Christian life, should, under a Christian form, oppose genuine Christianity, and under this insidious form they would, of course, be far more dangerous.

This was also the case in regard to the particular circumstance of which we have been speaking. The two opposite and false tendencies, the one to a giddy enjoyment of worldly things, and the other to a proud contempt for the world, which Christianity on its first appearance had to combat, introduced themselves into Christian life, under a Christian form, not only in the sects which opposed the universal Church, (where we afterwards find them again,) but also in the midst of the Church herself.

On the one hand, as early as the time of Clement of Alexandria, there were those among the Christians, who rejected the exhortation "not to go, like the heathen, to the amusements of the theatre, and to consider deeply what is becoming to the seriousness of the Christian character," with the following excuse: "We cannot be all philosophers and ascetics, we are unlearned people, we cannot read, we understand nothing of the Holy Scripture; how can people lay us under such strict and rigorous rules?" Clement answers these lightminded excuses in a truly evangelical spirit; such a distinction between worldly and spiritual persons could not be allowed among Christians, who were all bound, as such, to live in the same self-denial, all alike bound to be a spiritual people. "Are we not all striving after eternal life? What sayest thou? What signifies then thy belief? How canst thou love God and thy neighbour, without being a philosopher? (in that practical sense in which ascetics are called philosophers.) Although thou hast not learned to read, this forms no excuse to thee, for thou canst *hear* the word of God. Faith is the possession, not of those who are wise according to this world, but of those who are wise in God; faith is learnt without letters; the writing by which it is engraven on the heart, is a writing for the unlearned also, and it is nevertheless a Divine writing, and is called *love*."* And where he intimates how

* See Page 66.

† Euseb. v. 3.

* Πιστις δὲ οὐ σφραγὶς τῶν κατὰ κτισμὸν, ἀλλὰ τῶν

Christianity ought to leaven all the intercourse of life, he says: "Also the affairs of the world may be administered by a Christian, with God's will, after an unworldly manner, and thus those who are in trade, publicans and the like, may show a spirit of philosophy."*

On the other hand, a moral spirit was also formed on partial views, with an ascetic tendency, which under a false point of view, set the human in opposition to the Divine,—which overlooked and mistook the character of Christianity by which it is destined to penetrate and ennoble all human relations—which sought a merit before God and man in fasts and abstinences—and which, ascribing a peculiar sanctity to the ascetic life and a state of celibacy, promised them a higher degree of future happiness.† From this fancy, joined with the false representation of a peculiar priesthood, and a peculiar class of priests in the Christian Church, there arose by degrees, in the course of the third century, the error that the single life belongs to the sanctity of the spiritual condition.‡ The notion of the meritorious efficacy of such a life, the reverence which men obtained by it, and perhaps, also here and there the hope of obtaining a comfortable maintenance from the reverence of the community without personal labour,§ now moved many to enter into the order of women devoted only to the Lord. Thence, therefore, among these every kind of female vanity arose under the outward appearance of holiness, and was fostered by general deference and honour, which is of all things one of the most dangerous to mankind.

κατα Θεον ἵσται το κτήμα· ἡ δὲ καὶ ἀνὰ ῥηματικῶν ἐκπαίδευται καὶ τὸ συζητήματα αὐτῆς, τὸ ἰδιωτικὸν αἶμα καὶ τὸ θεῶν ἀγάπῃ κεκλυται. Pædagog. lib. iii. 255.

* Ἄλλα καὶ τὰ ἐν κόσμῳ κοσμικὰ κατὰ Θεὸν ἀσκήζον οὐ κεκλυται. (there is here a play on the double meaning of the word *κοσμος*, in Greek, which can neither be translated into German nor English) καὶ ταυτὴν φιλοσοφούντων οἱ ἀρεταῖς καὶ οἱ κατήκοι.

† Expressly in Origen, Homil. 19 in Jerem. § 4, Comp. Cyprian, de Habitu Virginum.

‡ The council of Elvira (from which, however, we cannot argue to the general use of the Church,) in which the ascetic spirit prevailed strongly, ordered, canon 33, that those bishops, priests, and deacons, who were living in the marriage state, should be deprived of their places.

§ *Æmulatio illas, non religio producit, aliquando et ipse venter Deus eorum, quia facile virgines fraternitas suscipit.* Tertullian, de Virgg. Veland. c. xiv. It must be confessed that Tertullian is here speaking as a violent and exaggerated accuser of the Catholic Church.

Cyprian was, therefore, obliged to write a letter of exhortation and to treat the subject of the variety of the love of pomp, which he found among the rich damsels of Carthage, who were dedicated to God.* It sometimes happened that these people, while they despised the pure institution for human nature, to which God leads man by the voice of nature, and which Christianity has sanctified, created for themselves artificial relations, which opposed nature, and therefore, opposed Christianity also; relations in which, while men forgot the weakness of the flesh and trusted too much to themselves, the corruptions of sense were likely to appear among spiritual things and pervert them; I allude to these young women, dwelling and living in common with unmarried spiritual persons, under the pretence of a connection of a purely spiritual nature.†

When once Christian perfection was made to consist in such a withdrawal from the usual habits of life, this inconvenience was sure to follow, that the requisites of Christian perfection would be lowered, and that the multitude would be at liberty to avail themselves of this, as an excuse for the non-performance of those things even, which Christianity requires from every man under all circumstances,—an excuse which, as we have observed above, Clement of Alexandria had to combat.

From the very first, however, voices of no mean account were raised against this false ascetic inclination, and called attention to the essentials of Christian feeling, by which alone all external things can acquire their true character. In the "Shepherd of Hermas," a writing much esteemed in the first centuries of Christianity, which represents the practical Christian life under an allegorical form, it is said,‡ "Above all things exercise your absti-

* See the treatise de Habitu Virginum.

† Those who were afterwards called *συνεσχηται*, "subintroductæ." On the other side, see Cyprian, Ep. lxii. ad Pompon. Although, perhaps, Cyprian elsewhere speaks in too exaggerated language of the engagement, connected with the entrance into such a kind of life, as a "*connubium spiritale cum Domino*," he explains himself here with very proper moderation, "*Si autem perseverare nolunt vel non possunt, melius est, ut nubant, quam in ignem delictis suis cadant.*" But the council of Elvira decreed, canon 13, that virgins, who had thus left their order, and would not return to it, should not be allowed to receive the communion, even in the hour of death.

‡ Lib. iii. Similitud. v.

nence in this, in abstaining from saying or listening to evil things, and purify your heart from all pollution, from all revengeful feelings and covetousness, and on the day in which you fast, content yourself with bread, vegetables, and water, and thank God for these. Reckon, however, how much your meal would have cost on this day, and give the price to which this comes to the widow, the orphan, or the poor. Happy is it for you, if you, with all your children, and with your whole household, observe these things." Clement of Alexandria appeals to the fact, that many forms of heathen worship required celibacy and abstinence from meat and wine in their priests, and that among the Indians there were strict ascetics, the Samaneans,* and therefore, he concludes, that what is found also in other religions, and also connected with superstition, cannot be in itself and of itself peculiarly Christian; and he adds, "Paul declares that the kingdom of God consists not in meats and drink, nor in abstaining from wine and meat, but in righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit. As humility is shown, not by the chastisement of the body, but by gentleness, so also is temperance a virtue of the soul, and consists not in external but in internal abstinence. Temperance does not relate merely to any one individual thing, not merely to pleasure: but it is also temperance to despise money, to tame the tongue, and to obtain the mastery over evil by reason.†

A method of interpretation of Scripture which does not penetrate into its spirit, but relies on passages isolated from their context, which it, therefore, must misunderstand, would necessarily often serve as the support of theoretical and practical errors in Christianity; and that was the case here also. Passages, where Christ says that the rich enter with difficulty into the kingdom of heaven, where he requires of the rich young man, in order to attain perfection, that he should sell all his goods, distribute to the poor, and follow him—these passages were so misunderstood, that people concluded from them that the bare possession of earthly wealth was a thing incompatible with real Christianity, and that the renunciation of the world consisted in the renunciation of

external things. They did not observe that the Redeemer, who saw even the hearts of men, laid this trial of self-denial on the young man just *exactly for this very reason*, that he was most enslaved in this one point, and because he might best be taught by demanding this proof, how far short he still was from the moral perfection and fulfilment of the law, which he had flattered himself belonged to him. Clement of Alexandria, in his beautiful essay, entitled, "How shall the rich man act, in order to be saved?"* endeavoured to oppose this error, and the notions founded upon it, by showing that with our Saviour all depends upon the affections. "Our Saviour," says Clement, "does not command us, as many superficially suppose, to cast away our earthly property, but to banish from our souls the thoughts of money, and desires after it—that sickness of the soul, the cares, the thorns of this earthly life, which choke the seed of heavenly life. What is that which our Lord announces as something new, as the only source of life of which those of old knew nothing? What is this which is peculiar to him? What the new creation? He desires not that which is outward, which others have also done, but something higher, more divine, and more perfect, which is signified by this outward conduct; namely, that *all which is foreign to the soul, must be torn out by the roots*, and banished from the soul. For they who of old despised outward things, gave away, indeed, their earthly goods, but they cherished within them far stronger desires; for they were filled with vanity, pride, and contempt of other men, as if they had done something above the reach of simple humanity. A man may have thrown away his earthly goods, and yet his desire for them being undiminished, he will be doubly disquieted by regret for his profusion, and by his deprivation of the necessities of life. How could one man impart of his goods to another when all had nothing? and how could this doctrine of our Lord escape being in contradiction with many other of his glorious doctrines? Worldly goods are only to be considered as so much materials and instruments, to be turned to good purposes, by those who know how to put them to their proper use."

When the Montanists (see below) wished

* [These are probably more familiar to the English reader under the name of Buddhists. See *Encycl. Britann.* in voc.—H. J. R.]

† Clemens, *Strom.* lib. iii. p. 446, &c.

* Τις ὁ σωζόμενος πλουσιος; § 11.

to impose upon the Church new fasts and laws of abstinence, the spirit of evangelical freedom among the Christians spoke out fully and powerfully against them. They were accused of not duly distinguishing between the economy of the Old and of the New Testament, of making laws in matters where all is free according to the spirit of the Gospel, where every one must act freely, according to his own particular feelings and necessities; as the only abstinence which is commanded of God, is abstinence from evil in the heart.*

If by a misconception of the opposition to the world which Christianity introduced, the moral life received an ascetic direction, this was again counterbalanced by the essential tendency of Christianity to display its chief glory in the unpretending stillness of domestic life, to ennoble domestic intercourse by a Divine life, and to form the family into a temple of God. It was Christianity which first presented marriage to the world in the light of an union of deep religious and spiritual import, the communion which belongs to a higher state of life, an union which reaches beyond this transitory world, and unites in one common life the mutual and consecrated powers of two beings to the glory of God. The marriage state was, therefore, ennobled, as giving scope to so many peculiar and Christian virtues, which, under other circumstances, could never be so far developed. Clement of Alexandria says against those who prized celibacy too highly, and despised marriage, "The genuine Christian has the apostles for patterns, and, in fact, a man does not distinguish himself by choosing a solitary life, but he obtains a victory over other men, who stands fast as a husband and father, amidst all the trials which befall him by anxiety for wife and children, servants and fortune, without allowing himself to be withdrawn from his love to God. But he who has no household escapes many trials; as he has only himself to take care of, he is below that man who, more disturbed in the care of his own individual salvation, still enters more into the intercourse of life, and really exhibits in miniature a likeness of Providence itself."† In painting the Christian mistress of a family,‡ he says, "The mother is the theme of the children's praise, the wife is the theme of her husband's praise;

and both of these are the theme of the woman's praise, while God is the theme of the united praise of all." And Tertullian also:* "What an union for two believers, to have one hope, one desire, one course of life, one service of God, in common the one with the other! Both, like brother and sister, undivided in heart and flesh, or rather really two in one flesh, fall down together on their knees, they pray and fast together, they teach, they exhort, they bear one another mutually, they are together in the church of God, and in the supper of the Lord; they share with one another their grievances, their persecutions, and their joys; neither hides any thing from the other, neither avoids the other; the sick are visited by them with pleasure, and the needy supported; psalms and hymns resound between them, and they mutually strive who shall best praise their God. Christ is delighted to see and hear things like these; He sends his peace on such as these; where two are, there is He; and where He is, evil comes not."

It was anxiously desired that the Christian mistresses of families, by the seriousness of their whole demeanour, by their modest, simple clothing, should give a token of their inmost sentiments, and that these sentiments should shine forth in such a manner more eminently, from their appearance in an age when extravagant pomp and luxury, and a general corruption of morals, prevailed. Here, however, two parties stood opposed to each other; the one making humility consist in poverty of clothing, worn to be displayed, and carrying the notion of the form of a servant as necessary to the Christian life to the utmost extreme, while the other said, "It is enough, if our hearts are such as those of Christian women ought to be; God looks to the sentiments, and regards not the outside. Wherefore should we outwardly display the change that has been inwardly wrought in us? We ought far rather to give the heathen no occasion to accuse Christianity, as incompatible with the customs of the world.† We possess these worldly goods; wherefore should we not make use of them? Why should we not enjoy what we have? For whom then are these excellent things created, if not for us? For whom are *costly* things to be, if all prefer that which is *not*

* Tertullian, de Jejuniis.

† Strom. lib. vii. p. 741.

‡ Pædagog. lib. iii. p. 250.

* Ad Uxorem, lib. ii. c. 8.

† Tertullian, de Cultu Fæminarum, especially lib. ii. c. xi.

costly?" *Clement of Alexandria answered thus to the latter argument: "Even if all be *given* us, if all be *allowed* us, if all be permitted to us, yet all may not be becoming, as the apostle says; God has created our sex for bestowing and imparting. He has created every thing for all, and all is a general term, and the richer must make no exclusive use of his gifts. Those words are also neither humane, nor in correspondence with our social affections. Love would rather argue thus: 'I have these things, why should I not bestow them on the needy?'"† Tertullian says, "What cause can you have to go out gaily dressed, for you are far from all where this can be required? For you go not about to the temples, you require no plays, and know nothing of the festivals of the heathen! You have no other than serious matters which require you to appear abroad. A sick brother is to be visited, the communion celebrated, or a discourse delivered; and if the calls of friendship require your attendance on the heathen, why should you not appear in your own peculiar armour, and the rather that, going to unbelievers, you may show them the difference between the servants of God and those of Satan, that you may serve for an example to them, and they may be instructed by you?"

As long as the *religious and moral* point of view in which Christianity first presented marriage was strictly adhered to, it was felt, that where the bond of religion did not unite the consciences, where, on the contrary, there was a decided disunion in the highest circumstance of the inward life, the true import of marriage could never receive its fulfilment. It was, therefore, wished that no marriages should ever take place between Christians and heathens. Tertullian endeavours to show how a Christian woman of piety, one to whom Christianity was the soul of her life, who belonged to the Church as a living member of it, and who felt herself happy in communion with it, must be distracted and limited a thousand fold in the practice of her religion by living with a heathen, and must also be injured in her disposition. He says, "When an assembly for prayer is to be

held, the husband will destine the day to the use of the bath; when a fast is to be observed, he will invite company to a feast. There will never be more impediments from household business, than just exactly when the duties of Christian charity requires the wife to go abroad. [The passage then follows, which we quoted, page 156, expressing the duties of a Christian wife, in which she would find impediments from her husband.] What mutual songs could one lead the other to sing? She will hear something of the theatre, or from the public house; where is the mention of God's name? where is Christ called upon? where will be the strengthening of faith by the quotation of Scripture in conversation? * where the quickening of the Spirit? where the Divine blessing?

The case was different where Christianity found a union already existing, which it could only sanctify, and not dissolve, from that where a Christian, of either sex, voluntarily engaged in a connection, which was sure to bring with it many distractions and heartburnings in the inward life, and many trials; it was one thing where a man found himself in a condition full of trial by a train of circumstances coming immediately from God, and therefore, walking quietly in the path prescribed to him by God, might expect his protection in these trials, and his deliverance from them, and quite another, when a man, of his own accord, threw himself into temptations. For the first, there was the express command of the Lord, who permitted divorce only in one case, and the consideration of this very matter by St. Paul. Tertullian says, therefore, "The case is different with those who, when they were brought to believe, were already married to heathens: since such a marriage is valid in the eyes of God, why should it not also continue full of blessings, so that it should continue to be spared many afflictions, distractions, and stains, forasmuch as it has *on one side* the protection of God's grace? It is quite a different thing to enter into for-

* Clemens, Pædagog. lib. ii. c. xi.

† Tertullian, in the writing we have quoted, and Cyprian (de Habitu Virginum) expresses similar sentiments. Tertullian had apparently seen this work of Clement, and Cyprian probably read both.

* "Ubi fomenta fidei de Scripturarum *interjectione*?" according to the reading of Rigaltius; according to that of Pamelius, it is "*interlectione*," "the mutual reading" of the Holy Scriptures. It is difficult to decide which is the genuine reading. As in the whole passage he is speaking of quotation during conversation, the first reading is very appropriate. And if this reading be genuine, it follows that both man and wife ought to possess a familiar acquaintance with the Bible.

bidden connections, voluntarily and uncalled." "The manner in which his wife was converted to Christianity," says Tertullian, "may make a strong impression on the heathen husband himself, so that he would refuse to disturb her, or to watch her too much. He has perceived a thing of much importance; he has seen proofs of that which God effects; he knows that she is become better. And thus, those will be more easily won, to whom the grace of God is brought home."* It must be avowed, that the observation of this change did not always make so favourable an impression. Many a husband, blindly devoted to heathenism, when he observed that his wife, whose conduct he had formerly been obliged to watch most jealously, all at once became so fond of home and so modest, but at the same time found that this change was owing to Christianity, he divorced her, whose vices he had before endured. It also happened frequently, that a Christian woman, who, having married a vicious husband, had formerly, while she was a heathen, herself ministered to his vices, found herself, as a Christian, bound in conscience to discontinue this conduct. She would endeavour at first to lead him to a better way, by exhortation and persuasion. But when he rejected this with indignation, she would feel herself obliged to withdraw from participating in his sinful habits of life, and to divorce herself from him; and this became the source of many persecutions raised by embittered husbands.†

As the religious view of marriage so predominated, it was, therefore, ordained, in early times, that the *sanction of the Church* should be added to the civil ceremony. The pastor of the Church and the deaconesses were called together, and it was declared that this marriage was one contracted after God's will, and not from human passions, and that all was done to the honour of God‡. Bride and bridegroom received the communion together; they offered there a common gift to the Church; and hence, again in the prayer of the Church connected with the communion, a blessing was particularly asked for the newly concluded marriage. How highly this consecration, on the part of the Church, was esteemed by Chris-

tians, we may judge from the following passage of Tertullian: "How shall we be able to declare the happiness of that marriage, which is concluded by the Church, sealed by the communion, and consecrated by the blessings of the Church, which angels announce, and which our heavenly Father recognises as valid."*

Prayer was considered the soul of the whole Christian life. Men united in the acknowledgment of this, who, from the difference in their dispositions and their habits of thought, were widely at variance on many important matters. Where the spirit of Christianity brings together two opposite natures, even the strongest differences hardly make their appearance; as, for instance, in the contrast between the practical realism of Tertullian, whose habits of thought led him to corporealise every thing, and the speculative turn of Origen, who was inclined to run into the opposite extreme, and spiritualise every thing. Both of these show themselves alike penetrated with vital Christianity, when they speak of prayer; both speak from their own internal experience and in both the true spirit of vital Christianity here breaks forth. In accordance with the usual mode of conception in the earlier days of Christianity, Tertullian considers prayer as the exercise of the Christian priesthood. "This is the spiritual sacrifice," he says,† "which has superseded the sacrifice of the old covenant." (Isa. i. 11.) "This passage shows us what God does not require; what He does require, the Gospel teaches us. 'The time cometh when the true worshippers shall worship God in Spirit and in truth; for God is a Spirit.' We are the true worshippers and the true priests, we who pray to Him in spirit, and offer up to Him the sacrifices suited to his Divine Being, and well pleasing to Him—that which He requires. What can the God, who desires this prayer, have refused to the prayer that comes from the Spirit and from the Truth? How much do we read, hear, and believe, of the proofs of its efficacy!" He pictures then the peculiar efficacy of Christian prayer—how it ought to correspond to the form of religion delivered in the New Testament, and how

* Ad Uxor. ii. 8.

† C. xxviii. de Orat. in the pieces first published by Muratori, vol. iii. Anecdotorum Bibl. Ambros.

[Bishop Kaye (Tertullian, p. 406,) states it as his opinion that these additional chapters to the treatise de Oratione are not genuine.—H. J. R.]

* [This extract is from Tertull. ad Uxor. ii. 8.—H. J. R.]

† V. Justin M. Apolog ii.

‡ Ignatii Ep. ii. ad Polycarp. § 5.

Christian prayer displays its real power, not in *saving men by miracles in the season of death and sufferings*, but in *making them capable of bearing death and sufferings with tranquillity and cheerful resignation*. "By the power of the grace imparted, it abates not the pain of the suffering but it arms the sufferer, and him that feels the pain, with power to bear it. The prayer of the Christian brings not down retaliation from heaven, but it averts the anger of God; it watches for its enemies, it prays for its persecutors, it obtains forgiveness of sins, it frightens away temptations, it comforts the faint-hearted, it quickens the courageous: *prayer is the wall of faith*." Origen says,* "How much has each one of us to relate of the efficacy of prayer, if he is inclined to remember with thankfulness the benefits of God. Souls, which had long been unfruitful, and who were well aware how dry they were, when fructified by the Holy Spirit from the force of constant prayer, produced words of salvation, full of the conceptions of truth. What hostile powers that threatened to annihilate our holy faith, have been often brought to shame! We trust to that which says, 'Some put their trust in chariots and horses, but we will think on the name of the Lord our God,' (Psalm xx. 8,) and we found that 'a horse is but a vain thing to save a man.' He that confides in prayer has often vanquished even the power of plausible reasons, which were sufficient to terrify those who were accounted believers. How often do those, who have fallen into temptations, hard to be overcome, suffer no shame from them, and come forth from them unhurt, without even being touched by the smell of the fire that was kindled against them! And what further shall I add? How often has it happened that those who have been delivered up to wild beasts enraged against us, to evil spirits and cruel men, have brought these beings to silence, so that their teeth could not touch us, who are the members of Christ! We know that many who had fallen from the commands of God, and lay already in the pit of death, have been saved by the prayer of repentance." But the very nature of the Christian life supposes, that nothing in it can exist insulated from the other parts of it; all that comes particularly forward at any one moment, is yet

something which has a foundation in the internal life, considered as a whole proceeding from one centre. The spirit of thankfulness to a heavenly, redeeming Father—the spirit of childlike devotion to him—the feeling in regard to Him, of the needfulness of his assistance, and the consciousness of being nothing, and of being able to do nothing without him—was to animate the whole Christian life. This life was, therefore, to be a continued thanksgiving for the grace of redemption, a prayer of constant longing after an increase of holiness by communion with the Redeemer. This was the view of prayer which the New Testament was destined to substitute in the place of that which had previously prevailed; a view, which looked on prayer as an individual act, dependent on certain times and hours, and consisting in individual effusions or particular forms. And thus the fathers of this age expressed themselves. Origen says,* "He prays without ceasing, who unites prayer and action together properly, since works also are a part of prayer; for the apostle's words, 'Pray without ceasing,' are to be considered as something which may be achieved, if we consider the whole life of the believer as one continued prayer;† of which prayer, usually so called forms only a part. And the same Origen says, in regard to the Lord's Prayer,‡ "We cannot believe that words have been taught us, only to be recited at a certain hour of prayer. If we understand properly that which is said in regard to 'praying without ceasing,' our whole life—if we are inclined thus to pray without ceasing—must say, 'Our Father, which art in heaven,' since such a life has its conversation, not on earth, but by all means in heaven, since we are the throne of God, because the kingdom of heaven has its habitation in all those who bear the form of the heavenly man, and by that means become heavenly." Clement of Alexandria says,|| "Prayer, if I may speak so boldly, is intercourse with God. If we only lisp, if we even silently speak to God, the lips not mov-

* De Orat. § 12 [§ 31. ed. Reading.]

† Εἰ πάντα τοῦ βίου τοῦ ἁγίου μίαν συναπτομένην μέλλου ἐπιμαίω ὥχην.

‡ De Orat. c. xxii. [§ 57. ed. Reading.]

§ In Reading's edition the passage runs thus: "Ἐν οὐρανῷ, θεοῦ ἐκ τῶν θρόνων τοῦ Θεοῦ, "in heaven which is the throne of God." I have translated, from the German.—H. J. R.]

|| Stromat. Lib. vii. p. 722.

* De Orat. § 13. [§ 35. ed. Reading. Lond. 1728.]

ing; yet we cry to Him in our hearts, for God listens always to the inward direction of the heart to him.”* The same person, when he wishes to represent an ideal picture of a Christian in heart, ripened in faith and profession, says of him,† “In every place will he pray, though not openly, to be seen of men. Even when he is walking for pleasure, even when he is in converse with other men, in stillness, in reading, and when he is engaged in reasonable business, he prays by all means. And even also if he only think on God in the chamber of the soul, and with silent sighings calls upon his Father; He will be near him and with him, for he is still speaking to him.”‡

But although prayer be a direction of the heart which goes through the whole of the Christian life, yet it must, nevertheless, become more prominent in *special effusions of the heart*, and in compliance with the wants of man, as a creature of sense, it must make itself heard *also in words*; and these particular seasons must form a kind of consecration for all the rest of the life. The Christians were accustomed to select those hours for prayer, which had been usually so employed by the Jews—the third, the sixth, and the ninth, according to the then division of the day—that is, nine in the morning, twelve, and three in the afternoon—not as if prayer were dependent on any certain times; but as Tertullian§ declared, “in order that those who were likely to be withdrawn from the duty of prayer by earthly business, might be reminded of it.” The Christians were, besides, accustomed to sanctify by prayer all the more important seasons of the day, and all transactions of any importance, in regard either to spiritual or temporal life; for even all that is earthly was to be rendered holy by being referred to that which is heavenly. “It becomes the believer,” says Tertullian, “to take no food, to enter no bath, without the intervention of prayer; for the strengthening and refreshing of the soul ought to precede the strengthening and refreshing of the body; the heavenly ought to precede the earthly.” Thus also the Christian, who had received into his house a brother from a distant land, and refreshed him with all that lay in his power, was bound not to

dismiss him without prayer; he was to feel as if he had, in this stranger-brother, seen the Lord himself in his house; and by the guest, the earthly refreshment which he had received, was not to be thought of more value than the heavenly, which was offered to him at his departure.* Under any pressing emergencies, which affected the community in general, or those in whom they took particular interest, they all assembled for the purpose of prayer, and all general deliberations were opened with prayer. It was in prayer that the brotherly communion and the mutual sympathy of the members of the one body were to be shown; every one was to pray in the spirit of all, and commend the circumstances of all the brethren, which he looked upon as his own, to the Head of the Church, and through Him to eternal love. Thus Cyprian says in the explanation of the Lord’s Prayer: “The teacher of peace and communion did not wish that each individual should pray for himself, but that every one should pray for all. We do not say ‘my Father,’ but ‘our Father,’ and every one prays not for the forgiveness of his own sins alone, nor for himself alone, ‘that he may not be led into temptation, and may be delivered from evil.’ Ours is a common prayer, and when we pray, we pray not only for individuals, but for the whole Church; because we, as members of the Church, are all one. God, the author of peace and concord, wished that thus every one should pray for all, as He has included all in one.” And when bishop Cyprian, under the pressure of persecution, was encouraging his Church to prayer, he wrote thus:‡ “Let every one pray to God, not for himself alone, but for all brethren, as the Lord has taught us to pray.”

* I shall here subjoin a translation of the whole passage, (Tertullian, de Orat. c. xxvi.,) which is not wholly without its difficulties. “But he himself (the brother who is come from foreign lands,) after he has been received* by the brethren, must not prize the earthly refreshment he has received higher than the heavenly; for immediately his faith will be condemned,” (that is, he will prove his unbelief, if he esteems the parting prayer, the blessing of his Christian brother, his host, as nothing, compared with the bodily refreshment afforded to him.) “or, how canst thou, after the command of the Lord, say, ‘Peace be to this house,’ unless thou returnest, to those who dwell in the house, the wish of blessing, which they have first bestowed on thee?”

† Ep. vii.

* I think, in this passage, we must read “exceptus” instead of “exemptis.”

* πᾶσαν γὰρ τὴν ἐνδύατον ὁμολίαν ὁ Θεὸς ἀδικημάτων ἵταται.

† Stromat. lib. vii. p. 728.

‡ Ὁ δὲ ἰζῆς καὶ τὴν χαλκῆν παρῆσται.

§ Lib. cit. c. xxv.

As it was acknowledged and believed that Divine things could only be understood under the light of the Divine Spirit, and that by prayer the heavenly fountain was opened to man, prayer was considered as the necessary means to a knowledge of Divine things, and a right understanding of Scripture. When Origen, that great father of the Church, who had called together all those human means for the understanding of Scripture, and the development of its doctrines, which could only be had in his time, as well as directed all his learned and speculative study to the same purpose, was exhorting his disciple, the young Gregory (afterwards called Thaumaturgus,) to diligent "knocking and seeking" in the study of Scripture, he added, "but let it not be enough for you to knock and to seek;—to a knowledge of Divine things, the most necessary means is prayer.* To incite us to this, our Saviour did not say merely, 'knock and it shall be opened to you, seek and ye shall find,' but also, 'pray and it shall be given to you.'"

It was usual on those days which were especially dedicated to the memory of the resurrection of Christ, to pray standing upright, in remembrance that Christ had raised up to heaven man who was fallen and sunk in worldly defilements; but on other days they prayed kneeling. But Origen, nevertheless, cautions men against the notions which made them forget inward things in outward forms; he turned them from the latter to the former, and endeavoured to show, that outward things have no importance except in reference to inward, and of themselves and in themselves are matters of indifference. "Before a man," he says,† "stretches out his hands to heaven, he must raise his soul thither; before a man raises up his eyes, he must raise his spirit up to God; for we cannot doubt, that out of a thousand possible attitudes of the body, those with outspreading of the hands and uplifting of the eyes must be preferred to all others, as giving some representation of the dispositions proper to prayer. We think that this must be preferred, where no peculiar circumstances exist; for under certain circumstances, in cases of illness, people may pray sitting or lying. And under certain circumstances, as for instance, when men are on shipboard, or where the present state of the case will

not admit of their offering up the proper prayers, they may then pray, without appearing to do so. And because kneeling is required when a man confesses his own sins to God, and prays for forgiveness of them, every one must perceive that this position is a token of a bowed down and humble spirit." Origen, Tertullian, and Cyprian, accordingly explain, Philipp. ii. 10, of such a spiritual bowing of the knee and self-humiliation, in the name of Christ, saying that it does not relate to the vain show of outward gestures, but to the disposition of the heart towards God. "God hears not the voice, but the heart," says Cyprian; "He sees the thoughts of men, and requires not to be reminded by their cry; as Hannah, in the Book of Kings, represents to us the form of the Church, which prays to God, not with the outcry of prayer, but in the still depths of the heart. She spoke in silent prayer, but her faith was known to God."

That which we have above extracted from Tertullian's picture of the blessedness of a Christian marriage, shows that spiritual songs in common, and a common reading of the Scriptures, formed part of the daily edification of a Christian family. Thus Clement of Alexandria also recommends united prayers and reading of the Bible together,* as proper morning occupations for a Christian couple. The controversial writings of Tertullian on matters of ecclesiastical life and of morality, where he considers himself as opposing laymen, show that these latter were also well acquainted with the Scriptures, and were accustomed to judge things that related to life out of them.

From the general consideration of the Christian life, and of family devotion, we now pass to that of the public worship of the early Christians.

(2.) *On the Public Worship of God.*

(a.) *Nature of Christian worship in general.*

SINCE the religion of the New Testament did not admit of any peculiar, outward priesthood, similar to that of the Old, the same outward kind of worship, dependent on certain places, times, and outward actions and demeanours, would also have no place in its composition. The kingdom of God, the temple of the Lord, were to be present, not in this or that place, but in every place, where Christ himself is active in the Spirit, and where through Him the worship of

* ἀναγκαιοτάτη γὰρ καὶ ἡ πρεσβύτερος τὰ ὅλα εὐχὴ.
† Chap. xxxi.

* Εὐχὴ καὶ ἀναγνώσις, Pædag. lib. ii. p. 194, D.

God in spirit and in truth is established. Every Christian in particular, and every Church in general, was to represent a spiritual temple of the Lord; the true worship of God was to be only in the inward heart; and the whole life, proceeding from such inward dispositions, sanctified by faith, was to be a continued spiritual service: this is the great fundamental idea of the Gospel, which prevails throughout the New Testament, by which the whole outward appearance of religion was to assume a different form, and all that once was carnal, was to be converted into spiritual, and ennobled. This notion came forward most strongly in the original inward life of the first Christians, particularly when contrasted with Judaism, and still more so when contrasted with heathenism;—a contrast, which taught the Christians to avoid all pomp that caught the eye, and all multiplication of means of devotion, addressed to the senses, while it made them hold fast the simple, spiritual character of the Christian worship of God. It was this which always struck the heathen so much in the Christian worship; namely, that nothing was found among them of the outward pomp of all other religions: “no temples, no altars, no images.” This reproach was made to the Christians by Celsus, and answered thus by Origen: “In the highest sense the temple and the image of God are in the human nature of Christ; and hence, also, in all the faithful, who are animated by the Spirit of Christ—living images! with which no statue of Jove by Phidias is fit to be compared.”* Christianity impelled men frequently to seek for the stillness of the inward sanctuary, and here to pour forth their heart to God, who dwells in such temples; but then the flames of love were also lighted in their hearts, which sought communion, in order to strengthen each other mutually, and to unite themselves into one holy flame, which pointed towards heaven. The *communion* of prayer and devotion was thought a source of sanctification, inasmuch as men knew that the Lord was present by his Spirit among those who were gathered together in his name; but then they were far from ascribing any peculiar sacredness and sanctity to the place of assembly. Such an idea would appear to partake of heathenism; and men were at first in less danger of being seduced into such an idea, because the first general

places of assembly of the Christians were only common rooms in private houses, just according as it happened that any member of the Church had sufficient accommodation for the purpose. Thus Gaius of Corinth, (Rom. xvi.) is called the host of the Church, because the Church was in the habit of assembling in a room of his house. Origen says:† “The place, where believers come together to pray, has something agreeable and useful about it;” but then he only says this in respect to that spiritual communion. “Christ,” he thinks, “with the host of angels, dwells in the assembly of the saints; therefore, we may not despise prayer in such assemblies, for they have a peculiar power for those who take part in them with an upright heart.” “Not the place, but the congregation of the elect, I call the Church,” says Clement of Alexandria.‡ Tertullian says.† “We may pray in every place to which accident or necessity brings us; for the apostles, who prayed to God and sang to his praise in prison before the ears of the jailor, no more contravened the commands of the Lord than Paul, who celebrated the Lord’s Supper in the ship before the eyes of all:” (Acts xxvii.) This was a remarkable proof of a free and evangelical spirit, although the application of the latter passage is erroneous.

Man, we must avow, is very easily led to fall away from the worship of God in spirit and in truth, and to connect the religion of the Spirit with outward and earthly things; as the apostle says, “having begun in the spirit, to wish to end in the flesh.” Watchfulness on this point was constantly needed, lest the Jewish or the heathen notions should here intrude themselves on those of the Gospel, which was likely enough to happen as soon as the Old Testament and the New Testament notions of the priesthood had been confused. Even in the time of Clement of Alexandria he found himself obliged to combat the notion, which allowed the essentials of the Christian life to be of one kind in, and of another out of, the Church. “The disciples of Christ,” he says, § “ought to form the whole course of their

* C. Celsus, viii. p. 400. [The passage, from which I suppose this is taken, though not literally translated, is p. 389, ed. Spencer.—H. J. R.]

* De Orat. c. xxxi. [C. lxvi. ed. Reading. This extract is selected from different parts of the chapter. Origen supposes the disembodied spirits of the saints, &c., to be present in these assemblies. H. J. R.]

† Οὐ γὰρ τὸν τόπον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἄβυσμα τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ αἰῶνα. Stromat. vii. 715, B.

‡ De Orat. c. xxiv.

§ Pædagog. iii. p. 256.

life and conduct on the model which they assume in the churches, for the sake of propriety; they ought to be such, and not merely to *seem so*, as mild, as pious, and as charitable: but now, I know not how it is, they change their habits and their manners with the change of place, as the polypus, they say, changes its colour, and becomes like the rock on which it hangs. They lay aside the spiritual habit which they had assumed in the Church, as soon as they have left the Church, and assimilate themselves to the multitude, among whom they live. I should rather say, that they convict themselves of hypocrisy, and show what they really are in their inward nature, by laying aside the mask of piety which they had assumed; and while they honour the word of God, they leave it behind them in the place where they heard it."

(b.) *The Christian Places of Assembly.*

WE observed above, that the Christian places of Assembly were, at first, in the rooms of private houses; it may, perhaps, be the case, that in large towns, where the number of Christians was soon considerable, and no member of the Church had any room in his house sufficient to contain all his brethren, or in places where men did not fear any prejudicial consequences from large assemblies, the Church divided itself into different sections, according to the habitations of its members, of which each section held its assemblies in one particular chamber of the house of some wealthy member of the Church; or, perhaps, while it was usual to unite on Sundays in one general assembly, yet each individual part of the Church met together daily in the rooms which lay the most convenient to it. Perhaps the passages in St. Paul's Epistles, which speak of Churches in *the houses of particular persons*, are thus to be understood.* The answer of Justin Martyr, to

the question of the præfect, "Where do you assemble?" exactly corresponds to the genuine Christian spirit on this point. This answer was: "Where each can and will. You believe, no doubt, that we all meet together in one place; but it is not so, the God of the Christians is not shut up in a room, but being invisible, he fills both heaven and earth, and is honoured every where by the faithful." Justin adds, that when he came to Rome, he was accustomed to dwell in one particular spot, and that those Christians, who were instructed by him,* and wished to hear his discourses, assembled at his house. He had not visited any other congregations of the Church.†

The arrangements which the peculiarities of the Christian worship required, were gradually made in these places of assembly, such as an elevated seat‡ for the purpose of reading the Scriptures and preaching, a table for the distribution of the sacrament, to which as early as the time of Tertullian the name of altar, *ara* or *altare*, was given, and perhaps, not without some mixture of the unevangelic Old Testament notion of a sacrifice—or, at least, this idea might easily attach itself to this name. When the Churches increased, and their circumstances improved, there were, during the course of the third century, already separate Church buildings for the Christians, as the name *ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ τοιοῦτοι* of the Christians occurs in the edict of Gallienus.§ In the time

Now it is very unlikely, that the whole Church should have changed its place of assembly every time that Aquilas arrived at either place. It is far more easy to conceive that men, whose trade required a roomy habitation, wherever that might be,—such as that of Aquilas, the tent maker,—generally gave up a room in their house for a part of the Church to assemble in; and more especially when they were qualified, as probably Aquilas was, by their gift and capacity of instructing, to serve for the edification of small congregations.

* This would accordingly be, ἡ κατ' οἶκον τοῦ

Ἰουστίνου ἐκκλησία.

† [This dialogue is found in the Act. Mart. Sanct. S. Justin. in Ruinart, who professes to edit it after Surius and others. Papebroch (Act. Sanct. Aprilis, vol. ii. p. 104.) contends, that this act of martyrdom belongs to a different Justin, and is answered by Ruinart, p. 54–58.—H. J. R.]

‡ Suggestus, pulpitum. [Thus Constit. Apost. ii. 57, *μετὰ δ' ὁ ἀναγνώστης ἐφ' ὑψικοῦ πτυχῆς ἵσταται*.—H. J. R.]

§ See page 82. If the account of the Chronicle of Edessa (in Asseman, Biblioth. Oriental. t. i. 391,) is to be depended on, a Christian church must have been built as early as A. D. 202, at Edessa. The Chronicle was first published in the sixth century, but the author made use of

* "The Church in his house," ἡ κατ' οἶκον αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησία. These passages certainly cannot allude to the places of assembly of whole Churches, for in many of them, the ἡ κατ' οἶκον τινος ἐκκλησία is expressly distinguished from the whole of the Church, (1 Cor. xvi. 19, 20.) Here we first have the Church, "that is in the house" of Aquilas and Priscilla, and then "all the brethren," which would be a piece of tautology on that supposition. Comp. Coloss. iv. 15. And besides, there is another objection to such an interpretation, which is this, that then we must suppose Aquilas to have held the assemblies of the Church in his own house, both when at Rome, his usual abode, and when at Ephesus, (comp. Rom. xvi. 5, and 1 Cor. xvi. 19.)

of the external prosperity of the Church, during the reign of Diocletian, many handsome churches arose in the great towns.

The use of images was originally quite foreign to the Christian worship and Churches, and it remained so during this whole period. The intermixture of art and religion, and the use of images for the latter, appeared to the first Christians a heathenish practice. As in heathenism the Divine becomes desecrated and tarnished by intermixture with the Natural, and as men have often paid homage to the beauties of nature with injury to the cause of holiness, the first warmth of Christian zeal, which opposed the idolatry of nature, so common to heathenism, and sought to maintain the Divine in all its purity and elevation, was inclined rather to set holiness in the strongest contrast with what is beautiful by nature, than to endeavour to grace it by lending it a beautiful form. Men were more inclined in general to carry into extremes the idea of the appearance of the Divinity in the form of a servant, which suited the oppressed condition of the Church in these centuries, than to throw it into the back ground, and overwhelm it under the predominance of their æsthetic dispositions, and their love of art. This is peculiarly shown by the general belief of the early Church, that Christ had clothed his inward Divine glory in a mean outward form, which was in direct contradiction to it; a conclusion which was drawn from interpreting the prophecy of the Messiah, in Isaiah liii. 2, too literally. Thus Clement of Alexandria warns the Christians, from the example of Christ, not to attribute too much value to outward beauty. "The Lord himself was mean in outward form; . . . and who is better than the Lord? But He revealed himself, not in the beauty of the body, perceptible to our senses, but in the true beauty of the soul as well as of the body; the beauty of the soul consisting in benevolence, and that of the body in immortality!"*

Church-teachers of entirely opposite habits of mind, the adherents of two

older documents, which, however, if we may judge from the document about the letters that passed between Christ and Abgarus, cannot have been quite authentic. If also the explanation of the passage in that Chronicle, given by Michaelis (*Orientalische und exegetische Bibliothek*, pt. x. p. 61.) be just, this church must have been built according to the model of the Jewish temple, and divided into three parts.

* *Pædagog.* iii. 1.

different systems of conceiving Divine things, the one after a sensuous manner, the other after a spiritualising mode,—realists and idealists, who, from these opposite habits of mind, might have very different views on this point, just as in later times, different views of this matter proceeded from such a fundamental difference in habits of thought;—these Church-teachers were, nevertheless, united on this point by their common opposition to the mixture of the natural and the Divine in heathenism, and by the endeavour to maintain the devotion to God in spirit and in truth, pure and undefiled. Clements of Alexandria is as little favourable as Tertullian to the use of images. He says, against the use of images by the heathen, "We must not cling to that which is sensuous, but elevate ourselves to that which is spiritual; the habit of daily looking upon the representation of the Divine nature desecrates its dignity; and to wish to honour a spiritual being by earthly matter, is nothing but to dishonour it by sensuousness." It is evident, from what we have said, how foreign to the notions of the Christians of this period, images of Christ must in general have been. Heathens, who, like Alexander Severus,* saw something Divine in Christ, and sects, which mixed heathenism and Christianity together, were the first who made use of images of Christ; as, for instance, the Gnostic sect of the followers of Carpocratian, who put his image beside those of Plato and Aristotle.

The use of religious images among the Christians, did not proceed from their ecclesiastical, but from their domestic life. In the intercourse of daily life, the Christians saw themselves every where surrounded by objects of heathen mythology, or by such as shocked their moral and Christian feelings. Similar objects adorned the walls of chambers, the drinking vessels, and the signet rings (on which the heathen had constantly idolatrous images,) to which, whenever they pleased, they could address their devotions; and the Christians naturally felt themselves obliged to replace these objects, which wounded their moral and religious feelings, with others more suited to those feelings.

* Thus Eusebius says, (*H. E.* vii. 18.) that heathens were the first who made pictures of Christ, St. Peter, and St. Paul, whom they looked upon, after their heathen notions, as benefactors of mankind. This may easily be explained from the spirit of religious eclecticism, which then existed.

Therefore, they gladly put the likeness of a shepherd, carrying a lamb upon his shoulders, on their cups, as a symbol of the Redeemer, who saves the sinners that return to Him, according to the parable in the Gospel.* And Clement of Alexandria says, in reference to the signet rings of the Christians,† “Let our signet rings consist of a dove (the emblem of the Holy Ghost,) or a fish,‡ or a ship sailing towards heaven (the emblem of the Christian Church, or of individual Christian souls;) or a lyre (the emblem of Christian joy;) or an anchor (the emblem of Christian hope;) and he who is a fisherman, let him remember the apostle, and the children who are dragged out from the water;§ for those men ought not to engrave idolatrous forms, to whom the use of them is forbidden; those can engrave no sword and no bow, who seek for peace; the friends of temperance cannot engrave drinking-cups.” And yet, perhaps, religious images made their way from domestic life into the churches, as early as the end of the third century, and the walls of the churches were painted in the same way. The council of Elvira set itself against this innovation, as an abuse, for it made the following order: “Objects of reverence and worship shall not be painted on the walls.”|| It is probable

that the visible representation of the cross found its way very early into domestic and ecclesiastical life. This token was remarkably common among them; it was used to consecrate their rising and their going to bed, their going out and their coming in, and all the actions of daily life; it was the sign which Christians made involuntarily, whenever any thing of a fearful nature surprised them.* This was a mode of expressing, by means perceptible to the senses, the purely Christian idea, that all the actions of Christians, as well as the whole course of their life, must be sanctified by faith in the crucified Jesus, and by dependence upon Him, and that this faith is the most powerful means of conquering all evil, and preserving oneself against it. But here also again, men were too apt to confuse the idea and the token which represented it, and they attributed the effects of faith in the crucified Redeemer to the outward sign, to which they ascribed a supernatural, sanctifying, and preservative power; an error of which we find traces as early as the third century.

We now pass from the consideration of the places of public worship, to that of the seasons of worship, and the festivals of the early Christians.

(c.) *Seasons of Public Worship and Festivals.*

It is here shown again that the Gospel, as it remodelled the former conceptions of the priesthood, of worship in general, and of holy places, also entirely changed the then views of sacred seasons. And, here again, also, the character of the theocracy of the New Testament revealed itself, a theocracy spiritualized, ennobled, and freed from its outward garb of sense, and from the limits which bounded its generalization.† The Jewish laws relating to their festivals, were not merely abrogated by the Gospel in such a manner as to transfer these festivals to *different seasons*, but they were *entirely abolished*, as far as fixing religious worship to particular times is concerned. The laws of the Sabbath, like all the rest of the ceremonial laws of the Jews, could only arise

* Tertullian, de Pudicitia, c. vii. “Procedant ipsæ picturæ calicum vestrorum.” C. x. “Pastor, quem in calice depingis.” The likeness of Christ upon a cup does not appear to have suited the Montanistic asceticism.

† Pædog. iii. 246, 247.

‡ This refers to the same idea as that of the fisherman, with a play on the anagram of the name of Christ, ΙΧΘΥΣ—Ιησους Χριστος Θεου Υιου Σωτηρ.

§ This was an allusion to the Christians, whom Christ, the Divine teacher—the Θεως παιδαγωγος—leads to regeneration by means of baptism.

|| “Ne, quod colitur et adoratur, in parietibus depingatur.” Concil. Illiberit. c. xxxiii.* The explanation of this canon, we confess, cannot altogether be determined with certainty. There is, in fact, a double uncertainty in it: We may understand the words, ‘quod colitur et adoratur,’ of religious objects generally, or in a more restricted sense, of objects of peculiar reverence, such as portraits of Christ, or symbolical representations of God and the Trinity; and we may also understand ‘the walls’ in two different ways—the walls of churches or those of houses.

[* I find this to be Can. xxxvi. Those who are curious in these matters, will be somewhat entertained by the learned note of Mendoza on this canon, to prove that it refers only to pictures of God. He labours hard through nine folio pages of double columns, to prove this point, and to defend the use of images. Concilia a Labbe et Cossart. Paris, 1671, vol. i. p. 1227.—H. J. R.]

* Cf. Tertullian, de Corona Milit. c. iii. [From the last words of this chapter of Tertullian it would seem, that they made the sign of the cross on the forehead: “Frontem crucis signaculo terimus.” See also ad Uxor. ii. 5.—H. J. R.]

† [Von den Schranken des Particularismus und von der fleischlichen Hülle frei gemachten neutestamentlichen Theokratie.—Germ. Literally, “freed from the limits of particularism, and from its fleshly covering.”—H. J. R.]

again in Christianity, by being spiritualized and ennobled, inasmuch as *every day* was now to be sanctified by the dependence of the whole life on God through Christ, on every day, and by the sanctification which the prayers of *the heart* shed over the whole of a Christian day. Inasmuch as the Christian every day pursued the calling entrusted to him by God, with godly feelings, preserving his heart in purity from all inward contact with what is ungodly, and seeking constantly to keep holy the name of his Lord in thought, word, and deed—every day was to be a true Sabbath to him. St. Paul expressly declares all sanctifying of certain seasons, as far as men deduced this from the Divine command, to be Jewish and unevangelical, and to be like returning to the slavery of the law, and to captivity to *outward* precepts. Such was the opinion of the early Church. At first the Churches assembled every day; as, for instance, the first Church of Jerusalem, which assembled daily for prayer in common, and for the public consideration of the Divine word, for the common celebration of the Lord's Supper and the agapæ, as well as to maintain the connection between the common head of the spiritual body of the Church and themselves, and between one another as members of this body. Traces of this are also found in later times, in the daily assembling of the Churches for the purpose of hearing the Scriptures read, and of celebrating the communion. Although, in order to meet the wants of human nature generally, consisting as it does of sense as well as soul, and those of a large body of Christians in particular, who were only in a state of education, and were to be brought up to the ripeness of Christian manhood, men soon selected definite times for religious admonitions, and to consecrate them to a fuller occupation with religious things, as well as to public devotion, with the intention, that the influence of *these definite times* should animate and sanctify the rest of their lives, and that Christians who withdrew themselves from the distractions of business on these days, and collected their hearts before God in the stillness of solitude, as well as in public devotion, might make these seasons of service to the other parts of their life;—yet this was *in itself, and of itself*, nothing unevangelic. It was only a dropping down from the purely spiritual point of view, on which even the Christian, as he still carries about two

natures in himself, cannot always maintain himself to the carnal; a dropping down, which became constantly more necessary, the more the fire of the *first* animation, and the warmth of the *first* love of the Christians, died away. It was no more unevangelic than the gradual limitation of the exercise of many rights, belonging to the common priesthood of all Christians, to a certain class in the Church, which circumstances rendered necessary.* But just as the unevangelic made its appearance, when men supposed the existence of a separate *caste of priests* in the Church, which stood upon Divine right, when they forgot the common Christian priesthood in the consideration of this peculiar caste of priests, when they introduced a contrast between secular and spiritual persons among Christians, so also, in this matter, the unevangelic appeared, when men supposed certain days distinguished from others and hallowed by Divine right, when they introduced a distinction between holy and common days into the life of the Christian, and in this distinction forgot his calling to sanctify *all days alike*. The confusion between the Old and the New Testament notions manifested itself here in the same manner and at the same time, as that which relates to the priesthood.

When the Montanists (see below) wished to introduce and make imperative new fasts, which were fixed to *certain days*, the Epistle to the Galatians was very properly brought to oppose them; but Tertullian, who stood on the boundary between the original pure evangelic times and those when the intermixture of Jewish and Christian notions first took place, confuses here the views of the two religions, because he makes the evangelical to consist, not in a *wholly different method* of considering festivals altogether, but in the celebration of *different particular* festivals; and he makes the Judaizing, which the apostle condemns, to consist only in the observation of the *Jewish*, instead of the peculiarly Christian festivals.†

The *weekly and the yearly* festivals originally arose from the selfsame fundamental idea, which was the centre point of the whole Christian life; the idea of imitating Christ, the crucified and the risen,—to follow Him in his death, by appropriating to ourselves, in penitence and faith, the effects of his death, by

* See page 110.

† Tertullian, de Jeuniis, c. xiv.

dying to ourselves and to the world—to follow Him in his resurrection, by rising again with Him by faith in Him, and by his power, to a new and holy life, devoted to God, which, beginning here below in the seed, is matured in heaven. Hence the festival of joy was the festival of the resurrection; and the preparation for it, the remembrance of the sufferings of Christ, with mortification and crucifixion of the flesh, was the day of *fasting* and *penitence*. Thus in the week the *Sunday* was the *joyful festival*; and the *preparation* for it was a day of penitence and prayer, consecrated to remembrance of the sufferings of Christ and the preparations for them, and this was celebrated on the Friday; and thus also the *yearly* festivals were to celebrate the resurrection of Christ, and the operations of the Redeemer after He had risen again; the preparation for this day was in commemoration of the sufferings and fastings of our Saviour. From this general point of view we shall now proceed to consider the several weekly and yearly festivals in particular.

Opposition to Judaism introduced the particular festival of Sunday very early, indeed, into the place of the Sabbath; the first trace of this custom is in the Acts xx. 7, where we find the Church assembled together on the first day in the week,* and again somewhat *later*, in Rev. i. 10, where it is hardly possible to understand the day of judgment by the words “the Lord’s day.” Allusion is also made to the festival of Sunday, as a symbol of new life, consecrated to the Lord, in opposition to the old Sabbath, in the epistle of Ignatius to the Magnesians.† “If they who were brought up under the Old Testament have attained to a new hope, and no longer keep Sabbaths holy, but have consecrated their life to the day of the Lord, on which also our life rose up in Him, how shall we be able to live without Him?” Sunday was distinguished

as a day of joy by the circumstances, that men did not fast upon it, and that they prayed standing up, and not kneeling, as Christ had raised up fallen man to heaven again through his resurrection. The festival of Sunday, like all other festivals, was always only a human ordinance, and it was far from the intentions of the apostles to establish a Divine command in this respect, far from them, and from the early apostolic Church, to transfer the laws of the Sabbath to Sunday. Perhaps, at the end of the second century a false application of this kind had begun to take place; for men appear by that time to have considered labouring on Sunday as a sin.*

And further, two other days in the week, Friday and Wednesday, particularly the former, were consecrated to the remembrance of the sufferings of Christ, and of the circumstances preparatory to them, congregations were held on them, and a fast till three o’clock in the afternoon, but nothing was positively appointed concerning them; in respect to joining in these solemnities every one consulted his own convenience or inclination. Such fasts, joined with prayer, were considered as the watches of the “*milites Christi*” on their post by the Christians, (who compared their calling to a warfare—the *militia Christi*), and they were “*stationes*”—and the days, on which they took place, were called “*Dies Stationum*.”†

The Jewish Christian Churches, [i. e., Churches consisting of Jewish converts,] although they received the festival of Sunday, retained also that of the Sabbath; and from them the custom spread abroad in the Oriental Church, of distinguishing this day, as well as the Sunday, by not fasting and by praying in an erect posture; in the Western Churches, particularly the Roman, where opposition to Judaism was the prevailing tendency, this very opposition produced the custom of celebrating the Saturday in particular as a fast day.‡

* The passage is not entirely convincing, because the impending departure of the apostle may have united the little Church in a brotherly parting meal, on occasion of which the apostle delivered his last address, although there was no particular celebration of a Sunday in the case. The passage from 1 Cor. xvi. 2, is still less convincing; for all may be quite competently explained, if we only consider the passage as referring to the beginning of the civil week.

† Sect. 9. [I am unable to find the exact expressions here given; although something of the kind is found in § 9.—H. J. R.]

* We may draw this conclusion from the words of Tertullian, de Orat. § 23. “Solo die dominico resurrectionis non ab isto tantum (from kneeling) sed omni anxietatis habitu et officio cavere debemus, *differentes etiam negotia, ne quem diabolo locum demus.*”

† The name “*statio*” occurs first in Hermas Pastor, lib. iii. Similitud. v., and often in Tertullian. “*Statio*” was the usual name for these half-fast-days, in opposition to the proper “*jejunia*.” Tertullian de Jejunis, c. xiv.

‡ Tertullian, de Jejun. c. xiv. “*Quoniam vos etiam sabbatum si quando continuatis, nunquam nisi in Paschate jejunandum.*” Tertullian,

This difference in customs would of course be striking, where members of the Oriental Church spent their Sabbathday in the Western Church. It was only too soon that men lost sight of the principle of the apostolic Church, which retained

the unity of faith and spirit, in the bond of love, but allowed all kinds of difference in external things; and then they began to require uniformity even in these things. Tertullian spoke on this controversy with Christian moderation, before his conversion to Montanism. He said of the few defenders of the Oriental custom, "The Lord will bestow his grace upon them, so that they may either give in, or follow their own opinion without bitterness towards others.* The learned Hippolytus was induced, as early as the beginning of the third century, to write upon this controversy between the Oriental and the Occidental Church.†

as a Montanist, is here making a reproach to his Romish adversaries, that they deprived the Sabbath of its becoming honour; and sometimes continued their fasts from Friday to the Saturday, whereas they ought only to make one exception to its observance as a feast, that is, in the case of the Passover (i. e., in Easterweek.) This same custom, namely, that of continuing the fast from Friday on to Saturday, which Tertullian here argues against, as a Montanist, we find in Victorinus, bishop of Petabium, in Pannonia (Pettau, in Stiria,) at the end of the third century. It is mentioned in his *Fragments on the Creation*, first published by Cave, *Hist. Lit.* He calls this continuance "superpositio jejunii." The fast on the Sabbath appears here the preparation for the festival of the communion on the Sunday, in opposition to the Jewish festival on the Sabbath, which Christianity had abolished. "Hoc die solemus superponere; idcirco ut die dominico cum gratiarum actione ad panem (the Lord's Supper) exeamus. Et parasceue superpositio fiat, ne quid cum Judeis Sabbatum observare videamur." Galland. *Bibl. Patr.* T. iv.; and Routh, *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, Oxon, 1815, vol. iii. p. 237.

The council of Elvira opposes the error of celebrating the Sabbath as a festival, by prolonging the fast of the Friday, and making a fastday of Saturday also—c. xxvi. "Errorrem placuit corrigi, ut omni sabbati die superpositiones celebremus."—When in later days men had lost sight of the original notions of the first Christian ages, and were unable to find the reason for the custom of fasting on the Sabbath (Saturday,) in the Romish Church, they began to invent stories to explain it; as, for instance, that St. Peter had fasted on that day, as a preparation for his dispute with Simon Magus.*

[* The reader will observe that Sabbath, in this note, is used for Saturday, as the Jewish Sabbath. Dr. Neander appears to have deduced the proper sense from the passage of Tertullian, which is not, however, without its difficulties, especially in its immediate context. I beg to refer to the notes of Valesius on Eusebius, v. 24, which will throw some light on the subject, and also to Thorndike on Religious Assemblies, p. 274. The following extract from Bishop Kaye, on Tertullian, (p. 409, first edition,) will serve in part to confirm as well as explain Dr. Neander's note: "Even the Montanists, anxious as they were to introduce a more rigorous discipline in the observance of fasts, when they kept their two weeks of Xerophagiæ, did not fast on the Saturday and Sunday. The Saturday before Easterday was, however, an exception; that was observed as a fast. The custom of observing every Saturday as a fast, which became general throughout the Western Church, does not appear to have existed in Tertullian's time. That men who, like our author, on all occasions contended that the ritual and ceremonial law of Moses had ceased, should observe the seventh day of the week as a festival, is perhaps to be ascribed to a desire of conciliating the Jewish converts."

In a note on this passage, Bishop Kaye remarks, that the Gentiles fasted on a Saturday.—[H. J. R.]

The first *yearly festivals* of the Christians proceeded from similar views; and yet at first the contrast, which had in early times the most powerful influence on the development as well of the churchly life as of the doctrines of Christianity, is here peculiarly prominent—I mean the contrast between the Jewish Churches and those of the Gentile converts. The former retained all the Jewish festivals as well as the whole ceremonial law, although by degrees they introduced into them a Christian meaning which spontaneously offered itself. On the contrary, there was probably no yearly festival at all, from the beginning, among the heathen converts, for no trace of any thing of the sort is found in the whole of the New Testament.‡

The Passover of the Old Testament was easily ennobled and converted to a Passover which suited the New Testament, by merely substituting the idea of deliverance from spiritual bondage, that is, from the slavery of sin, for that of deliverance from earthly bondage.§ The paschal lamb was a type of Christ, by

* C. xxiii. de Oratone.

† Cf. Hieronymi Ep. lxxii. ad Vital.

‡ In 1 Cor. v. 7, there is no allusion at all to a peculiar Christian Passover of the Corinthian Church, but merely a contrast shown between a purification of the heart, proceeding from faith, and the outward Jewish festivals. [But St. Paul in 1 Cor. xvi. 8, says, "But I will tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost." Now this is worth observing: he is writing to a Church among the Heathen, and reckons by this feast. May we not suppose from this, that the Heathen converts made this season a solemn time also, and reckoned their years in some degree by it?—H. J. R.]

§ The Alexandrians, who translated the word *πασχα* by *ἑσθὴ διαβτηνῆς*, had already found in the Passover a symbol of the *διαβασίς* *ὑπο τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ* *εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα*, a deliverance of the spirit from the bondage of the senses.

whom that deliverance was wrought. These representations went on the supposition that Christ had partaken his last meal with his disciples, as a proper Passover, at the very time that the Jews were celebrating theirs. This Passover was, therefore, always celebrated on the night between the 14th and 15th of the Jewish month Nisan, as a remembrance at the same time of the last supper of Christ. This was the fundamental notion of the whole Jewish-Christian Passover, on which all the rest was built. The day following this Passover was consecrated to the remembrance of the sufferings of Christ, and the third day from it to the remembrance of his resurrection. On the contrary, in the greater number of heathen Churches, as soon as men began to celebrate yearly festivals (a time which cannot be determined very precisely,) they followed the method observed in the weekly festivals. They appointed one Sunday in the year for the festival of the Resurrection, and one Friday as a day of penitence and fasting preparatory to this Sunday, in remembrance of the sufferings of Christ; and they gradually lengthened this time of penitence and fasting, as a preparation for that high and joyful festival. In these Churches they were more inclined to take up a kind of antithetical turn against the Jewish festivals, than to graft Christian ones upon them. It was *far from their notions* to think of observing a yearly Passover with the Jews. The following was the view which they took of the matter. Every typical feast has lost its true meaning by the realization of that which is typified; in the sacrifice of Christ, the Lord's Supper, as the feast of the new covenant, has taken the place of that of the old covenant. Men seem here to have been inclined, in their opposition to Judaism, to come to the following opinion, for which they might bring at least "prima facie" evidence from the Gospel of St. John, namely, that our Saviour did not celebrate the last Supper at the same time with the Jews, but one day earlier.

This difference of outward customs, between the Jewish-Christian Churches and the Churches allied to them, on the one hand, and the Heathen-Christian Churches founded by St. Paul, on the other, existed at first without its being supposed that external things of this nature were of importance enough to lead to a controversy: they thought, that the kingdom of God did not consist in eating

and drinking, or in any kind of external things.

This difference, together with many others, between the Churches of Asia Minor and the Romish Church, was first discussed on occasion of a visit paid by Polycarp, the bishop of Smyrna, to Anicetus, the bishop of Rome.* Polycarp appealed to having celebrated such a Passover with St. John, whose disciple he was; Anicetus, on the other hand, appealed to the circumstance, that his predecessors, (in a Church consisting of heathen converts, who followed St. Paul) had established nothing of the sort.† But as it was not supposed that the apostles had entirely coincided in such external things, or thought that uniformity in these things was necessary, it was thought that differences in these respects might continue without prejudice to Christian communion and unity. As a proof that the bond of unity was not broken by this, nor by other differences, it would seem, of still greater importance, Anicetus allowed Polycarp to celebrate the communion in his Church instead of himself.

In later years, about A. D. 171, this difference again became the subject of controversy: Melito of Sardis, writing apparently *for* the Jewish-Christian custom, and Apollinaris of Hierapolis, *against*

* At all events we may conclude from the words of Irenæus, recorded by Eusebius, that the determination of the controversy about Easter was not the object of Polycarp's journey to Rome; no controversies were as yet in existence on the subject, and it was only incidentally, in touching on other controversies, that this was also treated of. It is not at all clear either, although it is possible, that a deliberation on those other points of difference was the object of this journey. More importance has been attached at times to this journey, than is warranted by history.

† It is a pity that Eusebius has not given us the whole of the letter of Irenæus; all depends on what we supply to the words *την* and *μη την*; something must be supplied, which formed the whole subject of the controversy, and which makes its appearance in the letter of Polycarpus of Ephesus, preserved by Eusebius,* namely, *την τσσαριακαιδεατην του πασχα*; i. e., the celebration of the 14th day of Nisan, as the day of the Passover; and it depended on the observance of this day, whether the Passover was kept or not. If a man did not trouble himself about the 14th day of Nisan, he considered the old feast of the Passover utterly abolished, and deduced his Christian paschal festival from a totally different view of the case.

* [Euseb. v. 24. The notes of Valesius on this letter are very valuable: I have already referred to them on the subject of fasting on Saturday. —H. J. R.]

it.* But still there was no rupture of the Churches on this account: individual Christians out of Churches, where the Passover was celebrated after the Jewish notions, found a brotherly reception in Rome, were allowed to celebrate the Passover there according to their own opinions, and were still admitted to the communion. Things remained in this state till the time of Victor, bishop of Rome.†

But under this bishop, about A. D. 190, the controversy broke out afresh: on the one side was ranged the Church of Rome, in agreement with those of Cæsarea in Palestine, Jerusalem, Tyre, and Alexandria; on the other were the Churches of Asia Minor, at the head of which was Polycrates, the bishop of Ephesus.‡

The points which were controverted on this occasion, were the following:

(1.) Must the yearly Passover be retained, and must we, therefore, follow the Jews in regard to the time of celebrating this festival?

The opponents of this opinion—at least Apollinaris, Clement of Alexandria, and Hippolytus, according to the fragments preserved in the Alexandrian Chronicle, which we are not entitled to declare spurious—maintained the following position: That the last supper of Jesus was no Passover; for, according to the account in the Gospel of St. John, Jesus kept it on the 13th Nisan, and on the following day, which was appointed for the Jewish Passover, He offered up that sacrifice for mankind, which was typified by the Passover, and thence there is the less reason to suppose it possible that Christians should celebrate any festival of the Passover.

(2.) When the Jewish-Christian party appointed the day after the Passover for

the commemoration of the sufferings of Christ, let it fall on what day of the week it might; the other party answered, it must *always* be on a Friday.

(3.) When the one party appointed the third day after the Passover for the commemoration of the resurrection, let it fall on what day of the week it might; the other party settled that this must take place on a Sunday.

(4.) While the one party was keeping its festival of the Passover, the other party took an exactly opposite turn; for they were at this very time preparing themselves for the celebration of the sufferings of Christ, by means of a day of penitence and fasting; and this time of contrition only ended with their partaking of the communion on the morning of the feast of the resurrection.*

The Romish bishop, animated by the hierarchical spirit which we have before observed in the Romish Church, renounced communion with the Churches of Asia Minor, in consequence of this insignificant difference; but this unchristian conduct must have experienced a strong opposition from the unevangelical spirit which then existed. Irenæus wrote him a letter in the name of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne, in which he blamed this conduct severely. He holds up the example of his predecessor Anicetus to shame Victor, and declares to him, "We live together in peace, without regarding these differences; and the difference in our regulations about the fasts, makes our agreement in faith shine forth more clearly." In the same letter, or in another work composed in consequence of these controversies, he says, "The apostles commanded us to judge no man in

* Euseb. iv. 26.

† From the circumstance that Irenæus, in his letter to Victor, represents only the Romish bishops before Soter as models of toleration, I formerly concluded, that under this latter (Soter) things had immediately been changed; but if we observe that in Irenæus the words *οἱ (πρὸς) Σατωργος πρεσβύτεροι* and *οἱ πρὸς σου πρεσβύτεροι* correspond to each other, we shall see clearly that no particular weight can be attached to the first expression. Irenæus only means to say thus much: this difference of opinion, and therefore, this toleration, did not first begin under the later bishops, but were in existence before Soter.

‡ It might, perhaps, surprise us to find the Churches of Palestine on this side, but we must recollect that the Church of Cæsarea, from the very beginning, had consisted chiefly of heathen converts, and that the Church of Jerusalem had assumed more of the Heathen-Christian form during the reign of Hadrian.

* The *διαταγὴς ὑποτασσάμενοι*, quoted by Epiphanius, Hæres. lxx. § 11, which appear to be very different from those that remain to us, wished to moderate this opposition, and to defend the followers of the Jewish-Christian custom against the reproach of Judaism; and, therefore, they represented the case as if the Jewish Passover (comp. Deut. xvi. 3.) were a meal of humiliation, and the Christian a festival of joy; as if the fast of the Christians, on the following day, on which the Jews had crucified the Redeemer, exactly corresponded to the Jewish meal of joy. The apostles say, "While the Jews are holding their feast, you must fast and mourn on their account, because they crucified Christ on the day of their feast; but while they are fasting, eating their unleavened bread with bitter herbs, you are to hold your feast." *Ὅταν ἱερεὺς ἐλάχωνται, ὑμεῖς νηστεύοντες ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν πειθεσθε, ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐκείνῃ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐσταύρωσαν, καὶ ὅταν αὐτοὶ πειθεσθῇ, τὰ ἀζύματα ἑσθόντες ἐν πικρίᾳ, ὑμεῖς ἐλάχεσθε.*

respect of meats or drink, or fasts, new moons, or Sabbaths. Whence, then, come controversies? whence divisions? We celebrate feasts, but in the heaven of wickedness and evil, because we divide the Church of God, and observe outward matters, while we leave the weightier matters of love and faith untouched. We have, nevertheless, learned from the prophets, that such feasts and such fasts are displeasing to the Lord." We observed before, that a fast formed the introduction to the Passover, and this was the only fast formerly established by the Church. The necessity of this fast was deduced from Matt. ix. 15, but it was by a carnal interpretation of the passage, and an application of it quite contrary to its real sense.* The duration of this fast, however, was not determined; the imitation of the temptation of our Lord for forty days introduced the custom of fasting forty hours in some places, which afterwards was extended to forty days,† and thus the fast of forty days, the *quadragesimal fast* arose.

The festival of *Pentecost* (*Whitsuntide*) was closely connected with that of the resurrection, and this was dedicated to commemorating the first visible effects of the operations of the glorified Christ upon human nature, now also ennobled by him, the lively proofs of his resurrection and reception into glory; and therefore, Origen joins the festivals of the resurrection and of Pentecost together as one whole.‡ The means of transition from an Old Testament festival to one befitting the New Testament, were here near at hand. The first-fruits of harvest in the kingdom of nature—the first fruits of harvest in the kingdom of grace—the law of the *letter* from Mount Sinai—the new law of the

Spirit from the heavenly Jerusalem. This festival originally embraced the whole season of fifty days from Easter, and was celebrated like a Sunday, that is to say, no fasts were kept during the whole of it, and men prayed standing, and not kneeling, and perhaps, also in some places assemblies of the Church were held, and the communion was celebrated every day.* Afterwards two peculiar points of time, the ascension of Christ and the effusion of the Holy Spirit, were selected from this whole interval.

These were the only festivals generally celebrated at that time, as the passage cited from Origen proves. The fundamental notion of the whole Christian life, which referred every thing to the suffering, the resurrection, and the glorification of Christ, as well as the adherence, or, on the other hand, the opposition to the Jewish celebration of festivals, were the cause, that these were the only general festivals. The notion of a *birthday festival* was far from the ideas of the Christians of this period in general; they looked upon the second birth as the true birth of men. The case must have been somewhat different with the birth of the Redeemer; human nature was to be sanctified by him from its first development; but then this last notion could not at first come so prominently forward among the early Christians, because so many of them were first converted to Christianity when well advanced in years, after some decisive excitement of their life, but then it may have entered generally into domestic life, though at first gradually. Nevertheless, we find in this period apparently one trace of Christmas as a festival. Its history is intimately connected with the history of a kindred festival: the festival of the *Manifestation of Jesus* in his character of Messiah, his consecration to the office of Messiah by the baptism of John, and the beginning of his public ministry, as the Messiah, which afterwards called the *ἑορτὴ τῶν ἐπιφανειῶν, ἢ τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ*. We find in later times that these festivals extended themselves in opposite directions, that of Christmas spreading from the west to east,

* The passage does not relate to the time of Christ's suffering, but to the time when he should be with his disciples no more. As long as they enjoyed his society they were to give themselves up to joy, and to be disturbed in it by no forced asceticism. But a time of sorrow was to follow this time of joy, although only for a season, after which a time of higher and imperishable joy, in invisible communion with Him, was to follow. John xvi. 22.

† Irenæus ap. Euseb. v. 24.

‡ Origen, c. Cels. viii. c. xxii., (p. 392, ed. Spenc.) where he places the yearly festivals of the *πασχα* and the *πεντηκστή*, with the weekly festivals, the *παρασκευαί* and the *κυριακαί*, and considering the festival of the resurrection as the beginning of that of Whitsuntide, he says, "He who can truly assert, 'God hath raised us again with him, and placed us in the kingdom of heaven,' keeps one continual Passover."

* From Tertullian, de Oratone, c. xxiii., where he had said that men abstain from worldly business on Sunday, and where he afterwards attributes the whole solemnities of Sunday to the Pentecost, we might be led to suppose that this abstinence from worldly business lasted during the whole time of Pentecost, which is hard to believe. In his treatise de Idololatria, c. xiv., where he wishes to restrain Christians from participating in heathen feasts, he

and the other from east to west.* Clement of Alexandria merely relates, that the Gnostic sect of the Basilidians celebrated the festival of the Epiphany at Alexandria, in his time. We can hardly suppose that this sect invented the festival, although they may have had some dogmatical reasons for celebrating it, for it is highly improbable that the Catholic Church should have afterwards received a festival from the Gnostics; and these Gnostics most probably received it from the Jewish-Christian Churches in Palestine or Syria. It had apparently a Jewish-Christian origin, for this time of our Saviour's life would appear the most important to the notions of the Jewish-Christians; and the Gnostics would afterwards explain it according to their own ideas. Clement speaks at the same time of those who attempted to fix not only the year, but even *the day* of our Saviour's birth; but he appears to blame this proceeding, as an idle and unfruitful pursuit, in which they could arrive at no certainty. He does not, however, say, that they celebrated the day which they attempted to fix as a festival; but it is still probable that if they reckoned the day so accu-

says, "Excerpe singulas solemnitates nationum, Pentecostum implere non poterunt." The first trace of a limitation of the Pentecostal festival to one day, is in the 43d Canon of the Council of Elvira. This canon is, we confess, very obscure; but the most natural interpretation of it is by supposing that some persons had selected only the festival of the ascension out of the whole Pentecost. On the contrary, under the name of Pentecost, the council only understood the festival of the Effusion of the Holy Spirit, and ordered that the 50th day after Easter should be kept holy, and accused the first mentioned party, who had only made a false application of the name Pentecost, of having departed from the authority of Scripture, "Ut cuncti diem Pentecostes post Pascha celebremus, non quadragesimam, nisi quinquagesimam."

* The feast of the Epiphany, as the festival of the baptism of Christ, was held in great reverence at the end of the fourth century at *Antioch*, while the introduction of the festival of Christmas, which came from the west, found great opposition there. In many of the eastern Churches, where Christmas was first introduced at the end of the fourth century, or even later, but where the festival of the baptism of Christ had long been known, they joined the two festivals together afterwards; as in the western Churches they gave a somewhat different turn to the new festival of the Epiphany, which came to them from the east. The Donatists rejected the Epiphany, as an innovation that came from the eastern Churches: "Quia nec orientali ecclesiam, ubi apparuit illa stella, communicant." Augustin. Sermo 202. § 2. I mention this now rather prematurely, but merely in some degree as a proof of the supposition I have thrown out, and I shall have to enlarge on the matter in the succeeding period.

ately, they celebrated it as a festival, and the context of the passage in which it is mentioned seems to indicate that Clement had some meaning of this sort.* But then this could not have been done by the Gnostics, of whom he speaks immediately afterwards, for the celebration of the birthday of our Saviour would have been in flat contradiction to the rest of their system.

We proceed now to consider the several parts of the Christian worship.

(d.) *On the several parts of the Christian Worship.*

The character of a spiritual worship of God distinguished the Christian worship from that of other religions, which consisted in symbolical pageantry and lifeless ceremonies. As a general elevation of the spirit and the heart to God, as well as the enlightenment of the spirit and the sanctification of the heart, were the object of *every thing* in this religion, instruction and edification, through a common study of the Divine word, and through prayer in common, were the leading features in the Christian worship. And in this respect it might in its form adhere to the arrangements made about the congregations in the Jewish synagogues, in which also the element of a spiritual religious worship was the prevailing ingredient. As the reading of portions of the Old Testament had formed the groundwork of religious instruction in the Jewish synagogues, this custom also passed into the Christian congregations. First the Old Testament, and especially the prophetic parts of it, were read as things that pointed to the Messiah; then followed *the Gospels*, and after that *the Epistles of the apostles*.

The reading of the Scriptures was of

* Clemens, *Stromat.* i. p. 310: εἰσι δὲ αἱ περισσώτερον τῇ γενέσει τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμεῶν ὡς μᾶλλον τοῖς ἔτεσι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ προστιθέμεντες; αἱ δὲ οὗτο βρασιλεύουσι καὶ τῷ βαπτισμῶτι αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν ἑβραΐζουσιν.

† [The Christian festivals, as compared with those of the Jews and the heathen, are succinctly considered in an essay by Dr. Ullman, appended to *Creuzer's Symbolik*, vol. iv. There are some interesting remarks in this essay, but it does not profess to treat the subject with chronological accuracy. The work of Augusti is the grand storehouse of information on this point. *Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Christlichen Archäologie*, Leips. 8 vols. 1817—1826: For those who do not read German, the work of Bingham gives the fullest account of these matters. The little treatise also of Thorndike on the Service of God at Religious Assemblies, is excellent, but it is, unfortunately, a scarce book.—H. J. R.]

still greater consequence then, because it was desirable that every Christian should be acquainted with them, and yet, by reason of the rarity and dearness of manuscripts, and the poverty of a great proportion of the Christians—or, perhaps, also, because all were not able to read—the Bible itself could not be put into the hands of all. Frequent *hearing* was, therefore, with many to supply the place of their own *reading*. The Scriptures were, therefore, read in the language which all could understand, and that was, in most parts of the Roman empire, the Greek or the Latin. In very early times different translations of the Bible into Latin were in existence; as every one, who knew a little of Greek, found it needful to make the word of God his own in the language to which he was accustomed.* Where the Greek or the Latin language was understood only by a part of the Church, that is to say, by the educated classes, while the rest understood only their native language, as was the case in many Egyptian and Syrian towns, Church interpreters† were appointed, as in the Jewish synagogues, and they immediately translated what had been read into the language of the country, so that it might be intelligible to all.‡

After the reading of the Scripture there followed, as there had previously in the Jewish synagogues, short, and at first *very simple addresses* in familiar language, the momentary effusions of the heart, which contained an explanation and application of what had just been read. Justin Martyr expresses himself thus on the subject:§ “After the reading of the Scriptures, the president (ὁ πρεσβυτερος,) instructs the people in a discourse, and induces them to the imitation of these good examples.” Among the Greeks, where the taste was more rhetorical, the *sermon* from the very earliest times was of a more lengthened kind, and formed a very important part of the service.||

* Augustin. de Doctrina Christiana, lib ii. c. 2.

† The תורגמנים Dragomans.

‡ Ἑρμηνευται γλωσσης εἰς γλωσσαν, ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἀναγνώσει, ἢ ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς. Epiphani. Expos. Fid. Cathol. c. xxi. Procopius, who suffered martyrdom under the persecution of Dioclesian, united in his own person at Scythopolis in Palestine, the offices of a reader, an exorcist, and an interpreter (out of the Greek into the Syriac.) See his Acta Martyr.

§ Apol. ii. [Apol. i. § 77.]

|| When Sozomen in the first half of the fifth century says: (Hist. Eccl. vii, 19,) that in the

Singing also passed from the Jewish service into that of the Christian Church. St. Paul exhorts the early Churches to sing spiritual songs. What was used for this purpose were partly the Psalms of the Old Testament, and partly *songs composed with this very object*, especially songs of praise and thanks to God and Christ; and these, we know, Pliny found to be customary among the Christians. In the controversies with the Unitarians, about the end of the second century, and the beginning of the third, the hymns, in which from early times Christ had been honoured as a God, were appealed to. The power of Church singing over the heart was soon recognised, and hence those who wished to propagate any peculiar opinions, like Bardesanes or Paul of Samosata, endeavoured to spread them by means of hymns.

In compliance with the infirmities of human nature, composed as it is of sense and spirit, the Divine Founder of the Church, beside his word, ordained *two outward signs*, as symbols of the invisible communion, which existed between him,—the Head of the spiritual body,—and the faithful, its members; and also of the connection of *these members*, as *with him*, so also *with one another*. These were visible means to represent the invisible, heavenly benefits to be bestowed on the members of this body through him, and while man received in faith the sign presented to his senses, the enjoyment of that heavenly communion and those heavenly advantages was to gladden his inward heart. As nothing in all Christianity and in the whole Christian life stands isolated, but all forms *one whole*, proceeding from one centre, therefore, also that which this outward sign represented must be something which should continue through the whole of the inward Christian life, something which, spreading itself forth from this one moment over the whole Christian life, should be capable of being especially excited again and promoted in return, by the influence of

Romish Church there was no preaching at all, this must not be referred by any means to the first times; but, if the account be true, we must gather from it, that the prevalence of sensuous shows, and liturgical rights, had banished the sermon, in later days. But an Oriental might easily be misled by false accounts from the West. And the source of this error might perhaps be, that the sermon did not occupy so prominent a place in the service in the Romish Church, as in the Greek.

isolated moments. Thus, baptism was to be the sign of a first entrance into communion with the Redeemer, and with the Church, the first appropriation of those advantages, which Christ has bestowed on man, namely, of the forgiveness of sins and the inward union of life, which proceeds from it, as well as of the participation in a sanctifying Divine Spirit of life. And the Lord's Supper was to be the sign of a constant continuance in this communion, in the appropriation and enjoyment of these advantages; and thus were represented the essentials of the whole inward Christian life, in its earliest rise and its continued progress. The whole peculiar spirit of Christianity was particularly stamped upon the mode in which these external things were administered, and the mode of their administration in return exerted a powerful influence on the whole nature of the Christian worship. The connection of the moments, represented by these signs, with the whole Christian life, the connection of inward and Divine things with the outward act, was present to the lively Christian feelings of the first Christians; but it was here prejudicial in a practical point of view, as we observed before in regard to the doctrines about the Church, that men neglected to separate properly, and distinguish in their ideas, the things that came to their feelings in close connection with one another.

We shall speak first of baptism.

Originally, as it was of great consequence that the Church should extend itself rapidly, those (among the Jews) who acknowledged their belief in Jesus as the Messiah, or (among the heathen) who acknowledged their belief in the *one God and in Jesus the Messiah*, were immediately baptized, as appears from the New Testament. It gradually came to be thought necessary to give those, who wished to be received into the Christian Church, a more careful instruction by way of preparation, and to subject them to a more severe trial. This whole class of persons were called "auditores," *κατηχουμένοι*, and these names implied that they were persons, who were receiving a preparatory instruction in Christianity, and who as yet were only in a state to listen to the Holy Scriptures, when they were read, and to the sermons. The time of probation must have been different according to the different condition of individuals; but the council of Elvira determined generally that it should last two

years. In Origen we find two classes of these catechumens distinctly separated from each other.

1. Those who were for the first time receiving private instruction.

2. Those who were admitted to the congregations, and were under immediate preparation for baptism.*

There was no distinct Church officer for the private instruction of the catechumens; at Carthage it was customary to devolve this duty, after a previous probation, on some person, who was distinguished among the Church readers; at Alexandria, where men of education, even learned men, and persons accustomed to philosophical thought, often presented themselves for instruction in Christianity, it was necessary that the catechists themselves should be men of a learned education, and such as might be in a condition to remove the objections and the doubts of the heathen; this office, therefore, was there filled even by learned laymen, who were capable of it, and these catechists formed the foundation afterwards of an important theological school.†

There is found in the New Testament‡ itself some trace of a *confession of faith*, which was made at baptism, and these confessions were afterwards enlarged, so as to oppose Jews, heathens and heretics.

* Origen (c. Cels. lib. iii. c. 54.) clearly distinguishes those who were at first instructed *κλωιδίζου*, and those, who after a probation were first admitted into the congregation, and had their peculiar place assigned them, *ταγμα των ὀρτι ἐρχομένων και εἰσαρχομένων και οὕτως το συμβολισμὸν του ὁποῦ καταβαθμὴ ἀνταφύρουν*. One is led to inquire, whether there was also a third class in the time of Origen, which his obscure expressions render doubtful. I formerly thought that this was the case; but, on a second investigation, I find my opinion to have been unfounded. I thought that the *ἀμεχετανόντες* among the baptized persons, might be there mentioned in the character of Penitentes and distinguished from those before brought forward. The words, *οἱ δ' ἔστιν αὐτῶν ἀσχαρῆ*, which occur a little after, appear rather to refer to what goes before. The *και* indicates no distinction, and is not to be translated: "The conduct *also* which they pursue with regard to the vicious members of the Church:" but it refers to the following *και*, and is to be translated thus, "And the conduct which they pursue, *as well with* regard to the vicious in general, as with regard to the *ἐκκληστανόντες* in particular," &c.

† We shall have more to say on this subject, when we treat of the school of Alexandria.

‡ See 1 Pet. iii. 21. 1 Tim. vi. 12. The latter passage is not so decidedly applicable, because it may relate to a confession made by Timothy from the fulness of his heart on a particular occasion, when he was chosen and consecrated as a missionary to the heathen.

These confessions of faith were supposed to include the essentials of Christianity, in which *all* Churches agreed. Men were persuaded, that the doctrine, expressed in these confessions of faith, descended from the tradition of the apostles, that it was the doctrine, which they had preached both "vivâ voce," and by their writings, but no one imagined, that the apostles had composed any such confession in so many words. In *this* sense it was called the *κηρυγμα ἀποστολικον*, or the *παραδοσις ἀποστολική*; and the misunderstanding of this name afterwards* produced the fiction, that *the apostles* themselves had literally composed such a confession. This confession of faith was then pre-eminently named *symbolum*. The inquiry suggests itself whether, when men made use of the word "symbolum" in this case, they originally intended to use it in its general acceptance of "sign," with the notion that the words of this confession were the characteristic, representative sign of the Christian faith, or whether they alluded to its more restricted sense, in reference to the *συμβολον στρατιωτικον* or "tessera militaris," the watchword of the Christian soldier communicated to each man at his first entrance into the service of Christ (the militia Christi.) The first is the most probable, as far as we are able to trace the history of the phrase, because, when it is first applied to baptism, it is applied in its general sense.†

The word *συμβολον*, "symbolum," which has so many meanings, might introduce many different religious allusions; the predominant one soon became that, which belonged to the favourite comparison of the first Christians between their calling and a 'militia;' in the Alexandrian Church, on the contrary, where

men were more ready to hunt after analogies with the heathen mysteries, which they did sometimes in a manner by no means suited to the simplicity of the Gospel, they rather caught at an illusion to the signal-word* of the initiated. Others thought of another meaning of the word "symbolum," namely, a commercial partnership,† so that they imagined it to be the covenant-token of a spiritual community. The fable about an apostolic confession of faith afterwards paved the way for a notion, that the confession had been formed by contributions from each of the apostles, and then they used the word *συμβολον* or *συμβολη* in a different sense, namely, that of a contribution, to indicate a confession, which was composed from the contributions of the several apostles.

This confession of faith was imparted to the catechumens as containing the essentials of Christianity: many who embraced the faith after much inquiry, and the comparison of different religious writings, as well as from their own study of the Bible, of course, needed it not as a means of learning the first principles of Christianity. The only service it could be of to them was, to create in them a persuasion, that the Church, which they were about to join, coincided in its doctrines with the Holy Scriptures, from which they had drawn their faith. Clement of Alexandria accordingly desires the heathen to persuade themselves, by inquiries into the Holy Scriptures, what the true Christian religion is, and where it is to be found, saying that it only needs the use of their faculties, to distinguish the appearance from the reality, the real true doctrine that is deduced from the Holy Scripture from that which has merely a semblance of being so.‡

There were, nevertheless, others, who first learned what Christianity is from the confession of faith and the instruction which accompanied it, and who did not

* Rufin. Exposit. Symbol. Apostol.

† Thus Tertullian, de Pœnitentia, c. vi., says, that baptism, which by its own nature should be a "symbolum vitæ," became a "symbolum mortis" to those who received it without the proper dispositions. Also "symbolum" is used by him (Contra. Marcion. lib. v. c. 1.) for a sign or token generally. This is done also in the letter of Firmilianus of Cæsarea, where the "symbolum trinitatis" is expressly distinguished from the confession of faith used as denoting the distinguishing form of baptism. (Baptismus) "cui nec symbolum trinitatis nec interrogatio legitima et ecclesiastica defuit." And besides, Cyprian, Ep. 76, ad Magnum, says, "eodem symbolo baptizare," to baptise with the same sign. Perhaps this word at first only denoted the "formula" of baptism, and was afterwards transferred to the confession of faith.

* Stromat. v. p. 585. The *λειτουργια* is compared with the *καθαρσια* of the heathen mysteries.

† Augustin. Sermon, 212. "Symbolum inter se faciunt mercatores, quo eorum societas pacto fidei teneatur et vestra societas est commercium spiritualium."

‡ Stromat. vii. p. 754, 755. Δι' αὐτῶν τῶν γραφῶν ἐκμανθάνειν ἀποδεικτικῶς—διαικρίνεν τὴν κατὰ λαμπρὴν θεωρίαν (by perceptive intuition)* καὶ τοῦ κυριωτάτου λογισμοῦ (deepest thought) τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἀπὸ τοῦ φαινομένου. [Pott. 888. Sylb. 320.]

* ANSCHAUUNG.

arrive till afterwards at a state in which they could compare what they had received from the teaching of men with the Holy Scriptures.* Such were the persons of whom Heracleon, the Gnostic, said,* "They are first induced to believe on the Saviour, being brought to this faith by men, but when they come themselves to his words, they believe no longer on the mere testimony of men, but for the truth's sake." Clement of Alexandria† says also, "The first saving change from heathenism is *faith*, and faith is a short confession (so to speak) of the most urgent truths of religion. On this foundation knowledge is built, which is a settled conviction of the truths received through faith, by demonstrations taken from Scripture." Others, who were entirely uneducated and unable to read, could only learn from the mouths of others, and could never come to the knowledge of the Scriptures themselves; and yet the Divine truth which they received from the mouths of others, preserved themselves independently in their hearts, as a Divine power.

Where the word once found entrance, another, and not human teacher, never failed to accompany it; and that was the Holy Ghost. "Many of us," says Clement of Alexandria, "have received the Divine doctrine by faith, without the use of writings, through the power of God."

The few words of this confession of faith needed not, of course, to be communicated *in writing*; they were to pass into the heart of the catechumen, to go from living lips into his life, and to be declared by him as his own firm persuasion. But when men were inclined to introduce a higher notion into this custom of oral instruction in the faith, the origin of which is so simply explained, the idea was near at hand, that the Christian doctrine could not enter into a man from without, by means of letters, but that it must be written down in the heart, and there grow like some living thing. (Jer. xxxi. 33.)‡ In after times, a love of mystery, quite foreign to the simplicity of the Gospel, which first arose in the Alexandrian Church, from its connection with the heathen mysteries, and from the influence

of a Neo-Platonic mysticism, deduced the following meaning from this custom: "That what is most holy could not be committed to writing, nor should it be produced before the uninitiated, and thus become desecrated;"* and this they believed, in spite of the fact, that the holiest traditions of Divine doctrine, the Scriptures, might yet come into the hands of every heathen; and that the apologists themselves had no scruple in bringing forward the most sacred doctrines of Christianity to the heathens. When our Saviour warned us not to throw pearls before swine, this was a recommendation not to preach Divine things to men who are the slaves of their senses, at improper times and places; but it was by no means an exhortation to withdraw holy things carefully from the eyes of the profane multitude. The very nature of holy things is such, that they need fear no desecration; they remain what they are, however men's minds may be affected towards them; and man, by mocking that which is holy, can only desecrate that portion of his own nature which is akin to holiness.

This confession of faith was made by the catechumens at baptism, in answers to separate questions.†

The declaration of a moral engagement was also connected with the declaration of faith. The view then taken of baptism was this: it was supposed that the person to be baptized was departing out of the kingdom of evil, of darkness, and of Satan, whom he had hitherto served

* The same mystical fancies and ceremonies, to which men attributed more than was originally intended by them, afterwards gave room for the invention of a sort of indefinite and unhistorical notion of a "disciplina arcani," from which, just because it was indefinite and groundless, men could create exactly whatever they pleased.

† According to the most natural interpretation of 1 Peter iii. 21, it contains an allusion to the questions proposed at baptism. Ἐπερωτημαί is put metonymice, for the pledge that followed the questions. Tertullian, de Corona Milit. c. iii. "Amplius aliquid *respondentes*, quam Dominus in Evangelio determinavit." And again, Tertullian, de Resurrectione, c. xlviii., says of baptism, "Anima *responsione* sancitur." The council of eighty-seven bishops, in the time of Cyprian, says of these questions, "Sacramentum interrogare." ("Sacramentum" is here synonymous with "doctrina sacra.") In a letter of Dionysius of Alexandria, which is found in Eusebius, (vii. 9,) the following expression occurs: Ἐπερωτησθε καὶ ὑποκρισθε. Cyprian, Ep. lxxvi. ad Magnum, [Ep. lxxix. ed. Ox.] quotes one of these questions: "Credis remissionem peccatorum et vitam eternam per sanctam ecclesiam?"

* Origen, l. xiii. in Johann. § 52.

† Clemens Alex. Stromat. i. p. 319. Οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀνεὶ γραμμάτων δυνάμει τὸν πρὸς Θεοῦ διὰ πίστεως παρασχετὸν λόγον. [Pott, 376. Sylb. 137.]

‡ So Augustin. p. 212. "Hujus rei significandæ causa audiendo symbolum discitur nec in tabulis vel in aliqua materia, sed in corde scribitur."

as a heathen, when devoted to his lusts, and that he was now entering into the kingdom of God. He was, therefore, solemnly to renounce all communion with the kingdom in which he had formerly served. He gave his hand to the bishop, and pledged himself* to renounce the devil and all his pomps) among which, at that time, the heathen plays and shows were particularly intended) and his angels; and this latter declaration was probably owing to the idea, that the heathen gods were evil spirits, which had seduced them.† This pledge was considered, according to the favourite comparison of these days, as the Christian soldier's oath, the "*sacramentum militiæ Christianæ*," by which the Christian bound himself to live and to fight as the "*miles Dei et Christi*."

This form of renunciation, which we find in the second century, must be carefully distinguished from *exorcism*, which could not have proceeded so early from the ideas of *Christian* antiquity. The notion of a deliverance from the power of the evil spirit, in a religious and moral point of view, of a departure from out of the kingdom of wickedness, and of a participation, through the new birth, in a Divine life, which should be victorious over the evil principle; this notion, we acknowledge, suits the original and essentially Christian ideas of the earliest times; but then, the whole act of baptism was to be a sensible representation of this idea, and therefore, there was no necessity to bring forward any thing individual and detached, to denote and effect that, which was denoted and represented as effective for the believer by the whole act of baptism. The case is slightly different with regard to the formula of renunciation, because this referred, like the confession of faith, to that which man must do *for his own part*, in order to become a partaker in the blessings of baptism. As faith and practice are so closely connected in Christianity, this renunciation followed immediately after the confession of faith. We find, therefore, in the second century, still no trace of any formula for banishing the evil spirit. But when the taste for magic, and the confusion between outward and inward, became more and

more predominant, as men imagined an actual possession of the unbelievers by the evil spirit, and invented a proper magical formula for banishing him, and as men were always glad to increase the outward ceremonial in religious affairs, so it came to pass, that the formula of exorcism, which was used in the case of the energumens or possessed, was introduced into the baptism of all heathens. Perhaps also another circumstance was closely connected with this change, namely, that in general a mere lifeless mechanical act, attached to a particular office in the Church, had taken the place of the real exorcising, which in earlier times had been a free grace or charisma. In the apostolic constitutions we find neither the one nor the other. The first unequivocal trace of exorcism in baptism, is found in the acts of the council of Carthage, composed of eighty-seven or eighty-five bishops, A. D. 256.*

As far as regards the *outward* form of baptism, this, as well as so much of Christianity beside, is deduced from Judaism, whether it be an imitation of the baptism of proselytes, since this already existed among the Jews, or whether it be taken from their common habit of outward purification. John the Baptist, in opposition to the "*opus operatum*" of the Jewish lustrations, brought forward his baptism, as a sign of preparation for the approaching appearance of the Messiah and his kingdom,—a sign of repentance, by which man was to make himself capable of reception into the kingdom of God. Christ also retained this existing form of baptism, as a symbol of consecration for the approaching kingdom of the Messiah, and he ennobled it by the new and higher spirit, which he imparted to it, to which John the Baptist had already pointed. Instead of a baptism into the hope of a Messiah, who was about to appear among the people and

* The North African bishop, Cæcilius of Bija, here supposes, in delivering his sentence, that exorcism belongs essentially to the integrity of baptism. The sentence of the fanatical Vincentius, bishop of Thibari, was, that the "*manuum impositio in exorcismo*," must precede the baptism of a heretic. But from the lxxvith [lxxix. ed. Ox.] epistle of Cyprian, addressed to Magnus, we cannot prove the existence of exorcism in baptism generally, because there the subject of discussion is exorcism of the energumens, and Cyprian is inclined to show that baptism is far more powerful than exorcism. "*Spiritus nequam ultra remanere non possunt in hominis corpore, in quo baptizato et sanctificato incipit Spiritus sanctus habitare.*"

* According to Tertullian, de C. M. c. iii., this happened twice—first, before he was fit for baptism, at his first introduction into the congregations and then again at his baptism.

† Ἀποστασθαι τὸν διάβολον καὶ τὴν πικρὴν καὶ τοὺς ἄγγέλους αὐτοῦ.

reveal himself to them, men were now to be baptized in the name of the Messiah, who had already appeared, and who was working by Divine power; instead of a negative kind of baptism to repentance, by way of preparation, the baptism of the Spirit was to make its appearance as the symbol of an inward renovation and elevation, by means of that communication of Divine life, which was to be shed upon this baptism from the Messiah, as the Redeemer of man estranged from God, and the founder of the kingdom of heaven among mankind, whom he had redeemed. As long as the fulness of the Divine nature was hidden under the guise of an earthly and human existence, this Divine efficacy of the Messiah did not reveal itself, the Divine life was then *his own* exclusive possession among men. As He himself declared, the seed must first fall into the earth and die in order to bring forth much *fruit*. It was only after He should have ascended into heaven, that the glorified Son of man would be able to bestow that baptism of the Spirit in its Divine and invisible efficacy. It was then that the true sense of the Christian baptism was fully expanded.

We certainly cannot prove, that when Christ commanded his disciples to baptise in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, He intended to establish a particular formula of baptism. The purpose of expressing the true character of a consecration to the kingdom of God, and of declaring in a few words the nature of his Divine efficacy among the human race, and the nature of his new religion, was decidedly of more importance with Him, than that of giving a certain form of words, which should last for all ages. He wished to show the dependence of the whole life on the one God, who had revealed Himself through his Son as the Father of fallen man, and who imparts his Spirit to sanctify man, whom his Son has redeemed; as well as to point to the true worship of God, as He had revealed Himself through his Son, in a heart sanctified by the Divine life, which is shed forth from Him. The proper nature of the peculiar theism of Christianity (God in Christ and through Christ) is briefly set forth in these words. On that very account, therefore, these words were also most eminently calculated to serve for a formula of baptism, inasmuch as the essential character and relations of the Christian consecration were so clearly set forth in them. We cannot, however,

prove from the use of the expressions βαπτισμος εἰς ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, εἰς Χριστόν, *baptism into the name of Christ, into Christ*, that in the apostolic age this shorter formula was commonly used instead of the fuller one. For in the passages, where this description of baptism is met with, no verbal formula of baptism is meant to be given at all, but only the characteristic aim of baptism is meant to be brought forward, the expression of a belief in Jesus, as the Messiah, and an engagement to live in faith and obedience to Him. It may be said, perhaps, that the revival of this simple formula of baptism by Marcion, is a proof that it was the original, and that the shorter one was of later date, for Marcion (see below, in the history of sects,) was desirous in respect to every thing to separate that which was original and apostolic from the additions of the Church in later times. But this argument is not to be depended on, for Marcion may have drawn conclusions from the common expressions of St. Paul on baptism, without any other historical grounds, and have been induced, solely from these conclusions, to accuse the Church in this case, as well as in other things, of an adulteration of the original simplicity of the Gospel; and there may be reasons, why his own system of doctrine led him to favour the more simple formula. We should have better reason to conclude, from the respect which men showed in the Romish Church for this formula in the controversies which we are shortly about to mention, that much might be said for its antiquity. At all events, the fuller formula, when properly understood, was nothing more than the development of that which was implicitly contained in the shorter form. Justin Martyr quotes the former as that which was generally prevalent in his day.

Baptism was originally administered by immersion, and many of the comparisons of St. Paul allude to this form of its administration: the immersion is a symbol of death, of being buried with Christ, the coming forth from the water is a symbol of a resurrection with Christ, and both taken together represent the second birth, the death of the old man and a resurrection to a new life. An exception was made only in the case of sick persons, which was necessary, and they received baptism by sprinkling. Many superstitious persons imagined, from attaching too much importance to externals, that

baptism by sprinkling was not valid, and therefore they distinguished those who were so baptized from other Christians, by the name of "clinici."* Cyprian expresses himself strongly against this fancy:† "The breast of the believer is washed in one way, and the soul of man is purified by the merit of faith in another. In the sacraments of salvation, when necessity compels and God gives permission, the Divine service, though abridged, confers its whole efficacy on the believer.‡ Or if any one supposes that they have obtained nothing because they have only been sprinkled with the water of salvation, let them not be deceived so far as to be baptized again, if they recover their health. But if those, who have already been sanctified by the baptism of the Church, are not to be baptized again, why should their faith be troubled, and the grace of God made a reproach to them. Have they, then, obtained the grace of God, but obtained it with a shorter and a deficient measure of the gift of God and of the Holy Spirit, so that they may be reckoned as Christians, but not placed on the same footing with the rest? Nay, then, the Holy Spirit is not given by measure, but is shed on the believer in its whole fulness. For if the day dawns on all alike, and the sun sheds an equal light on all, how much more does Christ, the true sun and the true day, impart to all in his Church the light of eternal life with impartial equality."

As faith and baptism are constantly so closely connected together in the New Testament, an opinion was likely to arise, that where there could be no faith, there could also be no baptism. It is certain that Christ did not ordain infant baptism; he left, indeed, much, which was not needful for salvation, to the free development of the Christian spirit, without here appointing binding laws. We cannot prove that the apostles ordained infant baptism; from those places where the baptism of a whole family is mentioned, as in Acts xvi. 33. 1 Cor. i. 16, we can draw no such conclusion, because the inquiry is still to be made, whether there were any children in these families of such an age, that they were not capable of any intelligent reception of Christianity, for this is the only point on which the

case turns. From the deficiency of historical documents of the first half of this period, we must also avow that the want of any positive testimony to the custom cannot be brought as an argument against its antiquity. The first passage which appears expressly to point to this matter, is found in Irenæus. We shall consider the whole of this remarkable passage with some degree of accuracy. Irenæus is endeavouring to show, that Christ did not stop the progress of the development of human nature, which was to be sanctified by him, but that he sanctified it, in all its successive stages, in conformity to its essential qualities in each: "He came to redeem all by himself; all I say, who are born again into God through him, infants, children, boys, youths, and the old. Therefore, he passed through every age, and became an infant to infants, sanctifying infants, he became a child among children, to sanctify those of this age, giving them at the same time an example of piety, of justice, and obedience, and for young men he became a young man, to set them an example, and to sanctify them to the Lord."* It is here of consequence to remark particularly, that infants (*infantes*) are expressly distinguished from children (*parvuli*), to whom Christ can serve as an example; and that these infants are represented as being only capable of receiving an objective salvation from Christ, who appeared in an age and condition similar to theirs. This salvation is imparted to them in consideration of their being born again in reference to God, through Christ. In Irenæus the new birth and baptism are intimately connected, and it would be difficult for one to imagine any thing else than baptism as meant by the new birth, when used in reference to this age. Infant baptism also here appears the means by which the principle imparted through Christ to human nature from its very earliest development, might be appropriated to the salvation of children. We find here the essentially Christian notion, from which infant baptism would derive itself spontaneously, the more Christianity

* See page 197.

† Ep. lxxvi. ad Magn. [Ep. lxxix. ed. Ox.]

‡ "Totum credentibus conferunt divina compendia." This passage has been slightly paraphrased in the translation to render it intelligible.

* Irenæus, II. c. xxii. § 4. "Omnes enim per semetipsum venit salvare: omnes, inquam, qui per eum renascuntur in Deum, infantes et parvulos et pueros et juvenes et seniores. Ideo per omnem venit ætatem, et infantibus infans factus, sanctificans infantes, in parvulis parvulus, sanctificans hanc ipsam habentes ætatem, simul et exemplum illis pietatis effectus, et justitiæ et subjectionis, in juvenibus juvenis, exemplum juvenibus fians et sanctificans Domino."

penetrated into domestic life; namely, that Christ, by means of that Divine life, which He communicated to human nature, and revealed in it, has sanctified that nature from the very first seed of its development. If every thing was as it ought to be, the child born in a Christian family would have this advantage, that he did not first come to Christianity from heathenism, or from a natural life of sin, but that he would grow up, from the first dawning of conscience, under the imperceptible and preventing* influence of a sanctifying and ennobling Christianity; with the very first seeds of consciousness in the natural life, a Divine principle, ennobling nature, would be near him, by which the diviner portion of his nature might be attracted and strengthened, before its ungodliness could come into full activity; and this latter evil spirit would here find itself overmatched by its counterpoise. In such a life the new birth would form no division, that began at any one particular moment, but it would begin imperceptibly, and so continue its progress through the whole life. Therefore, the visible token of the new birth, that is, baptism, was to be given to the child from its earliest hours, and he was to be consecrated to his Saviour from the very first.

From this idea, founded on the internal feelings of Christianity, which obtained an influence over men's dispositions, the custom of infant baptism proceeded. Oh! that men had not so soon confused the Divine thing and the sign which represented it, and had not wished to bind the work of the Spirit on the outward sign!

But immediately after Irenæus,† in the latter years of the second century, Tertullian appeared as a zealous opponent of infant baptism, a proof that it was not then usually considered as an apostolical ordinance, for in that case he would hardly have ventured to speak so strongly against it. We see from his arguments against

infant baptism, that its defenders had already appealed to Matt. xix. 14, which it would be very obvious to any one to quote: "The Lord did not reject little children, they were to be brought to Him, that He might bless them." Tertullian advises generally, that men should delay baptism, in consideration of the great importance of this rite and the preparation necessary for it on the part of the recipient, rather than hasten unprepared to it, and on this he takes occasion to declare himself particularly against haste in the baptism of children.* In regard to the saying of Christ which was quoted against him, he answers, "Let them come, while they are growing up; let them come, while they are learning, while they are being taught whither it is they come; let them become Christians, after they have had an opportunity of knowing Christ. Why does the age of innocence hasten to the forgiveness of sins? Men will act more prudently in secular affairs, if Divine things are entrusted to those, to whom worldly substance would not be entrusted. Let them first learn to seek salvation, that you may appear to give to one who asks it." Tertullian desires that children may be brought to Christ, while they are being instructed in Christianity; but he does not wish them to receive baptism until they have been sufficiently instructed in Christianity, and from their own conviction and free choice, with earnest longings of the heart, desire baptism themselves. One may, perhaps, say: he is only speaking of what ought to be done in ordinary cases according to rule; but if any sudden danger of death threatened, even on his own principles, baptism ought to take place. But then, had he thought this so necessary, he would hardly have omitted to state it expressly. It appears, then, from the grounds which he lays down, that he could not imagine any efficacy of baptism without the conscious participation of the person baptized, and his own individual faith; and he also saw no danger to the innocence of infancy (although, according to his own system, this is by no means a logical inference.)

But whilst, on the one hand, the doctrine of the corruption and guilt, inherited by human nature, as the consequence of the first transgression, was reduced into a more systematic and distinct form, which was particularly the case in the North

* [Zuvorkommenden. I have here used the word 'preventing' in its old sense, as used in our collects.—H. J. R.]

† If any one were inclined to prove the existence of infant baptism from the passage of Clemens Alexand. Pædag. iii. 247. *ἐξ ἡμερῶν ἀναστασιμῶν παιδῶν*, which we quoted above, and which certainly relates to baptism, we might remark that this is hardly to be considered any proof; for as the notion of the *βασίς παιδαγωγῆς* was present to the imagination of Clement, he might call all Christians *παιδιά*. But he is undoubtedly here speaking of conversion and regeneration, in reference to all mankind.

* De Baptismo, c. xviii. "Cunctatio baptismi utilior est, præcipue circa parvulos."

African Church (see below, in the history of the doctrines of Christianity;) on the other hand, from want of a proper distinction between the external and internal things of baptism (the baptism of water, and the baptism of the Spirit,) the idea was forever gaining ground, and becoming more firmly fixed, that without outward baptism no one could be freed from that inherited guilt, saved from the eternal punishment which threatened him, or brought to eternal happiness; and while the idea of the magical effects of the sacrament was constantly obtaining more and more sway, the theory of the *unconditional necessity of infant baptism* developed itself from that idea. This was generally received in the North African Church, as early as the middle of the third century. But there was still a question whether the child should be baptized immediately after his birth, or eight days after, as in the case of circumcision? The latter was the opinion of Bishop Fidus, who proposed the inquiry to a council at Carthage. Cyprian answered him, A. D. 252, in the name of sixty-six bishops.* His answer shows us how full he was of that great Christian idea, which we have mentioned above, from which the custom of infant baptism proceeded—and in this respect he says much that bears the genuine stamp of Christianity—but we also observe at the same time how his confusion between outward and inward,—his materialism—prevented him from comprehending it with sufficient freedom and clearness, and led him to mingle much that was erroneous with the truth he brought forward. What he says against the arbitrary appointment of the time advocated by Fidus, is altogether just. Let us hear his own words: “None of us could agree to your opinion; but we all determined that the grace of God is not to be refused to any human being, as soon as he is born. For since the Lord says in his Gospel, ‘The Son of man is not come to destroy the souls of men, but to save them,’ (Luke ix. 56,) we are to do all in our power that no soul should be destroyed. . . . For as God accepts not persons, so neither does he ages; since he shows himself a father to all for the attainment of heavenly grace with well-poised equality. For with regard to what you say, that the child is not clean to the touch in the first days of his birth, and that any one of us would shrink from giving it a kiss, this ought to be no

impediment to bestowing heavenly grace upon it, since it is written, ‘To the pure all things are pure.’ None, therefore, of us ought to shrink from that which God has thought fit to make. Though the child be but just born, yet there is no reason even then, that any one should shrink from kissing it, to bestow upon it the grace of God, and give it the salutation of peace,” (the brotherly kiss as a sign of the communion of peace in the Lord, was given to newly baptized persons,) “for every one of us, from his religious feelings, ought to think upon the creative hands of God, fresh from their work, which in some sort we kiss in a human being just born, when we embrace what God has made. . . . But if any thing could prevent man from the attainment of grace, it would rather be great offences, that would prevent those of riper age. But if the greatest sinners, and those who beforehand have sinned greatly against God, receive remission of their sins, after they come to believe, and no one prohibits them from receiving baptism and grace, how much rather ought the infant not to be forbidden, which being newly born, cannot have sinned, except in as far as being born of Adam according to the flesh, it has contracted the contagion of the old death from its earliest birth? It comes more easily to obtain remission of its sins, because the sins which are forgiven to it, are not its own, but those of another.”

In the Alexandrian Church also, which, in regard to its whole theological and dogmatical character, was so essentially different from the North African, we find this notion of the necessity of infant baptism prevalent somewhat earlier. Origen, in whose system infant baptism stood very high,* though not in the same point of view as the North African Church, declares that it is an apostolic tradition,†—a declaration which cannot, in that century, be considered of any great weight, because men were at that time so much inclined to deduce the ordinances, which they

* With Origen it obtains a place in connection with his doctrine that human souls are heavenly beings that have sinned, and that they must be purified from the guilt that they brought with them. See below.

† This he does expressly in the fifth book of his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, according to the Latin translation of Rufinus. Similar difficulties to those which were proposed by Tertullian, were also brought forward in the time of Origen. Compare his Homil. xiv. in Iulian. (In the translation of Jerome.)

* Ep. lix. [Ep. lxiv. ed. Ox.]

thought of great importance, from the apostles; and besides this, there were many partition walls between this age and the apostolic, which prevented a free insight into that age.

But although in *theory* the necessity of infant baptism was allowed, yet it was far from being generally prevalent in practice. And it was not always from pure motives, that men were induced to delay their baptism. The same false view of baptism, as an "opus operatum," which moved some to hold the unconditional necessity of infant baptism, induced others, who mistook the nature of baptism far more and in a far more dangerous manner, to delay their baptism for a longer period, in order that they might give themselves up to their vices, and, notwithstanding, in the hour of death, being purified by the magical annihilation of their sins, might be received into eternal life. We observed above with what pious indignation, and with what force, the same Tertullian, who in other respects opposed haste in baptism, combated this fancy.

It was probably, also, infant baptism which first gave rise to the appointment of *baptismal witnesses or godfathers*; for as the persons to be baptized in this case could not of themselves declare their confession of faith, nor make the necessary renunciation, others were to do it for them, and these engaged to take care that the children should be duly instructed in Christianity, and should be brought up to a life corresponding to the profession made at their baptism, and hence they were called *sponsors* (sponsores.) Tertullian brings it as an argument against infant baptism, that these sponsors must undertake an engagement, which they may be prevented from fulfilling, perhaps by their own death, or by the evil conduct of the child.*

The *symbolical customs*, connected with the simple rite of baptism, were afterwards gradually multiplied, at first hardly with any intention of increasing the holiness and significance of the thing by outward pomp, but because men felt themselves impelled from within, to express ideas and feelings, of which the heart was full, in a manner perceptible to the senses. Only it was a pity that men soon did not know how to distinguish these human ornaments from the substance of the

Divine ordinance itself, to which they were attached, and that by the multiplication of outward things they were constantly induced to give them a greater share of importance.

From the essentially Christian idea of the *spiritual priesthood* of all Christians, another custom was derived, which was, that just as anointing, in the Old Testament, was the sign of the priestly consecration, so also the newly-baptized person should be consecrated to this *spiritual priesthood* by being anointed with oil, expressly blessed for that purpose. We find this custom first mentioned in Tertullian, and with Cyprian it appears a necessary part of the rite of baptism.* The *laying on of hands*, accompanied by prayer, with which the ceremony of baptism was concluded, is undoubtedly older than this custom. The imposition of hands (ἐπιθεσις τῶν χειρῶν, χειροθεσις, קְמִיָּה) was the usual sign of religious consecration, borrowed from the Jews, which was used in different cases as the sign of consecration, as well to the common calling of a Christian in general as to its particular branches. When the apostles or the pastors of the Church laid their hands on the head of the baptized person, they called upon the Lord to bestow his blessing on the rite they had now completed, and prayed that he would suffer all which this rite typified to be fulfilled in the person now baptized, that he would consecrate him with his Spirit for his Christian profession, and shed his Spirit upon him. This was the *closing* rite, inseparably united with the old act of baptism; all here had reference

* Tertullian, de Baptismo, c. vii. "Egressi de lavacro perungimur benedicta unctione de pristina disciplina qua ungui oleo de cornu in sacerdotium solebant." Adv. Marcion. c. xiv. de Res. Carn. c. viii. But in his book de Corona Militis, c. iii., where he mentions the customs belonging to baptism which are taken from the tradition of the Church, and not from Scripture, he does not name the anointing. Cyprian, Ep. lxx., in the name of a synod: "Ungi quoque necesse est eum, qui baptizatus sit, ut accepto chrismate esse unctus Dei et habere in se gratiam Christi possit," (the following words about the Lord's Supper, are clearly a gloss, which destroys the sense of the passage, and which took its rise from the after mention of the Lord's Supper.) "unde baptizati unguuntur oleo in altari sanctificato."*

* [To make the passage in a parenthesis intelligible, it must be observed, that in many editions of Cyprian, there is a full stop after "possit," and the next sentence is read thus: "*Porro autem Eucharistia est unde baptizati unguuntur, oleum in altari sanctificatum.*" I have put the words which Dr. Neander condemns in italics.—H. J. R.]

* Tertullian, de Baptismo, c. xviii. "Quid enim necesse est, sponsores etiam periculo ingeri? quia et ipsi per mortalitatem destituere promissiones suas possunt et proventu male indolis falli."

to the same principal matter, without which no man can be a Christian—the birth into a new life proceeding from God, the baptism of the Spirit, which was symbolically represented by the baptism of water. But in after times, men were led, by a misunderstanding, to separate these two things from one another in an erroneous manner.

In the *apostolic* age, when the Divine life first entered into human nature in its rough state, which was gradually to be ennobled by it, it manifested itself, as soon as it found entrance, by many striking appearances. There were the marks of the powerful energies it produced, which ceased afterwards, when the foundations of the Church being once laid, her progress was made more quietly, but which, in those first times, served to call the attention of the carnal man to Christianity. The indications of an extraordinary inspiration, which had accompanied the first baptism of the Spirit, conferred on the first Church on the day of Pentecost, were repeated also at the baptism of individuals. It, therefore, happened, when baptism was conferred on individuals, and the blessing bestowed on them at the last ceremony of laying on of hands, that the Lord was called upon in prayer, to make this baptism constantly efficacious in them, and active; such actual proofs of its efficacy followed in the case mentioned in Acts xix. 6. When St. Peter and St. John came to Samaria, in order to inquire more particularly into the effects of the Gospel which had been preached by Philip, they observed that these tokens of the baptism of the Spirit, which were then usual, had not been manifested at all in those who had hitherto been baptized there. (Acts viii.) The passage does not speak of the baptism of the Spirit in general, but only of these *outward marks* of it, and this single case can, therefore, be applicable to *those times* only. The apostles only prayed (for the abridged account which is here given must be supplied from other similar cases,) while they consecrated the baptized in their usual manner, that these effects of the baptism of the Spirit might follow here also—and it was so. In the first case, with regard to St. Paul, (Acts xix. 5, 6,) baptism and laying on of hands were clearly *one whole*; in the second case (Acts viii.,) where, nevertheless, Philip appears to have given the laying on of hands and baptism at the same time, there were peculiar circumstances which had reference only to *this* particular time.

But still, from a wrong view of these cases, a notion was formed as early as the end of the second century, that the communication of the Holy Ghost was entirely dependent on this sign of imposition of hands. Tertullian, therefore, considered water baptism as the preparatory purification, which was to pave the way for the communication of the Holy Ghost to the person so purified, by the imposition of hands;* but yet, in Tertullian, the baptism and the consecration which follows it, appear connected together as one *whole*.

But when once† the notion of the exclusively spiritual character of the bishops had been formed, and it was supposed that they, as the successors of the apostles, had alone received all spiritual perfection by the magical consecration of ordination, as well as the right of conferring the Holy Ghost by means of their magical priestly functions, men ascribed also to the bishops alone the power of producing a real baptism of the Spirit. The unfounded view from which this notion proceeded was the following: Philip was unable to confer a true baptism of the Spirit, because he was only a deacon; the apostles *supplied* what was here wanting, by means of the seal of baptism (signaculum,) the laying on of hands. So, therefore, presbyters, nay, even deacons also, in cases of necessity, were entitled to baptize; but the bishop alone could complete the second part of the holy rite. This idea was fully formed as early as the middle of the third century. The bishops were, therefore, obliged at times to travel through their dioceses, in order to administer what was afterwards called *confirmation*, to those who had been baptized by the parish priests, the clergy in the country. In common cases, where the bishop administered the rite of baptism himself, these two were nevertheless joined together, and together they made up *the complete rite of baptism*.‡

* Tertull. de Baptismo, c. viii. "Dehinc manus imponitur per benedictionem advocans et invitans Spiritum sanctum." In his treatise de Res. Carn. c. viii., he names all those three things together with baptism, which afterwards were separated from it, and being united together into one whole, formed the sacrament of confirmation in the Romish Church: that is to say, the anointing as the consecration of the soul, the making the sign of the cross as a preservative against evil, and the laying on of hands as bringing with it the "illuminatio Spiritus."

† See above.

‡ Cyprian speaks of a "sacramentum duplex,"

The newly-baptized person in many Churches (in the North African and the Alexandrian,) received a mixture of milk and honey, as a symbol of his childhood in a new life, which was the spiritual interpretation of the promise about a land which flowed with milk and honey—a promise which referred to the heavenly country, to which the baptized belonged, with all its heavenly advantages.* He was then received into the Church with the first kiss of Christian brotherhood, the salutation of peace, of peace with God, which he now shared with all Christians; and from this time he had the right of saluting all Christians with this token of brotherhood.†

Before, however, we leave this subject, we have a controversy to mention, which created a great sensation in the latter half of the third century. The question was, "What is necessary to the validity of a baptism? What is to be done in regard to a heretic, who comes to the orthodox Church, after he has received baptism in his own sect?" Before any particular inquiries had been set on foot with regard to this point, men acted in different countries in different ways, because, as it commonly happens, they involuntarily set out from different principles. In Asia Minor and the neighbouring regions, the light in which it was regarded was this, that only such baptism as had been administered in

the orthodox Church, in which alone all religious rites could be duly administered, was valid, that the baptism of heretics was to be looked upon as of no value, and, therefore, that the true baptism must be administered to one who came over from one of the sects, just as to a heathen. This is very easily to be explained from the violence of the controversial relations which existed between the Church and the sects, just in these very regions, as well as from the nature of these sects, as, for instance of the Gnostic, which had departed from the commonly prevailing principles on the most essential points of doctrine and rites. In the Romish Church, on the contrary, where on other occasions the most bitter controversial spirit existed against heretics, men followed the dictates of a milder spirit in this question, because here they looked on the objective part of baptism as of most importance; they practically set out from the principle, that baptism, by virtue of the objective sign of the name of Christ or of the Trinity, which was invoked in its celebration, was always valid, *by whomsoever and under whatsoever* religious notions it was administered. Therefore the Church recognised heretics, who came over to her, as baptized Christians; and in order that the Holy Spirit might make the baptism which they had received efficacious, the bishop administered confirmation to them under the idea which we have before explained (and we may observe that this was one of the inducements to separate baptism and confirmation.) As Churches were inclined to form themselves on the model of their metropolitan Church (the *sedes apostolica*;) most of the western Churches probably followed the example of that of Rome.

But in the latter years of the second century, this custom, which had hitherto been observed in silence, became the subject of a particular investigation in Asia Minor; whether it was, that the Montanistic Churches, following the principle which prevailed even there also, those who were glad of any handle to oppose the Montanists, were induced to make this a subject of controversy, or whether it was from some other cause. The ruling party declared itself for abiding by the old principle. Afterwards, when this matter was again the subject of deliberation, this principle was solemnly confirmed in two synods, assembled at Iconium and Synnada in Phrygia. This also introduced the point as a subject of controversy in other regions. Tertullian,

the baptism by water, and the baptism of the Spirit represented by the laying on of hands, "*sacramento utroque nasci*," and yet also of both as united in the Church rite of baptism. Ep. lxxiii. ad Jubajanum, and Ep. lxxii. ad Stephanum. We must here certainly recur to the fluctuating use of the word "*sacramentum*," by which all holy things, all holy doctrines, and all holy signs were denoted. After introducing the example of Philip and the apostles, he says: "*Quod nunc quoque apud nos geritur, ut qui in ecclesia baptizantur, præpositis ecclesiæ offerantur, et per nostram orationem ac manus impositionem Spiritum Sanctum consequantur et signaculo dominico consummentur.*" The same representation occurs in the book de Rebaptismate, which was most probably a contemporary work. This rite is there called "*baptisma spiritale*." Cornelius, (cap. Euseb. vi. 33,) in regard to a person who had not been able to receive this confirmation from the bishop, makes the following inquiry: "How could he without *this* become a partaker in the Holy Spirit?"

* See the above quoted passage from Tertullian, de Cor. Mil. and Adv. Marcion. i. 14. "*Deus mellis et lactis societate suos infantat*;" i. e. he recognises them as his new-born children. Clemens, Pæd. i. p. 103, εὖθις ἀναχάννυσται; τετιμημένα τῆς ἀπαυτῆς τὴν ἐπίδα, τὴν ἀπὸ ἱερουσαλὴμ εὐαγγελισμένων, ἐν ἧ μὲν καὶ γὰρ ὁμῶς ἐνταῖς ἀναχέεται.

† "*Osculum pacis*," εἰρημή. See above.

most probably while he was still a member of the Catholic Church, wrote a separate treatise in Greek upon the subject, in which he did not hesitate to dissent from the Romish Church on this point. It was natural that he should write on this occasion in Greek, because, in the countries where this controversy was on foot, Greek was the only language understood. In order to prove the validity of heretical baptism, the opposite party had already appealed to Ephes. iv. 5, 6, "One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father;" and they drew from it the following conclusion: Wherever we find that men call upon the one God and the one Lord, there we must recognise the validity of their baptism. Tertullian, however, says in reply,* "This can only relate to us, who know and call upon the true God and Christ; the heretics have not this God and this Christ; and these words, therefore, cannot be applied to them: and since they cannot duly administer baptism, it is all one as if they had no baptism at all."

In the North African Church, men were generally inclined to follow the example of the mother Church at Rome; but they were far from meaning to submit their own judgment to the authority of that Church.† Seventy North African bishops, in a council held at Carthage, under the presidency of bishop Agrippinus, declared themselves for the opposite opinion. Still, no party wished to force its views and practice on the others; the Churches which differed on this subject, did not think of breaking the bond of brotherly harmony, on account of a difference that was of such small importance in regard to the essentials of Christianity. But here again it was a *Romish* bishop, namely, Stephanus, who, moved by the spirit of hierarchical ambition and blind zeal, attributed so much importance to this controversy. He excommunicated the bishops of Asia Minor, Cappadocia, Galatia, and Cilicia, about the end of the year 253, and gave them the name of *Re-baptizers*, *Anabaptists*, (*Αναβαπτισται*);‡ a name which, according to *their* principles, they did not deserve—for they did not wish to administer a *second* baptism to those who had been already baptized, but they did not acknowledge the previous baptism by the heretics as a *proper* baptism.

From Asia, the discussions relative to this matter extended themselves into North Africa. Here a party had always remained devoted to the old Romish custom; the earlier discussions had been forgotten, and, therefore, new inquiries and investigations were commenced on the subject. These induced Cyprian, the bishop, to propose the matter to two synods held at Carthage, the one of eighteen, and the other of seventy-six bishops, A. D. 255, and both these assemblies declared themselves in favour of Cyprian's opinion, that "the baptism of heretics was *not* to be acknowledged as valid." As he was well aware how great weight the Romish Church and her adherents attached to the antiquity of customs, and that they gave out these observances, which were of long standing, as apostolical traditions, although cases like these, from their very nature, could scarcely have arisen in the time of the apostles; he expressed himself in the following manner in a letter to Quintus, an African bishop, to whom he communicated the resolution of the council.* "But we are not to be governed by custom, but overcome by reasoning. For neither did Peter, whom the Lord chose the first, and on whom He built his Church, insolently and arrogantly, when Paul and He were afterwards at variance about circumcision, (Gal. ii.),† take upon himself to say, that he held the primacy, and that the younger and newer apostle must obey him; nor did he despise Paul, because he had formerly been a persecutor of the Church, but he received the counsel of truth, and easily acceded to the just reasons which Paul urged: he gave us, therefore, an example of unity and patience, that we might not be too much enamoured of our own way, but rather make that our own way, which is suggested to us at times, with profit and advantage, by our colleagues, if it be true and lawful." A truth, indeed, which it is much more easy to acknowledge and express than to act upon, as the history of the Church, alas! and even the example of Cyprian himself, give us to learn. He made known the resolutions of the greater council to Stephanus, the bishop of Rome, in a letter which, while it breathes the spirit of

* Ep. lxxi.

† It is worth to observe how the unprejudiced and free-spirited view of this event had constantly been maintained in the North African Church.

* De Baptismo, c. xv. † See above.

‡ Dionys. ap. Euseb. vii. 6. Firmilian. ap. Cyprian. Ep. lxxv.

freedom, is written with delicacy;* but Stephanus, in an answer written in a haughty tone,† opposed Cyprian by the authority of the tradition of the Romish Church. He went so far in his unchristian blind zeal, as to indulge in unworthy abuse against his African colleagues, the bishops, who came to him as deputies from the North African Church; he would not hold a conversation with them; nay, he forbade his Church to receive them in their houses. Still, Cyprian was far from thinking of making his reason submit to the authority of the Romish Church. He called together a still more numerous council, consisting of eighty-seven bishops at Carthage, and this assembly also abided by the principles which had been before expressed. The votes and sentiments of many of these bishops show a narrow-hearted and fanatical hatred of heretics, and a pharisaical idea of the holiness of the Church. (A sort of prelude this to those struggles and convulsions, which were produced in the North African Church, by means of the human passions that mingled themselves with spiritual matters.) And so it happened, partly on both sides, as is generally the case among men blinded by passion, that while they were striving about the sign, they lost sight of the thing itself; while they were quarrelling with one another about what was required to make the outward *sign* of the birth of the spirit valid, they destroyed the nature of that birth of the Spirit! Cyprian now endeavoured to form a connection between himself and the Asiatic bishops, who thought with him, and he, therefore, communicated the whole case to one of the most honoured of the Asiatic bishops, Firmilianus, bishop of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia. Firmilianus signified to Cyprian his entire concurrence in his views,‡ and at the same time spoke excellently on the advantages of general deliberations on spiritual things, when the Spirit of Christ animated them. "Since the Divine doctrine surpasses the limits of human nature, and the soul of man cannot embrace it in its whole compass and perfection, therefore, the number of the prophets is so great, in order that Divine wisdom, being multifarious, may be divided among many. Therefore, he that has spoken first as a prophet, is commanded to keep silence if any thing is revealed to a second person." (1 Cor. xiv. 30.)

Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, whose Christian moderation we observed during a former controversy,* distinguished himself also in this by the same quality. He agreed on this point with the Churches of North Africa and Asia Minor in their *principles*, which had also been for a long time those of the Alexandrian Church;† but then, it was with this difference, that *this freehearted man was more inclined to make exceptions* from the rule in the case of certain sects, whose doctrines were altogether in harmony with the Church.‡ But still, he endeavoured to maintain brotherly harmony with the Romish bishops, and to make them disposed for peace. He begged the Romish bishop Stephanus, with most touching representations, not to disturb the Oriental Church again in the enjoyment of that external peace, which she had received through the emperor Valerian, and of the inward peace which had accompanied it (after the schism of Novatian had been got under.) He writes thus to him: "Know, my brother, that all the Churches in the East, and even further also, which were formerly divided, are now united, and all their prelates every where are in harmonious agreement, rejoicing beyond measure at the peace which has been accorded to them against their expectation, and thanking God in unity and brotherly love." It was apparently in consequence of his dealing with the Romish Church in this spirit of love and judicious delicacy, that Stephanus did not venture to excommu-

* See above.

† That the Alexandrian Church also rejected the baptism administered in the churches of heretics, is clearly deducible from the declaration of Dionysius, in his letter to Sixtus II. bishop of Rome, (Euseb. vii. 7,) when he says, that the members of the Catholic Church, who had gone over to the heretics, when they returned again to the Church, were not rebaptized, for they had received the holy baptism already from the bishop; but then, it was *only in this case*. They did not with this acknowledge the baptism administered *out of the Catholic Church* as a holy and valid one. That in the time of Clement the baptism of heretics was considered invalid in the Alexandrian Church, appears to follow from Strom. i. p. 317, D. where he explains Prov. ix. 8, (in the Alexandrian version,) allegorically, thus:—το βαπτισμα το αἱρετικῶν οὐκ οὐκάνη καὶ γνησίον ἰδὼς λογίζομεν.

‡ Thus he made such an exception in favour of the baptism administered in Montanistic Churches, probably because he thought more mildly than others on the relation of these to the general Church.

* Ep. lxxii.

† See above.

‡ Ep. lxxv.

nicate him also with the rest. He continued his correspondence with Sixtus, the successor of Stephanus. Indeed, he himself asks the advice of Sixtus, in a matter where they could set out from the same principles, in order to maintain the bond of brotherly love.* These controversies were shortly after silenced by reason of the struggle which the Church had to go through during the persecution of Valerianus; and probably also the successors of Stephanus did not partake in his blind zeal.

We have now, in conclusion, to consider more accurately the points in controversy between these two parties, and the manner in which they developed themselves on both sides. There were two controverted points; the first of them was this: the Romish party held that the validity of baptism depended on its having been administered as Christ had commanded.† It was, according to this view, the *formula of baptism* which gave it all its objective validity; the subjective condition of the baptizing priest, who was merely an instrument, and the place where it was an instrument, and the place where it was administered, had nothing to do with its validity. That which is objectively Divine, they would say, can preserve its own power; the grace of God may work objectively in this mode, if it only find, in the baptized person, a soul capable of this grace; and he may receive the grace of baptism by *his faith and feelings*, wheresoever he may happen to be baptized.‡ Cyprian reproaches his adversaries here with an inconsistency, against which they could not well defend themselves,—it was this: if the baptism of the heretical Churches had an objective validity, their confirmation must equally have an objective validity also. “For,” says Cyprian, “if any man born (that is to say, in the new birth) out of the pale

of the Church, can become a temple of God, why should not the Holy Spirit also be shed upon this temple? He who is sanctified by having laid aside his sins by baptism, and is become a new man after the Spirit, is made capable of receiving the Holy Spirit; for the apostle says: ‘As many of you as are baptized in Christ have put on Christ;’ and he, therefore, who can put on Christ by being baptized among the heretics, can surely far more receive the Holy Spirit; as if Christ could be put on without the Holy Spirit, or the Spirit be separated from Christ!”*

The other party maintained, on the contrary, that only the baptism, which is performed within the true Church, as that in which alone the Holy Spirit is effective, can be valid. If this were understood only of being outwardly in the Church, and of belonging to it outwardly, the decision would here be easy enough. But Cyprian here meant really an inward subjective union with the true Church through faith and feelings, and he presupposes the baptizing priest himself, in virtue of his faith, to be an instrument of the Holy Ghost, in order to properly complete the sacramental acts by the magical power of his priesthood; as for instance to be able to communicate a supernatural power to the water.† When, therefore, the matter was *so stated, and thus made to depend on the subjective condition of the priest*; then it would be difficult in many cases to decide on the validity of a baptism, and many scruples might arise on the subject, for who could look into the inward heart of the priest.‡

But the Romish party went still further in their maintenance of the objective importance of the formula of baptism; it even declared that baptism which was administered *in the name of Christ only*, without the use of the fuller formula,

* Euseb. vii. 5.

† Euseb. vii. 9.

‡ “Eum, qui quomodocunque foris (out of the Church) baptizatur, mente et fide sua baptismi gratiam consequi.” We must not understand the meaning of the Romish Church to be, that the use of the proper formula of baptism, even in cases where that baptism was, in all other respects, unlike the original institution, would confer validity upon it. It was presumed on both sides, that the matter under discussion related to a baptism, which was duly administered in other respects. If the opponents of Stephanus and his party could have charged them with any thing on this account, they would hardly have failed to do so. Dionysius of Alexandria, in the inquiry which he makes of the Romish bishop, (Euseb. vii. 9.) supposes also that they were agreed on this point.

* Cyprian, Ep. lxxiv.

† Cyprian, Ep. lxx. “Quomodo sanctificare aquam potest, qui ipse immundus est et apud quem Spiritus Sanctus non est? Sed et pro baptizato quam precem facere potest sacerdos sacrilegus et peccator?”

Ep. lxxvi. (Ep. lxxix. ed. Ox.) “Quando hæc in ecclesia fiunt, ubi sit et accipientis et dantis fides integra.”

‡ The author of the treatise de Rebaptismate, which is found in Cyprian's works, might hence make the objection: “Quid dicturus es de his, qui plerumque ab episcopis pessimæ conversationis baptizantur?” in reference to such (bishops, &c.,) as had been deprived after their vices were discovered. “Aut quid statues de eis, qui ab episcopis prave sentientibus aut imperitioribus fuerint baptizati?”

was objectively valid.* Cyprian, on the contrary, maintained that the formula was of no value, unless it was the full formula appointed by Christ. We perceive here the freer spirit of the anti-Cyprian party; the idea was before their eyes, that in the belief in Christ every thing which really belongs to Christianity was properly contained.†

Cyprian himself would not venture to bind the grace of God on such outward things in regard to the cases where converted heretics had once been received without a new baptism, and had enjoyed Church communion, or died in it. "God

* It is undeniably clear that this was held by the Romish party, from the letters of Cyprian, and the treatise de Rebaptismate. If Firmilianus, (Ep. lxxv. ap. Cyprian,) speaks only of the formula in the name of the Trinity, it is, however, by no means clear that his *adversaries* also spoke only of this. Firmilianus brings forward only the point, against which in particular he wished to direct his arguments, namely, the principle that the formula gave an objective validity to the baptism, and, therefore, he does not distinguish what ought to have been distinguished in representing the opinion of his adversaries. And yet one catches a glimpse of the other proposition maintained by his opponents, when he says: "*Non omnes autem, qui nomen Christi invocant, audiri*," &c. The book de Rebaptismate, which does not want acuteness, I think I may certainly cite as a contemporary writing; I cannot suppose (after Gennadius, de Script. Eccles.) that it was written in the fourth century or later, by a monk named Ursinus. The author speaks like a man who lived in the midst of these controversies, and in the time of the persecutions, which one cannot expect to find in a later writer. When he says that these controversies will produce no other fruit, "*nisi ut unus homo, quicumque ille est, magnæ prudentiæ et constantiæ esse apud quosdam leves homines inani gloria prædicetur*," we see easily that he means Cyprian, and none but a contemporary could have spoken of him in this way. The expression, however, "*post tot seculorum tantam seriem*" in regard to an old apostolic tradition, appears unsuitable in the mouth of a man who lived about the middle of the third century. But this expression would still remain very hyperbolic, even if we suppose it used by a writer at the end of the fourth century, and in general, strong hyperbole is not uncommon among the African ecclesiastical writers.

† In the book de Rebaptismate: "*Invocatio hæc nominis Jesu quasi initium mysterii dominici, commune nobis et cæteris omnibus, quod possit postmodum residuis rebus impleri*." The party of Stephanus did not do badly to appeal to the joy which St. Paul expresses, on finding that only Christ had been preached, although not exactly in the proper manner, as was the case with those Judaizing Christians. Philip. i. 16. Cyprian, who wishes to prevent them from making use of this passage, does not understand it so well himself. Ep. lxxiii.

is powerful," he says, "to make allowances according to his mercy, and not to exclude those who, having been received into the Church without further ceremonies, have fallen asleep in it."* Dionysius of Alexandria† relates a remarkable case, which touches on these points: There was a converted heretic in the Alexandrian Church, who for many years had lived as a member of the Church, and had taken part in the worship of God in the Church. Having attended the baptism of some of the catechumens, he remembered that what he had received for baptism in the sect (probably a Gnostic sect) from which he had been converted, was entirely unlike that which he then witnessed. Had he known that he, who has Christ in faith, has every thing which is needful for his advantage and his salvation, this would not have given him so much uneasiness. But as this was not clear to him, he doubted whether he could look upon himself as a real Christian, and he fell into a state of great anxiety and disquietude, because he thought that he was without true baptism, and without the grace of baptism. He fell down at the feet of the bishop in tears, and prayed him to give him baptism. The bishop sought to tranquillize him, and told him that he could not now be first baptized afresh, after he had so long been a partaker in the body and blood of our Lord. He told him that his having lived so long in the communion of the Church ought to satisfy him, and that he should come with a steadfast faith and a good conscience to the holy Supper of the Lord. But the wretched man was unable to overcome his scruples and his unhappiness. Here was an instance of the unhappy effects of holding too fast by outward things, and of the mischief which arises when men know not how to raise themselves with proper freedom to the things of the Spirit, which the inward man embraces through faith.

We now proceed to the second holy sign which Christ ordained for his Church, the Supper of the Lord.

We here again look back to the first institution of this holy festival, without which its history in the first Church cannot be understood. The last meal which Christ partook of with his disciples on earth would naturally be full of the

* Ep. lxx. [I am unable to find this passage and I therefore suppose the reference is erroneous. —H. J. R.]

† Euseb. vii. 10.

deepest importance, as the parting meal of him who was on the point of giving his life for *their salvation, and for that of all mankind*, and who, although no longer visible among them, as at this meal, yet as truly, and with more powerful Divine influence and richer blessings, was about to prove his invisible presence among them, and bestow upon them himself and all his heavenly treasures. The meal which he chose for this purpose was a *passover*, the *fundamental covenant feast of the whole Mosaic religion*, which, in conformity with the development of the theocratic economy, was now to exchange its earthly character for a heavenly one, and to stand in a similar relation to the new form of religion. The Jewish Passover was a feast of thanksgiving for the Church, which the Almighty Creator, the God who permits the productions of nature to grow for the advantage of man, had bestowed on the people, whom he honoured with his *especial guidance*, when he saved them from the bondage of Egypt. The master of the house, who kept the Passover with his family, and distributed bread and wine among the guests, thanked God, who had given these fruits of the earth to man, for the favour which he had bestowed upon *his* people. Hence the cup of wine, over which this praise of God was pronounced, was called the cup of praise or thanksgiving.* Christ, as the master of the House, here spoke the *blessing*; but this blessing was now to receive a new application in reference to the theocracy; it was to relate to the deliverance from guilt and from the punishment of sin; to deliverance from the bondage of sin, and the gift of true moral freedom by the sacrifice of Christ for men; and to a preparation for the entrance into a heavenly country,—and this was the foundation of the kingdom of heaven, which was laid in the forgiveness of sins and deliverance from sin for all humanity. Hence Christ said, while he gave bread and wine to his disciples, that this bread and this wine *were to be to them*—and hence to all the faithful in all ages—his body and blood; that body which he was offering up for the forgiveness of their sins, for their salvation, and for the establishment of a theocracy under new relations; and as this outward sign represented to them his body and his blood, so truly

would he be present among them hereafter in a spiritual manner, as truly as he was now visibly present among them; and just as they now corporeally enjoyed this bodily sustenance, so should they receive him, being present by his Divine efficacy, wholly within them to the nourishment of their souls, they should spiritually eat his flesh and drink his blood, (see John vi.) they should make his flesh and blood their own, and they should constantly suffer their nature to be more and more imbued with the Divine principle of life, which they would receive from communion with him. Thus they were to keep this feast together, to glorify the effects of his suffering for the advantage of human nature, and to celebrate their inward lively communion with him, and therefore, with one another also, as members of one body under one head; they were to keep this feast until, in actual possession of their heavenly country, they should really enjoy in all its full compass the blessedness which his sufferings obtained for them, and without again fearing any separation from him, they should be united with him in his kingdom, even with intuitive reality and certainty.

After the model of the Jewish Passover, and the first institution of this rite, the celebration of the Lord's Supper originally was always joined with a *general meal*, and both together formed *one whole*; and because the communion of believers with the Lord, and their brotherly communion with each other, was represented by it, the two together were called the Supper of the Lord, (*δειπνον του κυριου*, or *δειπνον κυριακον*), or the lovefeast, (*αγαπη*). It was the daily rite of Christian communion in the first Church at Jerusalem; in Acts ii. 46, we are most probably to understand both together under the phrase, *κλαν αετον*. We find both connected together in the first Corinthian Church, and one is inclined to suppose that this was also the innocent simple meal of the Christians, of which Pliny speaks in his report to the emperor Trajan. (See above, Part I.) On the contrary, in the picture given by Justin Martyr, we find the Lord's Supper entirely separated from those meals of brotherly love, if, in fact, any such existed at all in the Churches which he had in his eye. The separation arose partly from such irregularities as those which took place in the Corinthian Church, when the spirit suitable to the following sacred rite had not prevailed in the previous meal, and partly from local

* כוס הברכה ποτηριον ευλογιας = *εὐχαριστιας*. [The cup of blessing.]

circumstances, which prevented generally the institution of such meals in common. In fact, these meals peculiarly attracted the jealousy of the heathen, and gave occasion to the wildest and most abominable reports;* and this might early cause their abolition, or, at least, their less frequent celebration.

We now speak first of these meals of brotherly love, as they were afterwards called (*ἀγαπαί*), when separated from the Supper of the Lord. Here all differences of earthly condition and rank were to disappear in Christ; all were here to be one in the Lord; rich and poor, high and low, masters and servants, were all to eat at the same table with one another. Tertullian paints the celebration of such a feast in the following manner:† “Our supper shows its nature by its name; it is called *agape*, which in Greek means *love*. Whatsoever it may cost, it is a gain to be put to cost in the cause of piety, since we delight all the poor by that refreshment. . . . As the cause of the supper is honourable, judge ye with what regard to religion all besides is conducted in it; it admits of no vulgarity, it admits of no indecency; we do not lie down to table before a prayer has been offered to God; we eat only that which hunger requires, we drink only what it becomes men of sobriety and modesty to drink; we do not forget, while we are satisfying our wants, that God is to be adored by us through the night. The conversation is that of men, who know that God hears them. (After the meal is over.) After we have washed our hands, and the lights have been brought, each person is required to sing something to the praise of God for the instruction of all, just as he may be able from Scripture or from his own resources; and this shows what a man has drunk. The feast is concluded with prayer.” These agapæ gradually lost their true original meaning, which could only be maintained in the simple habits of the very earliest Churches; and they often became nothing but a dead form, which was no longer animated by the spirit of that brotherly love, which removes all distinctions between man and man, and unites all hearts together. Many abuses crept into them, which gave an oppor-

tunity to the evil-minded to represent the whole festival in a hateful light. As it usually happens in cases of this kind, some attributed too much importance to the mere form, as an “opus operatum,” and others unjustly condemned the whole thing, without distinguishing between the proper use and the abuse; and the error of both parties arose from their no longer understanding the simple childlike spirit from which this rite had derived its origin. Certain rich members of the community gave these agapæ, and fancied that they had done something particularly meritorious; here, where all should be on equal terms, a distinction of ranks was made, and the clergy,* who ought to set an example of humility to all, allowed themselves to be particularly distinguished by the undue exercise of an outward preference to their order.† An unkindly, gloomy, ascetic spirit wholly condemned the agapæ, and eagerly caught at all the abuses which ever attended their celebration in any place whatever, in order to paint them in exaggerated colours, and so to render the whole thing odious; and this was the case with Tertullian in his Montanism.‡ Clement of Alexandria speaks more temperately on the subject,§ although he declares himself against those, who thought that they could buy the promises of God by giving feasts, and who appeared to lower the name of heavenly love by limiting it to these agapæ. He says:—

* [“Die Geistlichen.” German.—I have some difficulty in translating this word, in consequence of Dr. Neander’s notions on the subject of the priesthood. In using the words, “the clergy,” I give the notion of a body of clergy, at a time when, perhaps, he would hardly allow of any thing of the sort. I suppose he means the presbyters and deacons; but if so, it would seem that they became a distinct body rather early.—H. J. R.]

† Thus the clergy received a double portion, in consequence of a perverted and carnal application of the passage in 1 Tim. v. 17.* Tertullian, after becoming a Montanist, says, in his treatise de Jejunii, c. xvii.: “Ad elogium gulæ tuæ pertinet, quod duplex apud te præsidentibus honos binis partibus deputatur.” Comp. Apostol. Constit. lib. ii. c. 28, where that which Tertullian properly blames is prescribed as a law. Clemens, Strom. vii. 759, says of the Gnostic sects, ἡ συντροφικὴ διὰ τῆς ἀδελφικῆς ἐκείνης προσηγορίας.

‡ De Jejunii, c. xvii. “Apuđ te agape in cacabis fervet; major est agape, quia per hanc adolescentes tui cum sororibus dormiunt.” So passionate an accuser will naturally appear unworthy of credit.

§ Pædag. ii. 141. [Pott. p. 166. 7. Sylb. p. 61.]

* In speaking of the impediments a Christian wife would find in her marriage with a heathen, Tertullian says, (ad Uxor. ii. 4.) “Quis ad convivium illud dominicum, quod infamant, sine sua suspicione dimittet?”

† Apologeticus, c. xxxix.

* [This passage has been already adduced on another occasion, p. 108. I must refer to the preface for a few further remarks upon it.—H. J. R.]

"Love is really a heavenly sustenance. . .
 . . In heaven is this heavenly feast; but though the earthly feast arises from love, yet it is not love itself, but only the proof of a benevolence, which is ready to impart and communicate. Take care, therefore, that your treasure be not ill-spoken of, for the kingdom of God consists not in meat and drink, but righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. He that partakes of this meal will obtain the best of all things, the kingdom of heaven, while he strives even here below to belong to the holy assembly of love, the heavenly Church. Love is a pure thing, and worthy of God, and to bestow is one of its deeds; . . . but these feasts have only a spark of love, which is lighted by earthly food."

We now go to the separate consideration of the Lord's Supper.

We have already observed that the prayer of praise and thanks in the Jewish Passover was transferred to the Christian Supper of the Lord; this prayer of praise and thanksgiving was always looked upon as an essential part of this rite, which hence obtained the name of *εὐχαριστία*.* While the principal minister of the Church [the Gemeindevorsteher, or president,] took up the bread and wine from the table that stood before him, he thanked God in the name of the whole Church, because he had created the things of nature, which were here represented by the most essential means of sustenance, for the sake of man, and that he, the Creator, had, for the sake of man also, allowed his Son to appear and to suffer in the nature of man. Both of these, the thanksgiving for the

gifts of nature, and that for the blessings of grace, were closely connected together, for it was only after man was redeemed, when he returned to the condition of a child in regard to his heavenly Father, that he could justly know how all has been given to him by the love of his heavenly Father; all earthly gifts had for Him a higher meaning, as pledges of an eternal love, about to bestow far higher benefits on man. All nature, which had before been desecrated by him, when he was in the service of sin, and stood estranged from God, was now sanctified and given back to him, a redeemed creature; and in the Supper of the Lord, the earthly and the natural became ennobled as the symbols or the bearers of the heavenly and the Divine. A higher and heavenly food for the life of the inward man would now be connected with this earthly food, which had been sanctified by the prayer of thanksgiving, through the power of that same God, who had caused this earthly food to grow for the use of man. (The different representations of the relation between the sign and the thing signified, we here leave untouched.)

This connection of ideas was a very favourite one among the first Christians, and was often used by them in controverting the contempt of nature shown by the Gnostics. And here also there was an allusion to a peculiar custom observed in the Church at this time; the members of the Church themselves brought the wine and bread as free gifts, and out of these offerings the elements were taken for the Lord's Supper.* These gifts were considered as the spiritual sacrifice of thanksgiving of Christians. When the minister took the elements of the Lord's Supper from these gifts, and consecrated them to God with praise and prayer, he represented the whole Church, considered as *one* priestly race, as *one* in the Lord, and he represented her readiness again to consecrate to the service of God all which she received from God. This Christian sacrifice of thanks was considered as a spiritual sacrifice, which existed only in

* The expression *εὐχαριστία* is a metonymical one, entirely to be compared with that of St. Paul, *ποτηριον εὐχαριστίας, ὁ εὐχαριστῶμεν*, or that of Justin Martyr, *ὁ εὐχαριστιῶντες ἱερός και οἶνος*, the bread and wine over which the prayer of thanks (the blessing,) has been spoken. The latter says expressly, that as soon as the president had uttered the prayer over the bread and wine, and the Church had said amen after it, the supper was distributed. [Apol. i. c. lxxxv.] He mentions no other consecration; he says: *την δι' εὐχης λογισι του πατρ' αὐτου (του Χριστου) εὐχαριστησασιν τριφον*, which cannot allude to a form of words handed down from Christ himself, for there was nothing of the kind, but only in general to the thanksgiving which was established by him, and which was used at this festival after his example. It is possible that the words containing the institution of the feast, may have been interwoven into this prayer. In the words of Cyprian, Ep. lxxx.: "In vocatione non contentibili sanctificare panem et eucharistiam facere;" there seems to be a notion conveyed of a consecration, by which common bread became changed to the Supper of our Lord.

* This custom, which may be pretty clearly presumed from the allusions of a Justin Martyr, and of an Irenæus, is expressly stated by Cyprian in his work de Opere et Eleemosynis, where he blames the rich woman for coming to the communion without giving an offering of love for the necessities of the Church. "Locuples et dives es et dominicum celebrare te credis, quæ in dominicum sine sacrificio venis, quæ partem de sacrificio, quod pauper obtulit, sumis?"

the heart, and as the free expression of childlike love and thankfulness, and was contrasted with the sacrifice of victims in the Jewish and the heathen service. Partly these gifts of the Christians, partly the thanksgiving prayer of the minister, by which they were consecrated to God, and at last, partly the whole of the Supper of the Lord was considered as an *offering*, and called *προσφορά, θυσία*, but it was at first only in *this* sense.* In this point of view, Justin Martyr says,† “The prayers and thanksgiving that come from worthy men, are the only true sacrifices, well pleasing to God; for *these alone* have Christians learned to make, and particularly in remembrance of their sustenance, which consists of dry and moist things,‡ by which they are also led to remember the sufferings which Christ underwent for their sake.” He considers this a proof of the high priestly character of Christians, because God receives sacrifice only from his priests. In this sense Irenæus,§ while he is contrasting this spiritual sacrifice with every kind of sacrificial worship, speaks thus: “It is not *sacrifices*, which sanctify the man, but the *conscience* of him that offers, if it be pure, sanctifies the offering, and causes God to receive it as from a friend.”

* Hence comes the expression so common in Cyprian, “*Oblationem alicujus accipere, offerre;*” and to receive these gifts from any one for the Church, to take the elements for the Supper of the Lord from them, and to consecrate them, was a proof that such a person was considered as a regular member of the Church.*

† Just. M. Dial. Tryph. Jud. p. 345. [p. 340, ed. Jebb.]

‡ [The bread, wine, and water of the Eucharist. See Jebb's note.—H. J. R.]

§ Iren. iv. 18.

* [The question, how far the Lord's Supper is a sacrifice, is by far too wide a field to enter upon in this place. I think, however, that the comparison between the Jewish prayer of benediction and the Christian, is a subject which demands a fuller investigation than is here given. Those who consider the Eucharist a proper sacrifice, do not allow this comparison to hold—they commend that Christ had *before* “performed the office of a master at the Paschal feast,” and that, *after supper*, when the Paschal meal was over, he blessed the bread and cup as pledges of the new covenant, and that he “did then, under the symbol of bread, offer his body, and under the symbol of wine, pour out his blood;”—offering these symbols to God as typical of his own sacrifice. It is impossible here to do more than to hint at this view of the matter, and to recommend its thorough investigation. The works which take the strongest views in defence of the proper sacrifice, are perhaps, Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, and Hickes on the Christian Priesthood. The words in inverted commas are from the former, vol. i. p. 178.—H. J. R.]

Accordingly, the idea of a sacrifice in the Supper of the Lord, was originally entirely of a symbolical kind, and this idea originally had not the least reference to the sacrifice of Christ. It was only the spiritual offering of praise by the Christians, which was thought of, but this certainly presupposed the sacrifice of Christ for man.* Afterwards, however, the reference to this latter sacrifice became more prominently brought forward; but still, only as implying the symbolical, or the commemorative, representation of the sacrifice of Christ. But as one error produces another, the false representation of a particular priesthood in the Christian Church which was to correspond to that of the Old Testament, might occasion the erroneous notion of a sacrificial worship performed by the pretended priest, which would also answer to the sacrifice of the Old Testament; and this false comparison, and this transference of notions from the Old to the New Testament, was the cause that the idea of a sacrifice in the Supper of the Lord, which was originally quite symbolical, received a turn entirely at variance with its real character—a turn which gave it something of a magical character, of which we find traces as early as the time of Cyprian.

The usual sort of bread, which was brought by the members of the Church, was used for the Supper of the Lord. Justin Martyr calls it expressly, “common bread,” (*κοινος ἄρτος*;) those who went on the supposition that Christ celebrated the festival of the Passover a day earlier than usual, had no reason at all to use any thing but the common sort of bread in the celebration of the Lord's Supper; and even those who were of a different opinion, did not think the use of

* One place of Irenæus seems to contradict what is here advanced. (iv. 18. § 4.) “*Verbum quod offertur Deo;*” as if the Logos itself, *i. e.* Christ, were offered up to God in the Lord's Supper. But even if there were no other reading in existence, this at any rate cannot be the genuine one—for such an expression would not only plainly contradict the rest of the system of Irenæus, which is clearly declared, but here it would not suit what immediately goes before. He had just said, “*Offertur Deo ex creatura ejus,*” (this relates also to the offering of bread and wine,) and in the preceding chapter, § 6, he says, “*per Christum offert ecclesia.*” Undoubtedly, therefore, the reading of other MSS. must be received as the genuine reading, “*per quod offertur.*” It is the constant reference to Christ as the high-priest, which gives the proper consecration, as well to this spiritual offering as to the whole life. This was the meaning of Irenæus.

unleavened bread an essential part of the performance of this rite. We find, however, one exception in the case of some Judaizing Christians,* which arose from the very nature of the case; for as they kept a festival in commemoration of that Last Supper of our Lord, only once a year at the Passover, it naturally happened that, as Christians who were continuing in the observance of the Jewish ceremonial law, they would eat unleavened bread.† As among the ancients, and especially in the East, it was not customary to drink pure wine, unmixed with water, at meal times, it was hence supposed that Christ also used wine mixed with water. The taste for higher and mysterious meanings, however, did not content itself with this simple, but apparently too trivial, explanation of this custom, which had become general. The mixture of the water and the wine, was to represent the union of the Church with Christ.‡

Originally, the general celebration of the Supper of the Lord, united with the celebration of the lovefeast, was a mark of daily Christian communion. When these daily assemblies could no longer take place, the Supper of the Lord became an essential part of the Sunday worship, as it appears in Justin Martyr, and the whole congregation took part in the communion, as they had responded to the preceding prayer by their Amen. The deacons brought the bread and wine to each of the assembly in order. It was held necessary that all the Christians resident in the town should constantly continue in union with the Lord and with his Church, by partaking of this communion; and the deacons, therefore, carried a portion of the consecrated bread and wine to the strangers, the sick, or the prisoners who were prevented from attending the congregation.§

* Epiphanius (Hæres. xxx. §16,) says of the Ebionites of his time, that they celebrated the communion once a year with unleavened bread and water. (The latter was because their ascetic habits would not allow the use of wine.)

† See below, in the remarks on the Ebionites.

‡ "Quando in calice vino aqua miscetur, Christus populo adunatur." Cyprian, Ep. lxi.

§ See the passage which we have already quoted from Justin Martyr, and that of Irenæus, in Euseb. v. 24, *πρωτον ὡς ἀριστον τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν πατρῶν τιμῆς*, where he is speaking of the Romish bishops. It was thus that the custom arose of communicating with elements that had before been consecrated (which were afterwards called *προεζευχμένα*.) The notion, on which this was founded, was that a communion could only have its right meaning in the midst of a community; and hence the com-

But in many Churches, as for instance, in the North African, the daily enjoyment of the communion was held to be necessary, because they looked upon it as the daily bond of union between the Lord and the Church, and the daily means of strengthening, enlivening, and salvation, for Christians. Hence, Tertullian and Cyprian understand the prayer for daily bread in a *spiritual* sense, and apply it to an unbroken and sanctifying union with Christ, by means of the Supper of the Lord. But as the daily service and celebration of the Lord's Supper no longer existed, there was no other means left to accomplish this object, than to take home some of the consecrated bread, which might stand, in case of necessity, instead of the whole communion. (This is the first trace of a reception of the Lord's Supper under *one* kind, which was introduced through error and abuse.) Thus every man, after the morning prayer, before he went to his earthly business, enjoyed the sacrament with his family in his own house, in order that the life of the whole following day might be sanctified by communion with the Lord. Oh! that men had known how to distinguish properly the spiritual feast, which was to continue throughout the whole of the Christian's life, from the outward Supper of the Lord, perceptible to the senses!*

munion of an absent individual could, therefore, only be considered in the light of a continuation of that general communion of the assembled Church. But when Cyprian speaks of the "presbyteri apud confessores offerentes," he probably there means, that the Lord's Supper was consecrated by the priests themselves.

* The following passages refer to this custom: Tertullian, (ad Uxor. ii. 5,) in speaking of the jealousy of a heathen husband towards a Christian wife: "Non sciet maritus, quid secreto ante omnem cibum guses? Et si sciverit panem, non illum credit esse, qui dicitur." And also, in the parts of the treatise de Oratione, first published by Muratori, c. xix., "Accepto corpore Domini et reservato (by the Christian mistress of a family,) arca sua, in qua Domini sanctum fuit." Cyprian, de Lapsis, ed. Baluz. p. 189. [p. 132, ed. Ox.]* In the book de Spectaculis, ascribed to Cyprian, he says of a man who runs from church to the theatre, "Festinans ad spectaculum, dimissus e dominico et adhuc gerens secum, ut assolet, Eucharistiam."

* [I suppose there is some misprint in this note. The Latin words *before* the parenthesis are from Tertullian, those *after*, are from Cyprian. They are undivided in both editions of Dr. Neander. Possibly, however, (as the words in Cyprian are "arcam suam," &c.,) Dr. Neander has intended to join the two quotations, and complete the sense by putting "Arca sua" in the ablative case. —H. J. R.]

Others, perhaps, set out from the notion, that men ought to partake of the Lord's Supper only after a whole course of particular preparation of the inward man, and therefore, only at stated seasons, chosen according to the particular convenience of the individual. The learned Hippolytus, who lived in the first half of the third century, wrote, even in those days, a treatise on the question—whether a man ought to communicate daily, or at stated seasons?*

As it was in the North African Church that the necessity of infant baptism was first peculiarly insisted on, so also did they join with this notion that of *infant communion*; for, as men did not distinguish the sign and the Divine thing signified by it sufficiently from one another, and as they understood all that is said of eating the flesh and drinking the blood of Christ, in John vi., of the outward participation of the Lord's Supper, this sacrament, they concluded, must be entirely necessary for the attainment of salvation from the very first.†

The celebration of the Lord's Supper was the seal of *every consecration to a religious purpose*; it was used at the *conclusion of a marriage*,‡ as well as at the *service for the commemoration of the dead*. We shall take a somewhat nearer view of the latter of these rites.

Christianity did not *annihilate* the *natural feelings* of man, but only *ennobled* them; it was as much opposed, on the one hand, to a *corrupted civilization*, that would overwhelm natural feelings, as, on the other, to a *wild, unbridled indulgence* of them in a rude state of nature; and thus also it showed the same character in regard to *mourning for the dead*. From the very beginning, Christianity condemned the wild and often hypocritical expressions of grief, by which funeral processions were accompanied, and it protested against the shrieks of the hired

women called "*præficæ*;" and yet it required no cold stoical resignation and apathy, but only softened and ennobled the bitterness of lamentation by the spirit of faith and hope, and of a childlike acquiescence in the dealings of eternal love, a love which takes away—only to give again in greater splendour and reality; which divides—only to unite again those whom it has divided, in a glorified state for all eternity. When multitudes were carried away by a desolating pestilence at Carthage, Cyprian said to his Church: "Our brethren are not to be lamented, who are freed from the world by the call of the Lord; surely we know that they are not lost, but sent before us,—that they have taken their departure from us in order to precede us. We may *long for them*, as we do for those who are absent from us on a voyage, but we may not lament them; we may not here below clothe ourselves in the *black garments* of mourning, while *they* are already clothed in the *white garb* of glory above; we must not give occasion to the heathen to reproach us with our inconsistency, because we lament those as annihilated and lost, whom we declare to be *living with God*; and because we do not prove by the witness of our hearts the faith which we profess with our lips. . . . We who live in hope, we who believe in God and trust that Christ suffered for us and rose again, we who *abide in Christ*, and rise again by Him and in Him, why should we *ourselves* be unwilling to depart from out of the world, or why should we lament and sorrow for *those among us who are departed*? Christ himself, our Lord and God, exhorts us, and He says: 'I am the resurrection and the life; whosoever believeth in me, though he die, yet shall he live; and he that liveth and believeth in me, shall never die!' Why hasten we not to see our country, to salute our parents? There a vast multitude of them that are dear to us, await our arrival, a multitude of parents, brethren, and children, who are now secure of their own salvation, and anxious only about ours. What a mutual joy will it be for them and us, when we come into their presence and receive their embrace!"* From this turn of mind the Christian custom arose, that the remembrance of the dead should be celebrated on the *anniversary of their death* by their relations, husband or wife, in a manner suited to the

* See Jerome, Ep. lxxi. ad Lucin. [This is Ep. xviii. in the edition of Victorius. Paris, 1579, tom. i. p. 247, d.—H. J. R.]

† Thus it happened that they gave only wine to children who could not eat bread. Comp. Cyprian, de Lapsis. This is another example of the manner in which a superstitious abuse, contrary to the institution itself, led men to separate the elements of the sacrament, and communicate under one kind. [There is a very elaborate Treatise by Zornius on the subject of the *Eucharist of Infants*. The title is "*Petri Zornii Historia Eucharistiæ Infantium, &c.*" Berolini, 1736. See also Bingham, Antiq. xii. 4, 7; xv. 7, 4.—H. J. R.]

‡ "*Oblatio pro matrimonio.*" On the meaning of this word "*oblatio*," see above.

* Cyprian, de Mortalitate, (sub finem.)

nature of the Christian faith and hope. The *Supper of the Lord* was celebrated on this day,* in the consciousness of an inseparable communion with those who had died in the Lord; a gift was brought to the altar in their name, as if they were still living members of the Church; and it was hence, probably, that the prayer for peace to the souls of the departed was interwoven with the prayer of the Church, preceding the communion.†

But even this custom, which really proceeded from a *pure Christian feeling*, received a *false, unevangelical turn*, from its connection with that *false notion of a sacrifice* in the Supper of the Lord. It was fancied that the magical efficacy of the celebration of that sacrifice would conduce to the advantage of the departed person, although it really entirely depends on the *dispositions* which each man gives proof of in his life, whether that sacrifice of Christ shall be a source of salvation to him individually or not; although the efficacy of that sacrifice of Christ can be appropriated to no man by the instrumentality of others, unless he has appropriated it to himself by his own lively faith,—and in this case, no man can impart more to him, than he himself has received from his life of faith. The germ of this false view of things is to be discerned as early as the time of Cyprian.

As *individual Christians and Christian families* celebrated in this manner the remembrance of their near relations, *whole Churches* also celebrated the remembrance of *those* who had died in the midst of them as witnesses of the faith: the day of their death was looked upon as their birthday—the day of their birth into a glorified existence.‡ The remains of their bodies were carefully buried, as the holy organs of holy souls, which should here-

after come again into their service, when called into another more glorious form. There was a congregation formed round their graves on the anniversary of their *birthday*, (in the sense mentioned above,) and the story of their confession of the faith and of their sufferings was told, the Lord's Supper was celebrated, in the conviction of a continued communion with them in union with Him, of whom they had given witness by their death.* The pure Christian character of the commemorative festival is shown by the manner in which the *Church of Smyrna*, in their account of the martyrdom of Polycarp, their bishop, answered the reproach of the heathens, who were unwilling to give up to the Church the remains of the martyr, in order that the Christians might not forsake their crucified Redeemer, and begin to worship the martyr. The Church writes thus: "Ye know not that we can neither forsake that Christ, who suffered for the salvation of the whole world of the redeemed, nor can we worship any other. We pray to Him, but we love the martyrs, as they deserve, for their exceeding love to their King and Master; and as we also hope to become their companions and fellow disciples." The Church then continues: "We take up his bones, which are more precious to us than gold and precious stones, and we lay them down in a becoming place; and God will grant that we may gather together there in peace and joy, and celebrate the birthday of his martyrdom, in remembrance of the departed warrior, and for the practice and exercise of those whom the battle still awaits." We cannot, however, deny, that in the time of Cyprian, and even earlier (for Tertullian, as a Montanist, had already combated this error,) the seeds of an exaggerated honour to the martyrs, which had consequences prejudicial to the purity of Christianity, showed themselves. So inclined is man universally to *overvalue what is human, and to idolize the instrument*, which ought only to direct his heart to *Him*, who works by means of that instrument.

* [In the Books of Common Prayer, published during the first years of Queen Elizabeth, there was a separate office for the administration of the sacrament at funerals. It is given in Sparrow's Collection of Articles, Injunctions, &c., p. 199. It is in Latin; its date is 1560. It is found in some English editions also.—H. J. R.]

† "Oblationes pro defunctis annua die facimus." Tertullian, de Corona Mil. c. iii., where it is spoken of as an old tradition. He also says to a husband, in regard to his deceased wife: "Pro cuius spiritu postulas, pro qua oblationes annuas reddis: commendabis per sacerdotem," &c. De Exhortat. Castitat. c. xi.

‡ The "dies natales, natalitia martyrum," γενέθλια των μαρτυρων.

* These "oblationes, sacrificia pro martyribus," originally presumed that the martyrs were like other sinful men, who might well need the Christian intercession; in its original intention, therefore, this custom was in contradiction with the extravagant reverence paid to martyrs; and hence it was afterwards found necessary to give a new meaning to this old custom.

THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

IN presenting to the public the second volume of this translation of Dr. Neander's History of the Church, I may be allowed to express my regret that the promise of its speedy appearance (made at the publication of the first volume,) has not been duly realized. It would be of little interest to detail the causes of this delay, as they are chiefly of a personal character, if they were not calculated to show that some of them are unlikely again to operate, so as to prevent my rapid progress in finishing my translation of the succeeding volumes of this able work.* The circumstances of our own country, at the period of the publication of the first volume, left those, who took much part, as I did then, in periodical literature, but little time or thought for studies of a less stirring character, and however higher in value, of a more remote interest; and the same cause led me to presume that such a work then would find but few readers. University employments, and many other avocations which I had not anticipated, at first took me away from the subject, and every one knows with what difficulty employments once suspended are again resumed. About the beginning of this year, however, the publishers having informed me that the first volume was out of print, I determined to finish the second immediately, part of it having been printed some years ago, and the result has been the present publication.

The second volume, now published, completes the history of the first three centuries, and the first portion of the work is now finished. I must, therefore, take the present opportunity of offering a few remarks, both upon the original work and on the translation. With regard to the former, I have expressed my own opinion very fully in the preface to the first volume, and I do not see any thing there which I should wish to retract, nor is there much which I think it necessary to add. I have the same opinion of the candour and integrity of the author; and I entertain the same dissent from some of his opinions. The few remarks which I would here offer, are rather to be taken as cautions to those younger readers, who apply to these volumes for instruction. I would suggest to them the unsatisfactory nature of some of its statements, and attempt to point out one of the causes from which this circumstance proceeds. With regard to the whole of the *Church question*, I have spoken so fully in the preface and the notes to the first volume, that I need not touch upon it now. But the great doctrinal point, which I think is treated in an unsatisfactory manner, is that of the Trinity, (see pp. 255, and 280-90;) the most important of all the doctrines of Christianity.

The author may, perhaps, think it foreign to the province of the historian, to express a decided opinion on doctrinal points,—a view in which I cannot wholly coincide. I think a perfectly impartial statement of the arguments of those who differ from us, and a perfectly fair account of their conduct, are quite compatible, not only with entertaining a decided opinion on such matters, but with the expression of it. And I confess that it would have given me great satisfaction to find in Dr. Neander's statements with regard to the great doctrine of the Trinity, something less indistinct and shadowy, than the passages to which I have here pointed attention. I think such statements might have been made, without any fear of appearing to explain that mysterious dogma. It appears to me a question rather of fact than of speculation, as one might attempt to

* Should no unforeseen obstacles occur, I trust, in a very short period, to publish two more volumes, which will contain the same proportion (three Bands, or Parts) of the original.

show in the following manner. Without any presumptuous attempt to explain to ourselves the doctrine of the Trinity, if we ask ourselves one or two simple questions, we must bring the matter to an issue at once; *viz.* Is our Saviour spoken of in Scripture, in language inapplicable to any created Being, and at the same time is the idea of the Father suffering on the cross entirely excluded? And again: is the Holy Spirit spoken of in Scripture in a manner inconsistent with any thing but a clear objective sense? These things belong to the class of facts, rather than to that of opinions, and the doctrine of the Trinity does nothing more than enounce these facts—the Athanasian creed itself contains no speculative explanation of them, and no attempt at it. Let us, therefore, with this impression before our minds, inquire to what the remarks of Dr. Neander are really applicable. I think it will be seen that they not only admit a construction, by which they do not oppose the doctrine of the Trinity, even as laid down in the most precise manner in the Athanasian creed; but that they properly apply to further speculative attempts to explain this doctrine. But still I think they are expressed in so indistinct a manner, that a very large proportion of readers would consider them as directed against any positive declarations of the necessity of a belief in this doctrine, as held by the orthodox; and I think the tendency of the language, and the manner in which it is used, calculated rather to lower the notion of the absolute necessity of a right faith, even in such essential points as this—a tendency, which, in other hands, might be carried much farther, and where the moderation and Christian feelings of Dr. Neander were wanting, might produce great mischief. We must never forget that the disciples of any erroneous system or tenet, always diverge more widely from the truth than their master. The divergency of error is invariably a progressive operation.

I regret, therefore, the indistinctness, of which I speak, both for these reasons, and because I think it the province of ecclesiastical history to give witness to the great doctrines of Christianity, and warning to future generations from the errors of those which have passed away. The author, however, of this work appears to be chiefly solicitous about the improvement of the heart and the affections of man by Christianity, for which solicitude no one can do otherwise than honour and respect him; but at the same time it is certain, that to effect this great end, the maintenance of all the great doctrines of Christianity in their integrity is absolutely essential. Whatever is revealed, whatever has been universally maintained in the Christian Church from the first ages, I believe to be necessary to be received, in order that Christianity may produce its full effect in the amelioration of man's nature, and that any departure from them will soon be felt in its practical influence.

The next point to which I would draw attention, is the general view which the author takes of the progress of Christianity, in regard to the formation of the opinion of the Church on great questions of doctrine. We can scarcely conceive more than three ways in which Christian doctrines may be supposed to have obtained their recognition in the Church in express formulæ.

1. They may be supposed to have been *explicitly* maintained in the same words, and with the selfsame limitations from the very first ages of the Christian Church,—a view which the amplifications of doctrine, as exhibited in the history of existing creeds, sufficiently shows to be untenable.

2. They may be supposed to have been held *implicitly*,* and in some degree only as matters of consciousness, until the prevalence of opposite errors required this consciousness to be embodied in definite terms, and expressed in public formulæ;—or

3. We may suppose that all doctrines were in a mere chaotic state till controversies arose, and then that the doctrines were actually formed during the controversies, and new doctrines were thus, as it were, thought out and made by these controversies.

* Thus a belief in the Trinity implied a belief in the eternity of the Son, &c. We must remember, however, that the shorter confessions of faith (for baptism, &c.) are summaries, which vouched for more than they expressed. See Bull, *Judicium Eccl. Cath.* cap. iv.

Of these views the second appears to me the most consistent with history, and the third appears to be that which I should derive as my impression from reading this work. It may not be the opinion of the author, and he might probably disavow it, if placed thus before him; but still I think it is the impression, which would generally be entertained by most of his readers. I am not about to argue the question here, as that would, of itself, require a volume.* I only point out the difference between these two positions, and request the readers of ecclesiastical history to bear it in mind, and judge for themselves. I should deeply regret it, if in any way I have misrepresented the view of my author. I only state that this is the impression left upon my mind by close attention to his work.

The last point to which I would draw attention is the manner in which the views which Dr. Neander has embraced, appear sometimes to influence the judgment he forms on points only incidentally connected with them. His aim, indeed, is to be perfectly impartial and unprejudiced,—an aim which, we know, it is almost impossible for any man entirely to attain; and, therefore, we may not wonder if sometimes we see, in his case, preconceived opinions affecting his decisions. The point, to which I more particularly allude, is the judgment he passes on the genuineness and integrity of some of the most remarkable remains of Christian antiquity. As a single example, I would only mention the decision of Dr. Neander, that § 40 of the Epistle of Clement, of Rome is an interpolation. The learned and amiable author of this work believes, that the transference of Jewish terms to the Christian priesthood is of later date than the time of Clement of Rome, and accordingly decides that this must be an interpolation. He alleges, indeed, that it *contradicts* the rest of the Epistle; but this term appears to me too strong to apply to the case in question. To a person who had not formed so strong an opinion on this subject as Dr. Neander, such a contradiction would hardly appear to exist. No doubt, whenever so learned and candid a writer as Dr. Neander has arrived at an opinion, like that to which I have adverted, every passage, which appears to militate against it, challenges an inquiry, at least from him, into its genuineness; but such an opinion is no argument against its genuineness in the minds of others, whose opinions differ on that very point; and it is hardly a just method of proceeding on this sole ground to refuse the testimony of one of the witnesses before the controversy is decided.† I think in these respects there is a degree of caution required in admitting some of the conclusions of this work; and my conviction of the necessity of such caution probably may originate, and is certainly strengthened by the circumstance, that on many points our views do not coincide.

These are the principal circumstances which I would point out as likely to prevent this work from being as generally acceptable and useful in this country, as its great merit in other respects would lead us to expect that it might become.‡ I trust that, in expressing my opinion on these points, I have been betrayed into no presumption, and shown no disrespect to the author, whose work I have translated, and also that I have

* I would only suggest to my younger readers one or two works on the great doctrine of the Trinity, from which they will derive great advantage. I mean the works of Ep. Horsley, Dr. Waterland, Bp. Bull, and as a very convenient and useful work of reference, Dr. Burton's "Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers."

† Of course these remarks are not meant to apply to clear cases of anachronisms, which are often of service in detecting forgeries. Take for example the will of St. Patrick which mentions Indulgences. Which word was not in use for centuries after his death.

‡ I might, perhaps, justly appeal in this point to the almost unanimous opinion of those writers in whose works I have seen any notice of those of Dr. Neander. All bear testimony to the excellence of the author, but all with a reserve on some point. They all express their unfeigned respect for the learning of the author, his excellent qualities of head and heart, as well as the general usefulness of his works, but all qualify it by expressing a dissent from some of his views. See, for instance, the Bishop of Lincoln's preface to his work on Tertullian, where he controverts many of Dr. Neander's statements and opinions; or Dr. Burton's introduction to his Bampton Lectures, where, in speaking of this very history, and expressing a hope that it would be translated, he adds, "The writer is a theorist, as are many of his countrymen; and I could wish that some of his observations had not been made. But he has investigated with great patience of research, and with a very original train of thought, the early history of the Church; and if he carries into execution what he has partly promised to undertake, a full and special history of the Church in the time of the apostles. he will probably confer a lasting benefit on literature in general." p. xvii.

not stepped beyond the proper province of a translator. It might be supposed that I coincided in all the views here maintained, if I intimated nothing to the contrary; and as I think some of them unsound, I should feel that I was thus far promoting erroneous opinions. But having pointed out what appear to me, after paying considerable attention to the work, the sources of its chief faults, I leave my readers to exercise their own judgment on the subject, and to derive all the advantage and instruction from this history, which, in most respects, it is calculated to bestow.

With regard to the translation itself, I must, as I before observed, leave others to judge of the manner in which my humble task has been performed. I remain of the same opinion still as to the duty of a translator. In works of this nature fidelity is his first merit, and ought to be his chief aim; and for this reason, I think we ought very rarely to resort to a paraphrastic version.*

The style of this work in general is not such as to render it particularly easy to bring into English, with fluency and freedom; but this difficulty is, of course, very much increased, when the subjects of which it treats approach the subtil regions of metaphysics. A large portion of this volume, it will be seen, is devoted to a development of the various systems of Gnosticism, and to an explanation of the views of Manes and his followers. Oriental mysticism and theosophy has long been noted as full of obscurity; and even the acute and learned Bayle has not hesitated to express his utter inability to enter into it. After speaking, in his article on Zerdusht, or Zoroaster, of the Persian notions of light and darkness, he adds, "This chaos of thought is incomprehensible to us western people. None but the eastern nations, accustomed to a mystical and contradictory language, can bear such excessive nonsense without disgust and horror." This is too sweeping a position, and too strong language; much has been done since his days to introduce us to a more intimate acquaintance with the ideas of the eastern nations, but still this difference in the habits of thought between these two families of the human race, will always tend to make the speculative views of the one difficult to the other. Dr. Neander has done much to arrange and systematize the various theories of Gnosticism; but their obscurities have not been entirely removed, nor are they in all cases lessened by a passage through the regions of German metaphysics. There is one difficulty, however, which no one can properly appreciate, except those who have known it by experience, in every attempt to present the metaphysical and philosophical speculations of German writers to English readers; and that difficulty arises from the copiousness of the German metaphysical vocabulary, and the poverty of our own.

Without passing any judgment on the various systems of philosophy which have made their appearance in Germany within the last fifty years, we may say that the Germans have paid more attention to metaphysics latterly than our countrymen have done; and, whether these systems be true or false, they have certainly carried to a very high point of refinement their analysis of the subtle processes of thought within us. In reducing their analysis to systems, they have made minute distinctions between these processes, which they have been enabled to embody in their language, and thus to introduce a definiteness into their copious vocabulary, of which our own language is hardly capable. And besides this, the lax manner in which all words in English, referring to mental processes† are used, renders it impossible to represent such distinctions intelligibly, without expressly defining beforehand in what sense we mean to use the words. *Conception,‡ thought, idea, notion, perception, apprehension, and other*

* I am fully aware that a different principle has been maintained, and that some translators from German works have professed to give their author's sense rather than his words; and have thought themselves justified in altering, and even omitting whole passages. It must be obvious that this proceeding is liable to many dangers, and it can never represent the mind and opinions of the author; which is always desirable.

† The same is true in some degree in respect to our mental faculties also.

‡ Sir G. Haughton, in his *Prodromus* (more particularly mentioned in the next note) has, however, endeavoured to recall us to a more definite use of these words. He seems rather inclined to banish *idea* altogether, and substitute for it *image* or *perception*. He says, "an idea must either be

words are used synonymously, which might be devoted to different processes, and the very distinction of the Reason and the Understanding, on which so much stress is laid in Germany, is seldom brought forward in English works.* These circumstances make it difficult adequately to represent in any English translation the exact views of the author in those passages, where any words occur, which presuppose a recognition of the distinctions common among his countrymen. I have endeavoured to grapple

the equivalent of a perception, or a conception; and these two words are merely abstractions, that could have no sense, if we did not refer them respectively to the only assertion any of us can truly make; namely, I *PERCEIVE Things*, and I *conceive States*," p. 205. It must be remembered that Sir G. Haughton's fundamental principle is this. Every word necessarily means nothing more than *THING* or *STATE*, "and even the last of these two terms is a mere sound—a symbol boldly invented by the intellect, for the purpose of reasoning," p. 5. He says also, p. 45, "that all reasoning is effected solely by means of words, either single or linked together in those chains which we call Conceptions; but *no single word, STATE even not excepted*, can be a conception in any other sense than as a sound preserved by the memory." To the class of *Perceptions* according to him belong all objects we *PERCEIVE* when we *see, hear, smell, taste, or touch*. To *Conceptions* belong all the *Combinations, Relations* and other *States*, of the objects or things we perceive, and of which we are enabled to *think* or *CONCEIVE* by the mysterious operations of the intellect, aided by the almost equally mysterious mechanism of language which it had previously prepared by and for the process, to which we give the name of *thought*. To this class must likewise be referred those *essences* which we derive by strict inference when we observe the design, harmony, and operations of nature, such as God, Soul, and Power."

This is definite enough, and this author will perform a service to our language and to our habits of thinking, if we can persuade all writers to be more precise in the use of such terms, whether they adopt his definitions or not.

But let not my meaning be misunderstood. I do not here pretend to give any judgment either about the German systems or Sir G. Haughton's book. I only point out the existence of certain refinements of speculation among our German neighbours, which *our* language scarcely enables to present in the symbols which it affords us. In professedly metaphysical works, the difficulty may, perhaps, be obviated by definitions, but where these words only occur incidentally, as in this history, the difficulty introduced by this consideration is not slight. The cause, perhaps, lies deeper, and this has been most ably touched upon by one, whose memory I revere, whose guidance I daily miss, and whose correcting hand would have rendered these pages far more worthy of consideration; and it would be injustice not to quote his words:—

"The English are not a thinking and speculative, but a practical people, and they are accustomed to look at things only in a practical point of view. This habit is carried into their literature, and he who wishes to gain their attention must not deal in abstractions, or he will write in vain. Things must be presented in a definite tangible form, or the English capacity cannot receive them. It may be a very good or a very bad state of the intellect; on that point I say nothing; but I maintain that this is the state of English intellect, and this will sufficiently account for the neglect experienced by many valuable works of latter days."—The State of Protestantism in Germany, by the late Hugh James Rose, p. 208.

* To this sweeping remark there are of course some exceptions, and among these it would be wrong to omit mentioning the late Mr. Coleridge's admirable little volume, entitled "Aids to Reflection." I may also add that Sir G. Haughton in his *Prodromus* has distinguished between *Reason* and *Understanding*, but not exactly in the same manner as the German metaphysicians. Of the understanding he says, "The first great delusion we are under, is in supposing that the word *Understanding* represents any thing whatsoever. We, that is, our thinking selves, may *understand* what we hear or see; but when we employ the Abstract word *Understanding* for some part of ourselves, we do so clearly by a fallacy. When we *understand* any thing, we necessarily *feel*, are *conscious*, and *intelligent*; and were I to analyse the term *Understanding*, according to the usual mode in these cases, I would consequently say, that it is compounded of *Feeling*, *Consciousness*, and *Intelligence*. For, if I analyse one *Abstraction*, I shall most likely do it by the help of others; but in reality there is neither *Understanding*, *Feeling*, *Consciousness*, nor *Intelligence*; and instead of these, we must remember that it is the union of soul with matter, which, being organized into human frames, *understands, feels, is conscious and intelligent*." Of the *Reason*, on the contrary, he says, "Of all the divisions into which we separate 'the Mind,' *Reason* is the only one which is not a misconception arising from the delusive nature of language. It is not a faculty, but a *real agent*, aiding and assisting the intellect of man in all its varied operations." The view which Sir G. Haughton develops is briefly explained thus: "Intellect," (that which thinks,) "Sensorium" (that portion of the brain which is conscious,) and *Nerves*," (the seat of sensation,) "constitute the mysterious agent called *Self*;" and he elsewhere says of the Intellect, "It is this unknown organ so highly endowed, and constituting the thinking, reflecting agent, resulting from the combination of soul with matter duly organized, that I call in these pages by the name of *INTELLECT*." The author immediately after the above assertion about *Reason* as an *Agent*, not a *faculty*, begs his readers to suspend their judgment on the point till he has developed his views in some future work.

It would be altogether foreign to the subject of these volumes to enter at any length into metaphysical disquisitions, but in noticing the difficulty which arises to the English translator of a German work, from the difference in the mental condition of the two nations, it is not, perhaps, altogether out of place to allude to an English work on the subject of *Metaphysics*, written with considerable clearness and ability, which proposes to throw a new light on all the phenomena of our minds, and to show that all metaphysical systems have hitherto been founded on delusions, arising from our mistaking the nature and force of the words we use. That the work deserves serious, and impartial consideration, as a remarkable exposition of *Nominalism* given in a systematic form, and applied in a novel manner, few persons would be inclined to deny; but whether

with this difficulty as well as I was able; but in order that I might apprise the reader that there was something, which could not be rendered by a word exactly synonymous with the original, I have occasionally inserted the German word, and sometimes referred to the preface for some observations on the subject. This is particularly the case with such words as *Anschauung*, *Begriff*, *Bewusstseyn*, &c.; and I have thought that it might be advantageous to the English reader, if, at the end of this Preface, I threw into the form of a brief vocabulary a few remarks on such words, and a translation of a few passages from German philosophical works, in which they are expressly defined. To this I will, therefore, refer those readers who require further satisfaction on this point.

It will be seen that in some passages, where I have thought a literal translation might appear obscure or ambiguous, I have given a paraphrase in a note, or vice versa, in order that I may not appear to evade a difficulty in this manner. There is, however, one passage in which, if there is no incorrectness in the text, I have left it without any attempt to explain its meaning, which is certainly obscure. It may, perhaps, be right to state the sense I deduce from it. It appears to express a notion of Origen, in which he intimates that the word of God, through which the Logos communicates himself to the soul of man, is called the flesh and blood of Christ, and is also the heavenly bread, (symbolized under the sacramental bread,) of which we must eat in order to live forever; and that the breaking of the bread, and pouring out of the wine, are symbols of the multiplication of the words, by which it is made effectual to the heart of each individual believer. This I believe to be the general purport of the sentence, although there is an awkwardness about the construction of it in the original which I cannot entirely clear away, and I have accordingly left only an exact and literal translation of it. Had I been able to consult the passages of Origen, on which the statement is founded, I might have been able to remove all difficulty; but the references did not enable me to do this. The only edition of Origen which I possess is that of Huet; and in this place Neander does not refer to that edition, nor does he give means by which it may be traced in that edition.

With regard to the quotations generally from Greek and Latin Fathers, I have followed the same course as in the first volume. I have verified them whenever I was able, and have generally enabled my readers to do so with much greater ease than

the author establishes his views, I do not undertake to decide. I think, however, in some instances, our author's Nominalism carries him too far. When he speaks of our attachment to the Church, the State, the Constitution, a principle, &c., as showing the 'hold which Abstractions have upon our nature,' and 'how much we are swayed by mere words;' when he observes,—that 'not one of these designate any thing that has a real existence, except as a sound: still we are ready to sacrifice our lives for them. . . . Without language, not one of these conceptions could have had an existence; nor could one drop of the torrents of blood that have flowed from such causes have been shed,'—is not the author carried away by his own theory? We can hardly reason on what we should be "without language;" but it can scarcely be said that we are ready to sacrifice our lives in these cases for mere abstractions. Had the author here used his usual clearness and acuteness, would he not have seen that if these words are mere abstractions, they are only convenient symbols (abridging as symbols do the processes of reasoning,) which stand for matters which exert a very practical influence on men's happiness? When we say a man is ready to sacrifice his life for the Constitution, what do we mean but that he is ready to resist changes in all the relations of life, which he considers likely to bring misery on himself and all around him. Let us take another instance to make this clearer. The words *Slavery* and *Freedom* express mere abstractions, exactly as much as the words cited by Sir G. Haughton; but would the resistance to the one, and the struggle for the other, appear to him to be a struggle about a mere abstraction? In these cases men contend about changes of condition involving practical consequences to themselves, and it is in vain, in order to persuade them to lay aside their differences, to tell them that the watchwords of their cause are mere abstractions. And the same reasoning is applicable, *mutatis mutandis*, to the instances selected by Sir G. Haughton. With regard to 'the Church,' to those who believe that our Saviour bound men together under certain laws, to contend for the welfare and extension of the society, comprising all who embrace those laws, must be a duty. The term may be an abstract term, but it comprehends truths and realities, for which men are bound to contend, though they cannot be justified in using persecution for the sake of them. Men *talk* about these abstractions, but they *contend* about realities, included among the complicated notions, of the aggregate of which these abstractions are the conventional symbol. I trust in making these observations I have not misrepresented, nor mistaken this author, for although he appears to despair of a fair hearing in England, and looks for it to the truth-inquiring spirit of Germany, I can say that I opened his essay with perfect impartiality, and shall look with much interest to any further development of his views.

myself, by referring to other editions. This is particularly the case with the very numerous quotations from Clemens Alexandrinus. The edition to which Dr. Neander refers is almost invariably the edition of Paris, 1629; and unfortunately it happens to be the most inconvenient one possible for those who possess any other. There are no divisions in it, but that of pages, and these pages are not marked in other editions. The pages of Sylburg's and Potter's editions are marked in that of Klotz, (Leipsic, 1831;) and I have in almost every instance given the reference to each of these. The books of Clemens Alexandrinus are of very considerable length, and a reference to the page of the Paris edition is of no value except to those who possess that particular edition. I have not always given the reference to Klotz; but the pages of Potter and Sylburg being found in the margin of that edition, it is by no means necessary.

I now proceed to give a list of such words as may be productive of some obscurity or difficulty, with an explanation of them from German works of authority, especially the Philosophical Lexicon of Krug.* I insert also a few words, of which Dr. Neander makes frequent use, and respecting which some brief remarks may be acceptable.

“*Anschauung* (intuitio,) in its most restricted sense, is synonymous with an image presented-to-us-through-the-sight,† from the verb *schauen*, to see. But because the representations of-the-sight [Gesichtsvorstellungen] have the greatest clearness and objectivity of all our sensuous perceptions, under the term *Anschauung*, taken in a more extended sense, we understand generally an *objective* representation to any of our senses, and contrast with it an *Empfindung*, or *sensation* [sensatio,] as a subjective, sensuous representation. This contrast is, however, not to be understood exclusively, but only as the predominant distinction. In the case of an *Anschauung*, the *Objective* (the condition of the object represented) comes most strongly into consciousness; in an *Empfindung*, or sensation, the *Subjective*, (the condition of the *subject* in which the representation takes place.) In its widest meaning, *Anschauung* is equivalent to a sensuous representation.‡ Hence, sensuous knowledge§ is called *anschauliche*, or *intuitive*.

“*Pure* or *a priori* intuitions [Anschauungen] are those which are referred to space and time generally, and to that which can be constructed therein independently of experience (purely mathematical magnitudes;) *empirical*, or *a posteriori* intuitions, are those which are referred to objects of experience, perceivable in space and time. An *intellectual Anschauung* is one which proceeds from the Understanding; a *rational* one, that which proceeds from the Reason.

“As soon as we distinguish the Reason and the Understanding from Sense, it becomes inconsistent to speak of perceiving intuitively [anschauen] as an act of the senses, and at the same time as an act of the Reason or of the Understanding. But still it may be said that the imagination performs this act [anschauet,] because it is itself nothing but an inward sense. But the Sense itself is called also the *Anschauungsvermögen*, or faculty-of-intuition (facultas intuendi.) The *Anschauungsweise*|| [or mode of intuition]—

* Allgemeines Handwörterbuch der philosophischen Wissenschaften, nebst ihrer Literatur und Geschichte. Nach dem heutigen Standpunkte der Wissenschaft bearbeitet und herausgegeben von D. Wilhelm Traugott Krug, Professor der Philosophie an der Universität zu Leipzig, &c. Zweite verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage. Vier Bände. Leipzig, 1832. Fünfter Band, als Supplement zur zweiten Auflage. Leipzig, 1833.

† The original word is Gesichtsvorstellung, representation-of-the-sight. *Object of sight* would not be a just translation, as this would leave out the notion of the *subject* in whom the representation is formed. Of *Vorstellung*, Krug says (sub voce,) *Vorstellung* (representation,) is properly an outward operation through which we set any thing before ourselves, or before others; on which account this word is also used when any one at court, or in society, allows himself to be presented to others, to personal acquaintance. But since with that outward act [*Thatigkeit*, act, agency,] there is always conjoined an inward one also, by which something is made present to our consciousness; this making-present to us is also called a *vorstellen*, [or setting before us,] and the inward effect is called a *Vorstellung*, [or representation.] And every [*Vorstellung*] representation is a more or less clear and striking image of something, which is the circumstance or the object of the representation, as the *ego* is the subject of it.

‡ Perhaps *impression* would give the best translation of this word.

§ Sinnliche Erkenntniss, a cognition obtained through the senses. See the word Erkenntniss, further on in this preface.

|| This expression is used, rather more laxly by Neander, p. 242 See note.]

the *forma intuitionis*, on which account the word *Anschauungsform* is sometimes used—is nothing but the law, according to which our Sense performs the act of intuition. . . .

“Anschauungs- or Intuitiones-Philosophie is opposed by many to Verstandes- or Reflexions-Philosophie, and they prefer the former to the latter. But they ought properly to be taken together, because the ideas derived from intuition, [*Anschauungen*] and from reflection [or *Begriffe*, see the next word] are the elements of all human knowledge.”—Krug's *Lexicon*, vol. i. p. 160-1.

To this extract from Krug, I may append the following from Kiesewetter's *Logik zum Gebrauch für Schulen*, Vienna, 1824:

“All *thoughts* are *representations*, but all *representations* are not *thoughts*. All representations must present something; this something which they present (which does not, however, on that account require to have a real existence) is called their *object* [or *Gegenstand*.] Now that representation which refers itself to a single object, and that, too, *immediately*, (without any intermediate representation) is called an *Anschauung* [or *Intuition*.] All representations, which are not [*Anschauungen* or] *Intuitions*, and also all representations which are referred to more than one object, as also all mediate representations, are *thoughts*. The representation [or image in the mind,] which I have of the picture of my friend, which is hanging before me, and which I look upon; the representation I have of the tones of a violin, which I am actually listening to; the representation which I have of the flower I am smelling, the tea I am tasting, or of the pain of burning, which I feel at the moment; the representation of the late king, which my imagination recalls into consciousness; or the image of a mountain stream presented to my fancy; the representation of the present condition in which my mind actually is—all these are *intuitions* [*Anschauungen*,] because they refer to *one* object, and we see at once that this reference is immediate, and that they do not require any intermediate representation. The representations of *Man*, *Flower*, &c., are not intuitions, for they do not refer to one object, but comprehend many; and still further, they do not refer *immediately* to an object, but do so by means of intuitions (the representation, *Man*, for instance, is referred first to the intuition of individual men, as Caius, Titus, &c.) and hence are *thoughts* (*Gedanken*.) Dr. Kiesewetter then proceeds to show that the statement, ‘Caius is sick,’ and the syllogism, ‘All men are mortal, Caius is a man, therefore Caius is mortal,’ are *thoughts* [*Gedanken*,] not intuitions [*Anschauungen*,] as in the first case we do not rest in the simple image of Caius, but unite the proposition with it that he is sick, &c.”

To this extract I might add the article from the *Conversations-Lexicon*, in which the writer draws a distinction between *outward* and *inward* intuitions, the former being the intuitions of all objects in *space*, the latter of all objects only in *time*, which we perceive only as changes in ourselves, such as the images of our imagination [as in the examples of Kiesewetter, the mountain stream, or the late king,] our thoughts, &c. He then proceeds to say, that all *outward things*, having a representation, and being necessarily in some *time*, are also *inward*, and thus by our imagination we can represent the objects of space in our minds; ‘but on the contrary, that *inward* representations, being only representable in *time*, not in *space*, cannot at the same time be *outward* things, and hence that the latter class of representations have no form.’ After speaking of the fine arts, he then proceeds farther to say, that the “effect of any work of art depends chiefly on its *Anschaulichkeit*, and is more lively and will please more, the more its representations resemble our intuitive representations.”

I might accumulate more extracts on this subject, but the above will be sufficient for our present purpose, which is, not to write an Introduction to the elements of German Philosophy, but to bring forward sufficient to illustrate the use of some of the terms which occur in sections iv. and v., (see pages 239, 242, 243, 244, 263, 264.) It will be seen from these extracts that in its *strictest* philosophical sense, *Anschauung* means an image of one outward object in the mind, conveyed thither by the sight, but that it is

used generally for any *ideas* of sense. I may, perhaps, observe, that I should have done better to translate it by *intuition* than by *perception*. In page 264 also, Intuition would, perhaps, be the best translation. In page 242, I believe that the note and the translation when compared with the above extracts from other writers, will convey the meaning of my author with tolerable justice. He there contrasts the *Anschauungen* of the Eastern people with the abstractions of the Western,—the lively pictures which the former raised in their imaginations with the abstractions of the latter. Thus *Sophia* became with the Eastern people, not an abstract idea of Wisdom,* which they would not attempt to reason upon, but a person, whom they could picture to their minds, and to which they could attribute all the qualities and actions of a person, and thus represent to themselves all that related to her, with the most graphic liveliness. Their whole system of *Æons*, *Pleroma*, &c., are nothing but a set of pictures, called up and figured in their prolific imaginations; and it is in this respect in which they are said to be so devoted to *Anschauungen* in preference to *Begriffe*. *Intuition* and *pictorial representation to the mind*, are the two chief points to which we must turn our attention in all passages where the word *Anschauung* occurs, and these two leading points will, I think, explain all such passages in this work.

I now pass on to the next word, which may be much more briefly treated, in consequence of the length to which the preceding discussion has been carried.

“*Begriff*. *Begriff* is a representation, through which something is thought upon; but an object is thought upon, when we represent it *by means of certain signs*.† From the collecting together of these signs (a *conciendiis notis*), such a representation is called a [*Begriff*, or] *Conception* (*Conceptus*, *notio*.) The *Begriff* or *Conception* is, therefore, a mediate and general [or common, *gemeinsame*] representation, and is, therefore, essentially distinguished from an *Anschauung*, or an *Empfindung*, through which something individual is always represented; as when any one beholds a house, or feels a pain. But he, who only thinks upon that, which we call a house or a pain, he has a [*Begriff*] conception of it, which he may refer to any house or pain whatsoever. A *Conception*, therefore, [or *Begriff*] is the unity of a multitude [*eines Mannigfaltigen*,‡] which multitude may be greater or less, but is always more comprehensive than the multitude of the *Anschauung*. He who looks upon the starry heaven, beholds many stars, but the conception [*Begriff*] of a star goes far wider; it comprehends those under the horizon, and even those which are invisible by reason of their distance. So also, he who thinks upon a house or a mountain by means of conceptions, has a more comprehensive representation of it, than he who merely looks upon many houses and mountains, although the intuitive representation [or *Anschauung*] is fuller of contents or subject matter, and therefore, more lively than the *conception* [*Begriff*] which only contains what is common to these things. If we wish to become thoroughly acquainted with any [*Begriff*, or] *Conception*, we must analyse it, that is, divide it into its signs or marks, as far as this is possible. We thus learn its contents [its subject matter, its complexus,] and we can then determine how far it goes, that is, to how many things it applies,” &c.—Krug, vol. i. p. 306.

Kiesewetter (l. c. p. 14—17,) says, “There are three kinds of thoughts, *Conceptions*, *Judgments*, and *Conclusions*,” (*Begriffe*, *Urtheile*, und *Schlüsse*,) and then characterises the first of them thus:—“A *Conception* [*Begriff*] is, like an *Anschauung*, a single representation, but not like the latter, a representation of a single object, as it represents many objects; it is also mediate, whereas on the contrary, an *Anschauung* is imme-

* I do not by the use of this word mean to assert we can have really any *abstract idea* of wisdom, or that *wisdom* is more than an abstract term, which we must unite with a Being, before we can conceive it: in which case it becomes a *concrete*, not an *abstract* idea. I do not enter into this question at all, which most metaphysical writers discuss at great length.

† Under *Begreifen*, Krug says, ‘This word means to feel with the fingers, as we do in order to acquaint ourselves accurately with any thing. But *begreifen* also means to form *Begriffe*, because these exist by means of the *taking together* of a variety of things.’

‡ This might be translated, ‘the unity of the Multifarious,’ which is always more comprehensive than the Multifariousness of the *Anschauung*.

diate. The conception *Man*, is a single representation, but refers to many objects; I do not obtain the Conception on *Man* immediately, as I do the Anschauung of Caius, but mediately."

He afterwards says:

"Our first conceptions arise out of intuitions, but it is quite clear that we do not merely separately our conceptions only from intuitions, as explained above;* but can also create new conceptions from our existing conceptions. Thus abstracting from Lion, Tiger, Wolf, &c., all in which they differ, and combining what remains, we have a new conception, 'a quadruped of prey.'"

This will suffice on the subject of Begriff.

Bewusstseyn, Consciousness. It is not necessary to enter into the philosophical questions connected with this word, as Dr. Neander seems generally to apply it in its common and usual sense, although sometimes, by a more lax usage of language; he may unite with the common meaning of consciousness, a moral sense, which renders it more nearly equivalent to our word conscience.

The note subjoined to the word Gottesbewusstsein, will suffice for its explanation.

Erkenntniss, Cognition. Erkenntnisse, Cognitions.

"*Erkennen* (Cognoscere) means not only to represent or to think of any thing, but to refer one's representations (Vorstellungen†) to real objects, and to distinguish these objects from each other, as things of a definite character. This *Erkennen*, or cognizing, is more than merely thinking; it is a real laying hold (erfassen, or ergreifen) of things—on which account the old philosophers designated it also by the name καταλαμβάνειν, or comprehendere—but then this takes place by means of representations (Vorstellungen.) These representations are partly *sensuous* [derived from the senses,] or, are intuitions [Anschauungen, see the word,] and sensations [Empfindungen,] which refer to the Individual (this or that particular object,) and, partly *intellectual* [derived from the Understanding,] or Conceptions [Begriffe] which refer to the General (or that which is common to many things.) But if any thing real is to be known (*erkennt, cognized,*) it must be *given* (datum,) or at least *capable-of-being-given* (dabile,) i. e., it must be capable of being seen, or felt; or to speak more generally, of being perceived (wahrnehmen.) Whatever is not in any manner perceivable (neither inwardly nor outwardly) that is also not cognizable (*erkennbar, knowable;*) it cannot be pointed out and defined objectively in its reality, although subjectively in the consciousness of the Ego‡ there may be grounds for maintaining its existence. In this case it is an object of Belief, not of knowledge, the latter being only said of what we maintain from objective or real sources of cognition."

"*Erkenntniss* (Cognitio.) Cognition, as the result of cognizing (*Erkennen*, see the foregoing article,) is said both individually and generally. In the case of individual things, cognition is the reference of a representation to a given object, by which it is distinguished as a definite thing, from other things which more or less resemble it. Thus we have a cognition [or knowledge] of the Moon, when it is represented as a heavenly body revolving round the Earth, and undergoing certain changes. Thus we perceive it competently, and consider it a real thing, although to us it is only an appearance [Erscheinung, a Phenomenon;] for what it is, independently of the manner in which it is represented to us, i. e., what it is in its own nature§ we do not know. The same is true of other things which we perceive, as we do the moon, constantly in a certain manner, and necessarily represent according to this perception of it. We are, therefore, justified in laying down as a general principle-of-cognition the following proposition. All which is necessarily represented in the case of a real thing, as far as

* He had explained the process of abstraction in another section.

† It must be remembered, as an able writer has well stated it, (Ed. Rev. Oct. 1832,) that Vorstellung is the genus of which Idee, Anschauung, and Begriff, are the species. Of these, Idee is used in strict philosophy only for the ideas of the Reason.

‡ The word here stands for the thinking subject.

§ As a thing-in-itself, is the literal translation, 'Ding an sich.'

it appears, according to our original mode of perception, belongs to it as an object-of cognition, and may, therefore, be predicated of it in judgments which are universally valid. The sum [Inbegriff] of these judgments is *Human-knowledge generally*. We also consider ourselves as the containers, or bearers of cognition (the subjecta cognitionis, or subjects in which these cognitions reside,) and the things which we thus know are its objects (objecta cognitionis.)—Krug, vol. i. p. 816-17.

In the Conversations-Lexicon the writer, after giving an explanation nearly equivalent to the above, and distinguishing between Sense, Understanding, and Reason, goes on to say, “Reason is elevated above Sense and Understanding, and its peculiar representations are called Ideas, as *e. g.* the representations of Godhead, Freedom, Immortality, Duty, Virtue, &c. Whether and how far any thing can be known [erkannt] through these Ideas, is taught by the Theory of the Faculty-of-Cognition, which investigates the laws and limits of this faculty. But presupposing that something can be known by our Reason, it must be called the highest faculty of Cognition, as there is nothing in human nature higher than the Reason. The Understanding and the Reason are often classed together under the name of the higher faculty of Cognition, because these two faculties in common language are not distinguished so accurately as scientific precision requires.

“The distinction between empirical and rational cognition belongs here. The former (from *ἐμπειρία*, experience) is a knowledge whose validity rests on experience, and herein upon the lower or sensuous faculty-of-cognition. The latter is a knowledge, the validity of which reposes on grounds which can be known only through the higher, the intellectual,* or the rational faculty-of-cognition. The whole knowledge of man, however, is an indivisible whole, connected together within him, and as such, a common production of Sense, Understanding, and Reason, jointly.”

I need not add more on the subject of the word Erkenntniss, which the reader will find used frequently; but the above observations may serve to rectify any mistake into which the translation might otherwise lead. The word is, perhaps, in neither case used by our author in its strictest philosophical sense; but if it be, ‘definite conception,’ would not be accurate, but simply ‘cognition.’ In another place I have translated ‘speculative Erkenntnisse’ by ‘speculative ideas,’ which in popular language may adequately represent the original, although it is not philosophically just. ‘Speculative cognitions’ would be the accurate translation, which would be nearly equivalent to what we should call ‘a philosophical knowledge,’ or theoretical, as opposed to *moral* and *practical*. (See Krug’s Lexicon, under the word ‘speculative.’)

I may here conveniently point out an inaccuracy in p. 270 of this translation; which, although it does not lead to any great misapprehension of the author’s meaning, deserves correction.

The sentence to which I allude is the following: “All the powers and modes of operation of the soul, which are directed to that which is temporal and perishable—such as its powers of reflection and the understanding, in which, according to Valentinus, is contained the $\psi\chi\eta$, will then utterly cease.”†

The error here is very easily corrected. I would substitute for the latter part of it the following translation: “such as its faculty of reflection, the understanding, the sum of which powers, according to Valentinus, is the $\psi\chi\eta$, will then utterly cease.” Der Verstand is in apposition with das Reflexions-vermögen—with which it is synonymous, and, therefore, the connecting particle ‘and’ is erroneous. The former translation ‘in which is contained the $\psi\chi\eta$,’ is neither so accurate nor so free from ambiguity as the latter. But the error which I am anxious to correct is the making two faculties out of two words used synonymously.

These are the chief words which require illustration, or give me reason to fear that

* Even in this sentence the Understanding and the Reason seem too little distinguished.

† The original is: Wie das Reflexions-vermögen, der Verstand, deren Inbegriff dem Valentinus die $\psi\chi\eta$ ist, &c.

my version may in some degree fall short of the full meaning of the original; but I think, after this full explanation, no one can find any difficulty in placing himself in the condition of a reader of the original work in these passages.

There are, however, one or two other words or phrases, which are used in this work, in a manner which almost baffles exact translation. For instance, the words *Menschheit* and *die menschliche Natur*, are used with a twofold reference. When we speak of the renovation, improvement, &c., of human nature, we may mean two things, either a general renovation and improvement over the whole mass of human beings, or improvement in every part of man's nature, his will, his affections, &c. Now it is not always easy to determine to which of these notions it is to be referred, or whether to a sort of notion compounded of these two. But this cannot offer any obscurity which a little thought and consideration will not readily remove, and it has hardly, therefore, been deemed worth while to add any explanatory periphrasis, which would only encumber the text, already sufficiently complicated in its structure.

Again, the word *Leben* 'Life,' admits of an use, which is inadequately represented by our word 'Life,' although the word 'vital' is used in a kindred sense. It is used in a religious sense for all in religion which animates and excites us to an endeavour after improvement in our spiritual condition—all which raises us from the death of sin to the life of Righteousness—all which raises us up from a dead and lifeless unconcern about our souls to a lively interest in them—all that excites, raises, and purifies our religious affections. Now, although 'lively' and 'vital,' are applied in a sense somewhat analogous to this, our English word 'Life,' hardly represents this range of ideas, except in the combination of particular phrases. Thus, it would be legitimate to use it in a phrase like the following, "There is no life in that man's religion;" and such a phrase would be intelligible, but the word hardly bears so wide an application as the German '*Leben*,' in the first sentence, in section v. I have, however, ventured to use it there, as the context would explain it. The word there translated 'understanding' is *Begriff*, which is more properly 'conception;' but the word 'understanding,' or 'knowledge,' in the popular acceptation of the terms, perhaps, conveys the meaning of the author better than a translation more philosophically accurate. At all events, with the context, and these few observations, there can be no difficulty to any one in fixing the exact import of the phrase.

Eudæmonism, (section v.) Perhaps, the following explanation from Krug, (vol. i. p. 848,) may be of service. After showing the meaning of *Eudæmonie* to be *happiness*, (*εὐδαιμονία* and *δαιμων*, having a condition like that of a good genius, or happiness,) Krug proceeds:—" *Eudæmonist*, therefore, means one who strives only after happiness, and that, too, his own happiness; and *Eudæmonism* means that line of opinion and conduct which is thoroughly imbued with such an endeavour, as well as a system adapted to it."

I may, perhaps, be allowed to mention that I have employed the article and the adjective, to express abstract terms, more frequently than is common in English composition. In German it is a phraseology of most frequent occurrence; and I have sometimes found it almost impossible to express the meaning of the original without it. I have, in order to call attention to the circumstance, usually prefixed a capital letter to the adjective.

In translating the word *Kirchen-lehrer*, I have generally avoided the more convenient and common phrase of 'the Fathers,' except when reference is made to them as authors. The phrase, Church-teachers, seems more appropriate in the translation of a work of this kind, where the author speaks of what was actually taught in the Church, more especially as the phrase of 'the Fathers' is used in German, as well as in English.

Where I have given explanatory additions, &c., I have enclosed them usually in brackets of this form [], to distinguish them from the parentheses of the author,

which are within the common parenthetical signs. I regret to observe, that in a few cases this precaution has been overlooked, but, I trust, not so as to create any confusion.

With these remarks on the phraseology, &c., of the original and the translation, I now close this preface. I fear some readers may think it too extended, and that I have descended to too minute particulars, and to explanations which can hardly be needed by those into whose hands this volume is likely to fall. But as some of these words and explanations refer to most interesting portions of the original (*e. g.* the explanation and development of the Gnostic systems,) I am desirous to place every one as far as possible, in the condition of a reader of the original, and to obviate by every means in my power, any difference between the original and the copy. It is a matter of interest to see the light in which a mind, like that of Dr. Neander, views the subjects he here treats; and the more faithful I can make my transcript of the original, the more I shall have done for the satisfaction of those who feel this interest. It is still my maxim that it is the chief business of a translator to 'say every thing which the author says, and nothing whatever which he does not say.' (Pref. to sections i. ii. iii., p. vii.) How far I have succeeded in this I must leave others to judge. I will only add that, both in translating the work, and in the observations I have made on any of its tendencies or views, the single object I have had in view has been to serve the cause of truth and religion; and if those who are entitled to judge on these great questions, shall think that I have not entirely failed in that object, I shall feel that my labour has not been in vain.

H. J. ROSE.

Houghton Conquest, 1841.

SECTION IV.

THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY, AS CONCEIVED AND DEVELOPED UNDER THE FORM OF A SYSTEM OF DOCTRINES.

(1.) *General Introductory Remarks.*

CHRISTIANITY showed itself in doctrines as well as in human life to be no constraining, dead, and killing letter, but a spirit developing itself freely, and promoting its own free development,—a living spirit that made alive also. It was not given to man as a compact, dogmatical system in one definite form, which was to be propagated from the very beginning as something unchangeable in a lifeless channel of transmission, but the One truth was to be developed in various forms, and manifold relations, and applications, through the means of its *first instruments*, so characteristically distinguished from each other, and sanctified for the work; and particularly by the *four pillars* of the Church, the apostles *Paul* and *James*, *Peter* and *John*, who represent whole characteristic dispositions of human nature, when enlightened by Christianity. It was left to the free conceptions of each individual human spirit to recognise the oneness of divine truth under the variety of human representation, and just as each man felt himself more attracted by *this* or *that* form of apostolic Christianity, according as his peculiar nature was more akin to this or that disposition, and according as the peculiarities of his nature and his individual education conducted him from this or that side to Christianity, which may be approached from so many different sides. It was left to each man also to appropriate Christianity to himself in his own individual mode, and when once appropriated to exhibit it again in his own individual mode in his spiritual life. In those first documents of the communication of the grace of the Holy Spirit the holy truths were revealed in their simplicity and loftiness, and made capable of a manifold lively application, but not set forth in a perfectly formed human system. *System* and organic unity lay in the *thing itself*; there was the *real inward unity* and the *inward connection* of Christianity as One whole, in which all individual parts develop themselves from one centre point, and are harmoniously interwoven together

by means of one fundamental principle. Now this inward unity laid its foundations in the inward life of men, together with Christianity itself, as soon as they had received Christianity into their hearts by a lively faith; and yet it was only by degrees that out of this inward unity Christianity could develop itself as a systematic whole, in thought as well as in all other branches of life, with clear and full perceptions and consciousness. In relation to its spiritual, as well as to its moral reception, it proved itself by its peculiar efficacy a heaven destined by degrees to penetrate the whole mass of human life. This is true, as well of the individual doctrines of Christianity as of the whole religion itself.

As Christianity, therefore, considered in the light of a whole, could only by degrees, and with a constantly increasing clearness, unfold itself in the spiritual conscience of the thinking man, as a connected system, rejecting every thing foreign to its nature which attempted from without to join itself with it; so also it was *only gradually* that the full scope of the *single doctrines* contained in this one whole could stand forth clearly and definitely in this same conscience. As in life, so in thought Christianity found a *world already in existence, which was formed on different principles, and in which it must first* create a way for itself by means of its overcoming and reforming spirit. As in life, so in the regions of thought it was necessary for Christianity to contend against the opposite dispositions which were then in vogue, and which opposed it not only with open enmity, but by partially stealing something of Christianity, and making it their own, threatened to mix themselves up with it. This was the more likely to happen then, because Christianity appeared in a period so full of ferment and of expectation, and exercised a power which attracted the opposite elements and dispositions of human nature from so many different sides; and those peculiar dispositions which were

unable to resist the attractive power of Christianity were yet unwilling to give themselves up to it wholly, and suffer their own deficiencies to be supplied by it, but they were inclined to set up a Christianity of their own for themselves, and capriciously to sever what in that religion is one and inseparable. But still the opposition against these adulterated and partial conceptions of Christianity and of Christian doctrines served well to bring forward more clearly and definitely in the thinking conscience the peculiar nature and inward unity of Christianity, and the peculiar import and character of its several doctrines.

But since the development of the Christian scheme of doctrine can only be fully understood by means of its connection and its contentions with these manifold oppositions to it, we shall find it absolutely necessary previously to give these oppositions, as they appear in the various Christian sects, a more accurate consideration.

(2.) *The History of Sects.*

THERE were two main divisions of the religious character; the one a *carnal* spirit, that endeavoured to lower every thing to the level of sense, and the other an *exclusively spiritual* disposition, that spiritualized and refined every thing away too much;—which opposed Christianity from the very beginning, or threatened to adulterate it by mixing themselves up with it.* The one party rested wholly on the *earthly appearance of the divine*, and in it overlooked the higher Spirit which animated it; the other thought that they could grasp the overwhelming Spirit without the reality of the appearance: the one would have in Christianity only the human without the divine; the other only the divine without the human. When first Christianity arose out of Judaism, it was from Judaism that the first intermixture of these two dispositions with it proceeded also. The first disposition was the most prevalent among the great mass of the Jewish people, and therefore, this came the first into contact with Christianity, and thence proceeded all those sects, which, mistaking the *peculiar and characteristic difference* between the law and the gospel, made out of Christianity only a perfected Judaism, and which were unable to comprehend and acknowledge what is tho-

roughly new in Christianity and its effects, as well as that by which Christ is distinguished from all the sages and saints of the old Testament.

(a.) *The Judaizing Sects.*

THE origin of these sects carries us back into the apostolic age. Among those things of which Christ said that the apostles could not yet understand them, and that they should first be revealed to them by the illumination of the Spirit, one of the most pre-eminent was the doctrine which is so intimately interwoven with the nature of the gospel,—the doctrine of the *foundation of the kingdom of heaven in all mankind, only by faith in the Redeemer*; from which the abrogation of the ceremonial law of Moses followed as a matter of course. Even after the apostles, by the illumination of the Holy Ghost, had attained to the right knowledge of the Redeemer, they were, nevertheless, not immediately in clear possession of all the consequences which flow from this doctrine in regard to the all-sufficiency of faith in Him, and the needlessness of the Mosaic ceremonial law. Even when they perceived that the preaching of the gospel was to reach the heathen also, and that *they* were to become fellow-partakers in the kingdom of Christ, (as indeed, many of the better spirits among the Jews had already deduced this from the prophecies,) even then they had no other notion than that the heathen, together with the gospel, were to embrace the whole ceremonial law of Moses. It was only when St. Peter, having been called to the conversion of Cornelius, by means of a vision connected with this call, the meaning and object of which the Spirit of God had taught him to understand, had been persuaded that God made no difference between Jew and Gentile, and when he saw faith in the Gospel working with the same divine power among the heathen, that he became the man to stand up among the apostles at Jerusalem as a witness to the truth which he now recognised; and the apostles then, by the light of the Spirit, attained to a knowledge of that which hitherto had been sealed up to them in the counsels of God in regard to man's redemption. When St. Paul afterwards was chosen out especially as the instrument of God for the preaching of the Gospel, what he calls the mystery of Christ, into which he had received so deep an insight, was announced to the rest of the apostles, as well as to himself, (Ephes. iii. 4, 5;) and here also

* Compare the introduction to this work, page 36.

no contest of principles could take place among them, as is beautifully declared in the apostolic council at Jerusalem. (Acts xv.) But the different spheres of operation chosen by the apostles, introduced an outward difference in their mode of proceeding.

Those apostles, whose exertions lay entirely among the Jews in Palestine, themselves observed the ceremonial law, and left its observance to be continued, for this was a matter of perfect indifference, being only an outward thing, as long as the conscience made no more of it, and as long as people did not profess to seek justification and sanctification by it. But *the fancy*, that sanctification might be found in ceremonial observances, could not be destroyed by an outward attack, from simply throwing away the ceremonial law at once; for what was founded on persuasion, could only be removed by persuasion also. If the belief, that sanctification and holiness can only be attained through the grace of God in Christ, had once been able thoroughly to penetrate the consciences of mankind, ceremonies would have fallen away of themselves. But if men were persuaded overhastily to throw them away, many weak-minded people might be led away to do things which their consciences might reproach them for,—and others, who might have been won to the Gospel by degrees, had they only been able to join it outwardly at first, would then be wholly inclined to reject it from the very beginning. This was always the plan pursued by a pure evangelic spirit, not to begin with an *outward* amendment, but to suffer only the *inward* power of truth to effect every thing itself, working *from within to things without*.

The case of St. Paul, whose sphere of exertion lay among the heathen, was different. Among them, the connection of Christianity with the ceremonial law would only increase, to the utmost degree, the difficulty of its propagation; because the prevailing peculiarities of the heathen people were so strongly opposed to that law. The only thing which could possibly have brought them to submit to a yoke so burthensome to their peculiar habits, and to make so great a sacrifice, would have been the *persuasion*, that their justification and salvation depended upon it; and to introduce or to further such a persuasion, would have been nothing else than undermining in them the whole foundation of the Christian

religion, and giving them a Jewish-Christian ceremonial worship, instead of the living faith of Christianity. Therefore, the apostle St. Paul—the very same person whose principle it was to become to the Jews a Jew, in order to win the Jews to Christianity—was obliged so expressly to oppose himself, as a defender of Christian freedom, to the Judaizing teachers, who wished to force the Jewish ceremonial law on the acceptance of the Churches formed from heathen converts also.

The Churches, which consisted entirely of Jews, who, in their Christian faith, still lived entirely as Jews, must have formed a striking contrast to the Churches formed from heathen converts, in whom the pure spiritual character of the Christian worship was the most prominent feature, and among whom religion was connected with no outward ceremonies whatever. But the communion of faith and love was not to be broken in consequence of all these differences in the outward circumstances and form of life; Christians of both descents and classes were to look upon each other as brethren. Those who had attained to the full ripeness of Christian knowledge, to *τελειότης ἐν Χριστῷ*, were to bear with those, who were not so far advanced, in a spirit of love and tenderness, in the hope that God would reveal to those also in his own time, those views in which they were deficient, if only all would endeavour to apply faithfully to the purposes of a Christian life the measure of knowledge, which was vouchsafed to them. (Phil. iii. 15.)

The knowledge of many of the Jewish Christians was deficient also in regard to other things, besides the importance of the ceremonial law. Their limited and narrow-minded representations of the nature of Christianity, and their limited views as to the person of Christ himself, served admirably to go hand in hand. As in their opinion the difference between the Gospel and the law was only a difference of degree, they could also perceive between what Christ was, and what Moses and the Prophets were, only a difference of degree. They knew, therefore, in this point of view, the Messiah more after the flesh than after the Spirit; they knew him rather as the *Son of David*, than as the *Son of God*. And yet, in the first place, the belief in Jesus as the Messiah was to be a point of union for all, even amidst all other differences in their measure of Christian knowledge, and in their other religious opinions; and

from this *one point* all further development of Christian knowledge was to proceed. The apostles left it to the guidance of the Spirit, to lead all men from this one point to the unity of the faith, and knowledge of the Son of God.

But, although the apostles agreed in their principles, as to the relation of Christianity to Judaism; although the apostles in Palestine and St. Paul recognised each other mutually, as independent fellow-labourers in the same work, this their agreement was, nevertheless, not acknowledged by all, who called themselves their disciples. There were Jewish-Christians, who were not content with having toleration and tenderness shown to their narrow-minded notions, but who wished to force those notions on all others, and persecuted every freer evangelical spirit with blind zeal. These men maintained most strictly, that no person could have an equal share with the Jews in the blessings of the Messiah's kingdom, unless he received the Mosaic law in all its extent: and these were the people who endeavoured to destroy the foundation of Christianity, laid by St. Paul in the Churches of the heathen converts, and to introduce, instead of it, doctrines which savoured more of Judaism than of Christianity. They would not, therefore, acknowledge St. Paul, who opposed their influence so strongly, for an apostle. In their opinion, those only were apostles whom Jesus himself had instructed during his life on earth, and had placed in their apostolic calling. St. Peter and St. James* were the *pillars* of the Church, to which they more particularly appealed, although they did not act in accordance with the spirit or the notions of those apostles. Hence there arose a pseudo-Petrian and a pseudo-Jacobite party of Jewish-Christians. It was natural enough that the spirit of opposition *on one side* should call forth a similar spirit *on the other*; and a party of zealots among the heathen converts, who prided themselves most haughtily on their freedom, as Christians, opposed themselves to these narrow-minded Jewish-Christians, and would not allow the observers of the ceremonial law to be

reckoned by any means as genuine Christians: these people vaunted their freer *Gnosis*, and by their contempt of the Jewish people, and by their exaggeration of the contrast laid down by St. Paul, between the law and the Gospel, they were in danger of being seduced into despising the Old Testament itself. They would acknowledge Christianity only in the mode in which it was represented by St. Paul, and St. Paul was to be their only apostle. He, however, would acknowledge only one Christ for all, and only one Church of Christians sanctified by Him, and calling on their common Lord; and he would know nothing of *Paul's* party, and *Peter's* party. But still, where the genuine evangelical spirit and the power of love did not quench these differences, it was necessarily the case, that this opposition should be developed still more distinctly as time went on.

In the first half of the second century we find again the four parties, which had formed themselves in the apostolic age.

1. The Jewish zealots—the pseudo-Petrians.

2. The more moderate, and genuine evangelical Jewish Christians.

3. The zealots among the heathen converts—the pseudo-Pauline Christians.

4. The more moderate and genuine apostolic heathen Christians.

Among these latter was Justin Martyr. He says in his Dialogue with Trypho,* "There are persons who will have no intercourse with those who observe the ceremonial law, and will not share the hearth with them, and say that they cannot be saved. I do not agree with these persons; but if the others, from weakness of persuasion, wish to observe as far as they can, even those laws of Moses, which we think were given on account of the hardness of man's heart; if they will only, at the same time, rest their hope on Christ, and do that which is lawful and holy by its own nature, and by eternal laws, and have no hesitation in living with other Christians, without endeavouring to compel them also to the observance of these things, then we say, that such persons are to be looked upon as our brethren in all respects. But if those from among your people (the Jews) who say that they believe in Christ, compel those of the heathens, who embrace the faith in this same Christ, to live

* The James, who is known under the name of the brother of the Lord, probably the apostle, the son of Alphaeus or Cleophas; being the relation of Jesus by blood. He was also called his brother by a use of the word in an extended sense.

* Ed. Colon. p. 200. [P. 137. Ed. Jebb. P. 266. Ed. Paris.]

entirely according to the law laid down by Moses, or else decline all intercourse with them, then I cannot approve of *such persons at all*. And yet I believe that, perhaps, those who follow them in the observance of the ceremonial law, if they believe in Christ at the same time, will be saved."

The Church of Jerusalem, which must have been induced by the Jewish war to take refuge in Pella beyond the Jordan,* from its origin till the first half of the second century, consisted entirely of Christians of Jewish descent, who, therefore, unitedly continued in the observance of the ceremonial law. By means of this outward bond they were all united together, whatever differences besides might be found in their opinions on doctrinal points and their religious dispositions. It was a peculiar circumstance of an outward nature which first caused a separation amongst them. In fact, when Hadrian was induced by the rebellion of the Jews under Barchochab to prohibit them entirely from setting foot on the earth and the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, since they generally drew upon themselves the jealousy of the Roman governors, it was natural enough that the Christian Church, which apparently had returned back to Jerusalem in this interval,† should wish to escape being confounded with the Jews. Those, therefore, who were restrained by religious scruples from doing what might enable them to attain this object, were obliged to separate themselves from the rest. The others joined themselves with Christians of heathen descent, and formed with them a Church in the heathen colony, Ælia Capitolina, which had arisen on the site of old Jerusalem, and in this Church the ceremonial law was entirely abandoned.‡

We often find it the case in the history of sects, that people describe under one common name sects which are really different, but agree with one another in *some* points, without remarking the points of difference between them, so that they attribute to all these sects what may justly be said only of one or other of them. This was the case here also; from the

time of Irenæus all those Christians of Jewish descent, who considered it necessary to continue in the observance of the ceremonial law, were designated by the common name of the sect of the EBIONITES. In regard to the derivation of the name, Tertullian is the first who makes mention of a founder named Ebion, and others have followed him in this account. Better informed writers, such as Irenæus and Origen, know of no such person; and it is clear that the invention of such a person only arose from the not understanding the name of Ebionite. Origen gives us the proper derivation of the term, namely, from the Hebrew עֲבִיּוֹן (Ebion) poor; but the meaning which we find attributed to the word *by him*, that is to say, as containing a reference to the poverty of their religious conceptions and of their faith,* cannot possibly be the original meaning of the term, for they themselves gave their own sect this name, and they clearly would not have set themselves a name which would be a reproach to them. But even if we grant that this name was given them by *others*, and by such as were of sentiments hostile to their sect, who were the persons who would have branded them with *this name* understood in this sense? Could it be Christians of heathen descent? These might, indeed, have applied the name to them in *this very signification*; but then we can hardly imagine that *they* would have chosen an *Hebrew* name. Or was it the Jews, who were angry at Christianity in general? This might be possible, if we modify in some degree the notion of *poverty of thought*, after the idea of a very acute inquirer, who has recently distinguished himself in this walk of know-

* Origen, t. xvi.; Matt. xii. Το ἔβριον καὶ πτωχὸν ἐστὶν πρὸς τὴν εἰς Ἰησοῦν πίστιν. Origen can hardly mean in this place to give an etymological explanation; but he is only making an allusion in his own way to the meaning of the word. However, in the book c. Celsum, ii. c. 1, he says expressly, ἐπισημαίνει τὴν κατὰ τὴν ἑβραϊκὴν πτωχείαν τοῦ νομοῦ.

[In Neander's earlier work, Genetische Entwicklung der Vornehmsten Gnostischen Systeme, Berlin, 1818, there is a long appendix on the subject of the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies, and on the Ebionites. In Burton's Bampton Lectures, note 80, the authorities may be found by whom the existence and the non-existence of Ebion are respectively supported. Matter, Hist. du Gnosticisme, vol. ii. p. 320, says, that "at least it is certain there was no such founder of a sect as Ebion."—H. J. R.]

* Euseb. iii. 5.

† Epiphanius de mensuris et ponderibus, c. 15.

‡ See Euseb. iv. 6, and the remarkable words of Sulpicius Severus, after he has quoted that prohibition of Hadrian; Hist. Sacr. ii. 31. "Quod quidem Christianæ fidei proficiebat, quia tum pene omnes Christum Deum sub legis observatione credebant."

ledge, *and if, putting the word into the mouth of those Jews who expected a Messiah to come in *visible glory*, we imagine them to designate by this name the faith in a *poor* and *crucified* Messiah. And yet this meaning, taken by itself, does not appear to be the simplest nor the most natural; for even this learned writer himself connects *this meaning* with one we are about to mention. If we follow the interpretation of the name which we find in the later Ebionites of Epiphanius, it originally denoted a class of *poor* men. This may have been applied to them either as consisting of *poor* persons of the *lower orders*, whom none of the rich and the learned had joined (see John vii. 49,) a reproach which the heathens made to the Christians,† and which the proud and the wise in their own opinion have constantly made to the disciples of simple truth; or they may have been persons who had voluntarily renounced all earthly property, and voluntarily given up all this earth's wealth, in order that they might devote their whole life to Divine things; and in this case we should be reminded of a similar name in the case of later sects.‡ The latter idea corresponds the most nearly with the explanation given by the later Ebionites themselves in Epiphanius; for they appealed to the conduct of their ancestors in laying down all their goods at the feet of the apostles. In truth, however, this is no decisive proof, for we may certainly imagine it possible that these later Ebionites had introduced a meaning into the term which was foreign to its original sense. According to either of these explanations this appellation may have been originally a *general name of the Christians* in Jerusalem, or it may have been from the very beginning the name of a *certain ascetic sect* among the Jewish Christians, which the Church teachers afterwards extended by mistake to all Judaizing Christians. Such an appellation, in such a sense, suits admirably the spirit of the ascetic Ebionites, who paint themselves to us in the apocryphal book called the Clementines;§ for in that book,

according to the *contrast between the kingdom of God and the kingdom of Satan, which they misunderstood*, (as if the whole earthly world, not merely in regard to its sinful misuse, but of itself and by its very nature, necessarily belonged to Satan;) in this book we find it required of those who wish to belong to the kingdom of God, that they should renounce as far as possible all possessions in a world which was none of theirs, but which belonged to Satan; that they should possess nothing but what was absolutely necessary to their bare subsistence, that they should only possess bread, water, and one garb, and even these necessities of life they should obtain by the sweat of their brow.*

Many among these Judaizing Christians had brought their carnal Jewish habits of thought with them into Christianity, and they had thus only applied the common Jewish representation of the Messiah to Jesus. According to this representation they considered him a man, like other men, who had been chosen as Messiah by a peculiar decree of God's counsel, solemnly dedicated to this office by Elias, that is, according to their notions, by John who represented Elias, and at this moment had been furnished with the Divine power requisite for the accomplishment of his office. This was the only class of Ebionites known to Irenæus, and they appear to us as the offspring of those old Jewish opponents of St. Paul. Like them, these Ebionites considered circumcision as an indispensable condition to a perfect participation in the kingdom of God: the *earthly* Jerusalem was still to them the *true city of God*, and they abused St. Paul as an apostate from the law.†

the Clementines,) yet he belongs far more to this class of Judaizing Christians than to the class of the Nazarenes." He therefore, considers the work written by a man of Ebionitish views. See also Matter, Hist. du Gnosticisme, vol. ii. p. 329. —H. J. R.]

* Clementin. Homil. 15. c. 7, 8, 9.

† Irenæus, i. 26, and alibi. I am no longer so strongly of the opinion, that the difficult passage, "Quæ autem sunt prophetica, curiosius exponere nituntur," is to be understood after the ideas of the Clementine, of a too subtle investigation into the meaning of true prophecies, as I endeavoured to show in my book on the Gnostics, p. 391; for only the common sort of Ebionites, whose notions were entirely those of carnal-minded Jews, appear to have been known to Irenæus; and the idea brought forward in the Clementine, of true and false prophecies, would be quite foreign to their spirit. We can say nothing more than that Irenæus found himself at a loss among interpretations of the prophets after the Jewish Rabbinic

* Dr. Gieseler, in Staüdlin and Tzschirner's Archive for Ancient and Modern Ecclesiastical History, iv. Band. Second Part, p. 307.

† See page 41.

‡ Humiliati, pauperes de Lugduno.

§ [In Neander's Genetische Entwicklung, &c., he says, p. 367, "although all the opinions which the first Fathers, who have given us but very scanty notices of the Ebionites, attributed to them, are not to be found in him (the author of

The mild manner in which Justin Martyr speaks of these opinions of the Ebionites on the person of Jesus,* is worthy of observation:—"There are some," he says, "of our people, who acknowledge him to be the Messiah, and yet consider him a man, born of men; with whom I do not agree: and the greater number also, being of my opinion, do not say this; for we are commanded by Christ not to follow the doctrines of men, but to hold that which has been proclaimed by the holy prophets, and taught by him."† Thus Origen‡ sees in the Ebionites weaker brethren, who did not reject Christ, who was their Messiah, and to whom they looked for all assistance; although they recognised in him only the Son of David, and not the Son of God. He gives a very pretty allegorical turn to the account of the blind man in Mark x. 46; he makes the blind man, who calls on Jesus, an *Ebionite*, and the multitudes around, who commanded him to hold his peace, *believers* from among the heathen converts, who generally held the more exalted notions in regard to the person of the Messiah; and he then continues thus: "But although the multitudes commanded him to be silent, yet he cried the more, because he believed in Jesus, although his faith was of an human kind;§ and he cried out aloud, and said to him, 'Son of David! have mercy on me.'"

How different would many things have been, if men, in this spirit of love and freedom, had always allowed the grace of the Redeemer to fall on all who call upon him! if they had always taken into their account the various stages in the Christian progress up to the ripeness of manhood in the faith, and had not wished to force different spirits all at once into

method, which were in vogue among the Ebionites, but entirely at variance with the usual Christian methods of interpretation, and, therefore, that he took occasion to accuse them as hypocritical subtleties.

* It is at least probable, although not certain, that he had the Ebionites here in his thoughts; but, notwithstanding, they are not mentioned by him at all as a peculiar sect. The reading *ἀπο τοῦ ἡμετέρου γένους*, does not, therefore, appear to me suspicious. Not only the authority of manuscripts, but the antithesis to the phrase, *τοῦ γένους ὕμνων*, which precedes, appears to support this reading.

† Dial. c. Tryphon. Jud. § 48. [P. 142. Ed. Jebb: p. 267. Ed. Par.]

‡ Matt. i. xvi. c. 12.

§ Πιστεῖν μιν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεοῦ πιστεῖν.

the same measure and degrees! But even Origen considered the Ebionites as heretics against St. Paul, and as persons who were but little different from Jews.*

Irenæus judged *all Ebionites together*, by those of whom he had heard, and attributed to all the same ideas with regard to the person of Jesus. On the contrary, Origen, a man of more accurate investigation, who had been in Palestine himself, distinguishes the Ebionites into two classes; of which one denied the miraculous birth of Jesus, and the other admitted it.† We may see from this difference having been overlooked by earlier writers, how easy it was to overlook the differences in opinion between different branches of the same party. It is not unlikely that those who acknowledged the supernatural operations of the Divine Spirit at the birth of Jesus, and considered his birth as a miracle which stood forth from the chain of usual human events, supposed also a certain original union of God or of the Divine Spirit, with the human nature of Jesus,—and then they would already have retreated farther from the opinions of the narrow-minded Jews, and more nearly approached those of the Christians, because they did not make the peculiar operation of the Divine Spirit on the man Jesus begin all at once, at one definite moment of his life; namely, the season of his consecration to the office or Messiah, by John; but instead of isolating the human nature of Christ, they allowed that it developed itself from the very beginning, in union with God; and from the very beginning they made a very essential difference between Christ and the other organs of God among men.

In the representation of the Ebionites given by Epiphanius,‡ we actually find some who believed in the higher nature of the Messiah, and busied themselves in speculations upon it. One party of them recognised in the appearance of Jesus, from the very beginning, a spirit of an higher kind, which could not proceed from the chain of the natural progress and development of human nature;—that pure outpouring of the Divine Spirit (the original form of human nature) which first existed in the person of Adam, and then again appeared on earth, at various

* Jerem. Homil. xviii. c. 12. Τυττοῦσι τὸν ὁπιοστὸν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγον δυσφημίας. Matt. t. xi. s. 12. Ὁλην διαφροντὴν τὸν Ἰουδαῖον.

† Origen c. Celsum, v. c. 61.

‡ Hæres. 30.

times, as the renovator of fallen humanity; until at last it returned in the person of the Messiah, in order to bring all children to himself, and to raise them with himself to the eternal kingdom, where he will repose with them forever from all his wanderings, and all his cares. This is the same doctrine which is found in the apocryphal book of the Clementines, from which we have been able in this representation, to fill up the account of Epiphanius. The others adopted the common Jewish idea, that Jesus was first invested with Divine powers, while yet merely a man, only at his solemn consecration to the office of Messiah. But, instead of the indefinite notion of Divine power, they imagined a Spirit elevated above all angels, the highest representation of God; and, according to them, this was the *real heavenly Messiah*,* who united himself with the man Jesus, as his instrument, at his baptism, and effected every thing through him.

It may be said, that we cannot judge of those older Ebionites by the Ebionites of the *fourth* century, mentioned in Epiphanius, for these latter may have appropriated to themselves, in latter times, notions quite foreign to their original dispositions, by intercourse with many other theosophico-ascetic sects: but then these notions bear completely the stamp of a far more ancient Jewish theosophy; and their agreement with the ideas of the Clementine bespeaks a higher antiquity; for the Clementine, at least in its groundwork certainly cannot come to us from a later period than the second century. Nor can we be surprised at finding theosophico-ascetic dispositions among the Judaizing Christians: for there were many sects of that kind among the Jews, who united a certain attachment to the ceremonial law with these dispositions, and many of whom would be attracted by Christianity in some one point of view, without being able to receive it quite pure, and by itself, and would, therefore, endeavour to amalgamate it with their earlier habits of thought. And although we usually find St. Paul engaged in controversy with Jews, of entirely gross and carnal habits of thought, which were only directed to earthly views, yet, in the Epistle to the Colossians, his adversaries are those Judaizing and false teachers, who united a theosophico-ascetic disposition with a

certain attachment to the ceremonial law; and they are as different from his other usual antagonists, as those Ebionites of Epiphanius, to whom the author of the Clementine belonged, were from those usually called Ebionites, which was the only party known under that name to the older Fathers of the Church. We recognise here one peculiar family of the Judaizing Christians; the seed of which, as well as of the common sort of Ebionites, is to be sought in the apostolic age*.

If we compare the Clementine with the accounts in Epiphanius, the example of this sect will make it very clear, how people of this kind might have so inward a feeling of religion in one point of view, while in another they adhered so closely to its outward things: on the one hand might prize so highly an authority given by God, while on the other they subjected it so capriciously to the theosophic system *established in their schools*, and separated at the dictates of their own will, whatever did not suit their ideas.

They supposed a simple *original religion*, which that first pure man, who received the immediate outpouring of the Divine Spirit in his heart, and learnt from it all divine truth, had in the first instance delivered to his children. This religion was to be always propagated pure and unmixed, by means of oral transmission; it did not, however, maintain its purity, but was constantly adulterated more and more by the interspersions of the evil principle. Many new institutions, proceeding from God, were, therefore, needed to purify the original religion from these adulterations. Moses was one of the restorers of this original religion; it was to be spread by oral delivery, and thus it was also to be constantly propagated among a number of initiated people. But when the revelations of God imparted by Moses were set down in Scripture, many errors mixed themselves up with it, being strewn among them by

* Only Methodius, who lived at the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century, appears to have known them, when he says of them, (Symposium Decem Virgin. Bibliothec. Græcor. Patr. auctor. noviss. T. i. Paris, 1672, fol. 113.) that they had denied the inspiration of the Holy Ghost in the Prophets, and maintained that they wrote only *ἐξ ιδίας συντάξεως*; and although we cannot here with certainty recognise the whole of the Clementine notion of prophecy, it is at least certain, that he speaks of persons, who, unlike the usual Jews of a Pharisaic cast, very much lowered the authority of the Prophets, and would not acknowledge their writings to be inspired in the same degree as the Pentateuch.

* Ὁ ἀνὴρ Χριστός.

the evil principle, as God permitted, in order to try in mankind their sense of divine things, and their love to God, by their separation of the truth from falsehood, and their rejection of every thing which opposed the pure idea of God. (Under this head was reckoned every passage in which God lets himself down to the notions of humanity in order to instruct mankind, and is represented after an anthropopathic manner,* as well as all that related to the sacrifice of victims.) But the mass of carnal-minded Jews did not know how to distinguish the original Mosaism from these adulterating additions. And then that pure outpouring of the Spirit of God, the Forefather of the human race, out of love to his children scattered over the whole earth, was impelled to appear again on earth in the person of Jesus, in order to purify the original religion from the additions which deformed it. He himself points out this object of his appearance, when he says, Matt. v. 17, "Ye must not imagine that I am come to destroy the law, but to fulfil it."† That which he destroyed cannot belong to that which he called the law, cannot belong to that original religion.‡ He appeared particularly for the purpose also of extending his blessings over the rest of his children, the heathen, of imparting that original religion also to them, which had been always propagated among the initiated§. The doctrine of Christ is, therefore, entirely one with the pure original Mosaism. The Jewish Mystic, an Essene, or something of the same kind, converted to Christianity, did not need to receive any new doctrines; the doctrine of Christ was to him only a ratification of his earlier theory of religion, and he was only delighted to

find that the secret doctrines had been made known for the common good of all mankind, which he had never before thought possible. He saw in Jesus a new appearance of that Adam whom he had always honoured as the source of all that is true and Divine in human nature. Only a father could love his children as Jesus loved mankind: "But what gave him most sorrow was, that he was opposed from ignorance by those for whom he was struggling, as for his own children, and yet he loved those who hated him,—and yet he wept over their disobedience,—and yet he blessed them that blasphemed him; and yet he prayed for his enemies; and all this he did, not only as a father himself, but he taught his disciples also to conduct themselves towards other men as their brethren."*

The following conclusion would be deduced from this: one and the same original religion is in pure Mosaism, and in Christianity; he who has the former can dispense with the latter, and he who has the latter can very well dispense with the former; at least if the Jew will not blaspheme Christ, whom he knows not, nor the Christian Moses, whom he also knows not. The doctrine is given by God, and man has received it without any of his own co-operation, and all depends on this, whether the Jew practises what Moses commands, and the Christian what Christ appoints. Christianity is also here (in this system) only the doctrine of another law; the author of the Clementine, like many other ascetics and mystics, had experienced nothing of the opposition between this law of God and the law of sin in human nature,—of the gulf between the acknowledgment of this law, and the loving and perfecting it,—or of the difference between the letter that kills, and the Spirit that makes alive; and therefore, he was unable to recognise the real difference between Mosaism (of which he had formed an entirely arbitrary notion) and Christianity—that is to say, the real, peculiar, fundamental nature of Christianity. He says, in fact, "There would have been no need for the appearance, either of Moses or of Christ, if men would have chosen to acknowledge what is right of themselves."‡ Which means, 'if they would have suffered themselves to be brought to a proper understanding

* Although in the author of the Clementine a lively eastern power of imagination prevailed too strongly over the powers of conception, to allow him to form to himself a pure spiritual idea of God, he himself looked on God as an higher Being, of radiant appearance in a human form. ["Ein höheres Lichtwesen in menschlicher gestalt."—GERM.]

[The word I have translated *powers of conception* is "begriffsvermögen." It must be remembered that *Begriff* means an abstract idea. See the Preface.—H. J. R.]

† The words *τοὺς προφῆτας* are here capriciously left out, because this sect did not acknowledge the Divine illumination of the prophets, and saw in them, in fact, only the propagators of many errors—as, for instance, of the error of an earthly political kingdom of the Messiah.

‡ Clementin. Homil. iii. 51.

§ Τα ἀπ' αἰώνος ἐν κρυπτῷ ἔξισις παραδιδρυμένα κηρύττειν.

* Homil. iii. 19.

† Hom. viii. 6. Εἶπερ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν το εὐλογεῖν νοεῖ ἐβουλεντο.

of the original religion, by means of that part of their own nature which is akin to the Divine.*

He perverts in a remarkable manner those glorious words of Christ, Matt. xi. 25, which require childlike resignation and simplicity.* He finds nothing in this passage more than that God had hidden the Divine Teacher, Jesus, from the wise among the Jews, who knew already from Moses what they had to do, as he had, on the contrary, revealed him to the heathen, who did not yet know, how they ought to live.†

In the Clementine a certain asceticism is recommended, and yet at the same time the holiness of the marriage state is maintained, and to mislead mankind to celibacy is represented as the mark of a false prophet. Now this appears as a characteristic mark of the Ebionites also in Epiphanius, and the comparison of these two accounts shows that this disposition in the Ebionites did not arise afterwards out of opposition to the monkery of the predominant Church, but that we are to recognise the original Hebraism in it, and therefore, it may have been a trait common to the different Ebionitish sects. Traces of the enmity of the Judaizing parties to *celibacy* are to be found as early as the time of St. Paul. See his first Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. vii.

In these Clementine Ebionites there are also symptoms of a Judaizing sect, which although it could only consider the apostle St. Paul, who opposed so strongly their doctrine of the identity of Mosaism and Christianity, and other ideas peculiar to themselves, in the light of a perverter of the doctrine of Christ, was yet mildly disposed towards the heathen, and by no means wished to force the ceremonial law upon them. In Jerome, on the contrary, under the name of *Nazarene* (the original name given to all Christians by the Jews, see Acts xxiv. 5,) we find the descendants of those Jewish Christians of a *genuine evangelic disposition*, who would not allow the existence of any contradiction between the apostles, the same people, of whom we found the last trace in Justin Martyr, (see above.) They pointedly combated the regulations and the ceremonial wor-

ship of the Pharisees; and while they themselves observed the ceremonial law, they did not force it on the heathen. They acknowledged the Apostle Paul as a teacher of Divine wisdom, whom God had peculiarly chosen for his instrument, for the purpose of bringing the tidings of salvation to the heathen nations. They lamented the unbelief of their own people, and longed for the time when they also should be converted to the Lord, whom they had crucified, and renounce all their idols. Then nothing would be done by the power of man, but every thing which Satan set up in opposition to the kingdom of God, would fall down by the power of God, and all who had hitherto pleased themselves, in the fancy of their own wisdom, would be converted to the Lord. They thought that they found this promise in the prophecies of Isaiah (xxxi. 7, 8).* The conclusion which we are entitled to draw clearly from all this is, that from the very times of the apostles various sorts of Jewish Christians spread themselves abroad, which people have been led into confusion with each other by the common names which were given to them.

(b.) *The Sects which arose from the mixture of the oriental Theosophy with Christianity.*

1. The Gnostic Sects.

(a.) *General remarks on their origin, character, and differences.*

WE pass from the Judaizing sects to the Gnostics, who, proceeding from one common stock with the former, developed themselves afterwards in a manner which set the two parties in a constantly increasing opposition. If we contemplate the characteristics of both dispositions pushed to the extreme, we cannot conceive a stronger opposition than that between the narrow and carnal disposition of Judaism, which cleaves to outward things, and comprehends every thing only after the senses,—and the spirit of Gnosticism, which gives itself up to unbridled license in its speculation on Divine matters, despising the letter, idealizing every thing, and striving to reach beyond the limits of earthly existence and the material world; and yet, just as one is often led to observe, that dispositions, which in our conceptions are widely opposed, really are connected together in the out-

* As we usually find in the Apocryphal Gospels, he certainly robs these words in some degree of their simplicity, because he quotes the words σιφαν with the addition of πρισβυτησαν. Το νηπιος he adds θηλαζουσιν.

† Hom. viii. 6.

* Hieronymi commentar. in Iesaiam. ed. Martianay, t. iii. p. 79, 83, 250, 261.

ward world* by various means, and unite together by many points of communication, so the following considerations will verify such an observation in regard to *this very difference*.

At the time of the first propagation of Christianity, the name *γνωσις*, [gnosis, knowledge,] in the widely extended phraseology of the Jewish divines of Alexandria, denoted a deeper insight into the nature and the inward connection of the various doctrines of religion. As far as the word denotes *only this general idea*, it might be used in regard to Christianity, without prejudice to the peculiar nature of Christian faith. Nay, even here, in conjunction with other *charismata* more immediately connected with what is *practical*, there might be a *charisma* of Gnosis, which, setting out from its own peculiar position, might exert a general and beneficial effect on the development of the Christian life; and, in fact, St. Paul mentions such a thing in the first Epistle to the Corinthians. Thus the name Gnosis, in the epistle ascribed to Barnabas, betokens that deep insight into the spirit of the Old Testament, and the object of the economy of the Old Testament, which was afforded by Christianity.

Although this idea was applied in an arbitrary, and therefore, in a false manner,—as, for instance, in that very letter, (see below)—yet, considered in itself, and by itself, it contains nothing repugnant to the simple nature of the Gospel, because that Gospel, in its very simplicity, is destined to imbue and appropriate to itself all the powers and dispositions of human nature, even those that are spiritual, and in its very simplicity it opens the inexhaustible depths of Divine wisdom in the eye of the Spirit. Among the *mystical sects of the Jews and their philosophical teachers of religion at Alexandria*,* we have already remarked the germ of a Gnosis, conceived under an entirely different notion. Here, under the name of “the Religion of the Perfect, an esoteric system of doctrines, containing only *pure ideas*, which could be comprehended only by a small number of initiated persons, consisting of men distinguished for their high intellectual gifts of perception,† and their high spiritual nature, (the *πνευματικοί*,)—was opposed to the *faith founded*

on authority, and entertained by the sense-bound multitude, who held fast only the symbolic covering of these pure ideas, and were utterly incapable of understanding them in their real meaning. (These were the *ψυχικοί*, the *πολλοί*.) Such an opposition, although necessarily grounded on the very nature of the religion that preceded Christianity, would entirely overthrow the fundamental characteristics of Christianity, because Christianity pulled down every such partition wall between man and man, and Greek and barbarian, educated and uneducated, were to become one in Christ, and one source of Divine life and inward illumination was to be present in one common faith; this illumination was to develop itself in proportion to their advances in holiness, and Christian views were not to be made dependent on intellectual powers, bestowed only on a certain class of men, but were to proceed, in all, out of their inward Christian life, and out of their own inward experience, although, nevertheless, peculiar depth or clearness of view might be a particular *charisma*. Christ, indeed, thanks his heavenly Father for having revealed to children what he had hidden from the wise; and St. Paul requires that those who are wise in this world should become fools that they might receive Divine wisdom. But then, such Gnostics as these were unable to comprehend these truths and to become children, in order to enter into the kingdom of heaven, and *to be poor* with the rest of mankind, and to be rich only in Christ: they wished to have precedence of the multitude of the believers by means of a pretended higher kind of wisdom.

Another disposition belonging to this Gnosis, which is at variance with the peculiar nature of the gospel, is closely connected with that of which we have just treated. It was because Christianity presented religion in its independence and elevation above every thing earthly, that it was able to find entrance and extend itself among all the different habits of life which mankind adopts, and form a Church differing in its constitution from all other social unions among men, and independent of them; and thus also it presented religion, considered in a doctrinal point of view, in a substantial form, entirely independent of all speculations as well as of all mythology, and in a form adapted to all the various degrees of advancement which are found in human nature, and all

* [“Erscheinungswelt.” Lit. World of Appearances, or phenomena.—Tr.]

† See the Introduction, pages 30, 31.

‡ [Anschauungsgabe. See Preface.]

the various periods of its progress. That Gnosis, on the contrary, brought the doctrines of religion into connection again with all the inquiries which can occupy a speculative reason, as was the case in the old Oriental systems of religion, such as those of Zoroaster, of Brahma, and the Buddhists. A speculative cosmogony, desirous of explaining what is incomprehensible, and a theosophy, which would anticipate the views reserved for a higher state of being, were made the basis of the doctrines of religion, and these would, therefore, be unintelligible to the greater mass of mankind, and, *in consequence of this*, an opposition would necessarily follow between the esoteric and the exoteric religion. This mixture of religion and speculation would besides necessarily be dangerous to the essentially *practical* character of Christianity, in virtue of which all is made to turn on the acknowledgment of sin, the application of the redemption provided for man, and the sanctification which proceeds out of it by means of faith working by love.

It appears, then, that the *view of religion* on which this Gnosis was founded, was the *old Oriental* system, to which also the Platonic joined itself, as well as the *new Platonic*. It might happen that men who were altogether devoted to some such Oriental theosophy would constantly find themselves attracted on one side or the other by Christianity, which is calculated to lay hold on human nature from so many different sides, while yet they might be unable to conquer themselves so far as to sacrifice their former habits of thought entirely to Christianity; and hence they endeavoured to form for themselves a theosophical Christianity of their own, and a theosophic Christ of their own, after their own manner. And thus also, if the Gospel were now to make its way powerfully among the Persians, the Brahmins, and the Hindoos, it is most probable that similar phenomena would take place again; the real and genuine Christians would be accompanied by converts who would endeavour to amalgamate Suphism, Buddhism, and Brahminism with Christianity; and in fact we find traces of such an attempt here and there even now.*

* The English Missionary reports from the East Indies, and the conversations of that genuine evangelical missionary, Martyn, with the Persian Suphi, in the very instructive biography of that person, will give proofs of this assertion.

In order to perceive clearly the formation of *those Gnostic systems*, one must put oneself into that remarkable time of ferment from which they proceeded. A lively intercourse and an unusual interchange of ideas was then taking place between the nations of the western and the eastern world, which are otherwise so widely separated by their situation and by their differences in their peculiarities of character; an intercourse that arose from the overgrown empire of Rome, which embraced within it all these nations, or at least brought their boundaries into close connection with each other. The spirit, which sighed after new revelations from heaven, and after some new excitement of the spiritual life, unsatisfied alike by the Hellenic mythology and by the dicta of philosophical systems among the Greeks (Hellenes,) mingled together all these various elements of religion, and endeavoured to put together out of them the fragments of a system of truth which had been lost. The comparison of different systems of religion would of course open many resemblances to their view, which to the surprised inquirer would seem as evidences of truth; for the religious development of human nature is a mirror which reflects partly, the *original revelation* of a Divine Being who draws man to him,—a revelation which has been variously propagated by tradition, either more or less corrupted: partly, the needs, desires, and wishes that arise from the religious nature of man; and partly also, that speculative reason which mixes itself up in all religious contemplations, which has its own fundamental principles that constantly recur under different forms, and which is forever wearying itself in vain to pass over that line, which the limits of human knowledge draw around it. At Alexandria, and in different parts of Asia, even Jewish theologians were unconsciously carried away by this religious eclecticism.*

Accordingly, in the Gnostic systems the elements of the old Oriental systems of religion, (especially the Persian, but certainly the East Indian also,) of Jewish theology, and of Platonic philosophy, may be found melted down together, and a more extensive acquaintance with the different religious systems of the interior of Asia might, perhaps, give us a great many new disclosures as to the connection between these systems; but then at the

* See the Introduction, p. 38.

same time we must carefully guard ourselves against immediately concluding that an outward communication has at some time or other taken place solely from finding an agreement which may arise from an inward source, namely, in the selfsame essential dispositions of human nature, from which similar phenomena will result under similar circumstances.

This Gnosis opposed Judaism as a religion too carnal, too earthly, too narrow, and too little theosophical; for how little spiritual, how cold, how little, and empty must Judaism appear to men of this disposition, when they compared it with the old colossal systems of religion in Asia, although to one who knows what purpose religion is to serve for man, the very comparison which led them to despise Judaism would be the first thing which would lead him to recognise its full value for the religious development of human nature. Those old religions, in their enigmatic form, in which men are inclined to look for lofty wisdom rather than in a simple one, appeared to promise far more decisions on the *questions* which exercised *their inquiries*. Mere Platonism appeared to them too jejune* and too measured;† it appeared to them constantly to confine itself entirely to the narrow limits of finite reason, and to have no sense and perception of higher intercourse with the spiritual world. Gnosis was desirous, by means of the new ideas opened to it by intercourse with the East, of obtaining higher and more recondite conclusions about the nature of things, their origin and development, than Platonism had to offer. Had this Gnosis been consistent in its disposition, and had it not been carried away by the mighty attracting power of that which is Divine in Christianity, it might have come in good earnest into controversy with Christianity as a religion of too practical and human a nature, and as a religion that did not raise itself enough into the supernatural regions. The selfsame character of mind which in the Christian Gnostics opposed only the *ecclesiastical* disposi-

tion, and a faith that would set limits to speculation, would have opposed Christianity in general, had it been carried to extremes, and had it been clearly aware of its own principles; and, indeed, the traces of an unchristian, and also of an openly antichristian Gnosis are to be found, perhaps, in a certain class of the Ophites (see below), in the Jewish Cabalists, and in the Zabians, or the disciples of John.

Although the Gnostic systems contained elements selected out of various old systems of religion, yet they can never be entirely explained from the supposition of an intermixture and joining together of these alone; there is *a soul and spirit of a peculiar kind*,* which animates most of these collections. In the first place, the time in which they originated, has impressed upon them a wholly peculiar character, just as it often happens in times of great ferment, that certain dispositions communicate themselves to a whole series of spiritual phenomena, even without any outward connection or intercourse. Now the prevailing tone in most serious minds of that time, was the feeling of disunion, and of being unsatisfied by the existing world; a longing which would overclimb the limits of the earth; a desire after a new and higher order of things. This tone of feeling pervades also the Gnostic systems, and Christianity worked in an especial manner on this tone; and without Christianity, the Christian Gnostic systems would have become an utterly and entirely different thing. The idea of *redemption* was that which formed the peculiar nature of Christianity; and this idea suited that peculiar tone of feeling prevalent among those systems, although it could be embraced by them only in a partial manner, and not in its whole extent, and all the consequences deducible from it. The ideas of restoring an harmonious tone to a world in which it had been broken, of restoring a degraded creation to its original state, of restoring the lost connection between heaven and earth, of the revelation of a mighty and Divine life in man, elevated above the limits of human nature, as well as the notion of a new course of development, which had entered into the whole economy of the world;—these

* Zu nüchtern.—Germ. Perhaps it may mean too sober, too temperate.

† Zu besonnen.—Germ. Too ratiocinative, too much the result of deliberative meditation.

[I add the German words here that those of my readers who understand that language may draw their own conclusions as to what Neander intends here; for I am not aware of any expressions in English, which are entirely synonymous with his.—H. J. R.]

* [Ein eigenthümliches beseelendes Princip.—Germ. Literally, a peculiar animating principle.]

† [Grundton, key-note. The word translated disunion is zwiespalt, which expresses division, in consequence of a violent rent.]

were the ideas which communicated a new and imposing character to Gnosis altogether.

Those theosophists busied themselves with the investigation of the great inquiry, the answer to which has always been the highest problem of human speculation; but in answering which human reason must always recognise its own insufficiency; or, if it will explain that which is incomprehensible, must always deceive itself with mere phrases, or with the fictions of fancy. These Gnostics, as Oriental theosophists, in whom, at least for the most part, the Oriental element predominated over the Hellenic, must in no manner or degree whatever be compared with the thinking people of the Western world; they engaged themselves far more in representations and visible images, than in abstract ideas.* Where the thinking man of the west would have formed to himself only an abstract conception, with them a living appearance, a living personality stood before their souls, for them absolutely to look upon in reality. They disregarded the abstract notions of the mind as a lifeless sort of thing; every thing hypostasized itself in their eyes, where nothing but abstract ideas were presented to the thinkers of the Western world. The image, and that which was represented by the image, were so constantly joined together in their modes of thought, that they were unable to separate the one from the other. They were far rather carried away unconsciously by the ideas that floated before their minds, or that inspirited them, from one mental picture to another,† from image to image, so that they were not in a condition to develop these ideas with any thing like a clear consciousness of their nature. The inquiries which chiefly occupied them were these: How is the transition from infinite to finite? How can man imagine to himself the beginning of a creation? How can he think of God as the original projector

of a material world so foreign to his own nature? Whence come those wide differences of nature among men, from the man of truly godly disposition, down to those who appear given up entirely to blind desires, in whom no trace of the rational and the moral creature can be found?*

Now it was exactly here that Christianity made religious faith independent of speculation, and cut off at once all that could lead to those speculative cosmogonies, by which the element of pure religious faith was only troubled, and the confusion between the ideas of God and nature furthered, inasmuch as it (Christianity) directed the eye of the spirit beyond the whole extent of the visible world, where, in the chain of cause and effect, one thing is constantly unfolding itself out of another, to an Almighty work of creation performed by God, by which the worlds were produced, and in virtue of which the visible did not spring out of that which appears. Heb. xi. 3. Creation is received here as an incomprehensible fact, under the constraint of a faith, that raises itself above the position occupied by the understanding, which wishes constantly to deduce one thing from another, and to explain every thing, while it denies all that is immediate.† This, which is the only real point of practical importance, the doctrine of the Church endeavoured to maintain in its conception of the creation out of nothing; opposing itself thus to the old methods of representation, which limits the creation of God by supposing matter already in existence, and represents him, after an anthropopathical manner, not as an independent original Creator, but as a being who acted on and formed pre-existing matter. Gnosis would not acknowledge any such limits to speculation; she wished to explain and represent to the mind *how* God is the foundation and the source of all existence.

* On this portion of the subject, see the 5th Book of Beausobre's *Histoire du Manichisme*. Vol. ii. especially p. 205, &c.—H. J. R.]

† [Alles unmittelbare.—Germ. I understand by this all immediate acts of the Divinity, such as creation. The word translated *understanding*, is *verstand*, and we must bear in mind the distinction usually made in Germany between *verstand* and *vernunft*, the understanding and the reason. See Coleridge's *Aids to Spiritual Development*.—H. J. R.]

‡ [Anschauungsweise.—Germ. I suppose this word to mean a habit of considering these subjects, where all the operations of the Divinity are presented to the view of the mind in a palpable form or image. See Preface.—H. J. R.]

* Sie bewegten sich viel mehr in *Anschauungen* und *Bildern*, als in *Begriffen*.—Germ.

[It is difficult to render these words exactly. *Anschauung*, (*intuitio*) *looking upon*, in its original sense, means the representation or image of an object conveyed to the mind by the *sight*; and it is used also *secondarily* of the notices conveyed by other senses. It is here used of *visible representations* or *images*, as opposed to *Begriffen* or *abstract ideas*. For some further remarks on these words, see the Preface.—H. J. R.]

† [From *anschauung* to *anschauung*.—See last note.]

As it misunderstood the *negative* import of the creation out of nothing, it opposed to it the old principle, "out of nothing comes nothing." Instead of this it presented to its imagination the idea of an outflowing of all Being, from the highest Being of the Divinity. This idea of an emanation would allow itself to be conceived under a variety of images: under the form, for instance, of a numerical development from an original unity; of an outstreaming of light from an original light; of an unfolding of spiritual powers or ideas, which obtained substantiality, and of an utterance of a series of syllables and sounds, till they were re-echoed.

The idea of such an emanation corresponds to a feeling deeply rooted in the human mind, and found in it something to fasten itself upon; but at the same time, it gave occasion to many speculations by which men might easily be led away forever, farther from that which is of practical importance for religious belief, and indeed, might lose it altogether.

In this mode of representation God appeared as the incomprehensible original source of all perfection,* and shut up within himself; and no means of transition between this incomprehensible Being of God, and finite existence could be imagined. *Self-limitation, a letting down*, is the first beginning of a communication of life on the part of God, the *first revealing* of the hidden God, from which every other revelation of God, which unfolds itself further, proceeds.† Now from forth of this first member of the chain of life there develop themselves, first, the manifold powers or attributes, which dwell in the very Being of God, which, up to that first time of his letting himself down had been shut up in the abyss of his Being, every one of which represents the whole Divine existence, in some one particular point of view, and to which, in this point of view, the names that belong to the Deity were transferred.* These

* The unfathomable *Βυθος*, according to Valentinus, the Being raised above all description, of whom nothing can be suitably (eigentlich) predicated; and the *ἀκρίτος* of Basilidas, the *ὄν* of Philo.—See page 33, 34.

† Α *πρωτη καταληψις ἑαυτου*: the *πρωτον καταληπτον* τῷ Θεῷ hypostatically embodied (hypostasized) in a *νους* or *λογος*.

‡ Hence comes the difference in the use of the word *αἰων* among the Gnostics; according to its etymological meaning, namely, *eternity*, it sometimes denotes the *eternal*, as a distinctive predicate of the Supreme Being; sometimes it denotes those Divine original energies, and sometimes the

Divine powers, therefore, unfolding themselves into substantiality, are the seeds and elements of all other developments of life. The life contained in them develops and individualizes itself constantly more and more, and in such a manner also, that the degrees of this development of life constantly go lower down, and the spirits constantly become weaker, the more distant these developments are from the first link of the chain. We must remark that a Gnosis which, in its endeavour to explain the incomprehensible, was forever falling into anthropopathism, has here unconsciously attributed the relations of time to the Eternal.

Granting now that the existence of a pure spiritual world, akin to God, was fairly to be explained, men could represent to themselves the development of different degrees of perfection; but how was it possible to explain the origin of the *material world** by means of an emanation from God? and how the *origin of evil*? Even in respect to the latter,—a problem on which speculation has made shipwreck so often, to the prejudice of God's holiness, and the freedom of man, a being gifted with reason, and destined for morality; even in regard to this point, Gnosis would not allow any limits to be put to speculation. If God gave freewill to man, and if this freewill is the cause of evil, then the origin of evil, said the Gnostics, falls back on God himself. They would not hear of a difference between a permission, and an actual originating cause, on the part of God.‡ Now whosoever does not follow the necessities of his moral nature, and the law inscribed upon his inmost conscience, and with immovable certainty of faith, and with the assurance of inward moral experience, firmly hold, that evil can be founded in nothing else, and be explained from nothing else, but can only be comprehended as the act of a *wilfulness, that falls away from God's holy law, and a self-seeking which opposes itself to the will of God*,—he must necessarily either prejudice the holiness of God, and take away the objective importance of the opposition between good and evil, and therefore, utterly remove in its foundations

whole world of emanations, *παληρωμα*, in opposition to the *temporal* world. It occurs in the latter sense in Heracleon ap. Origen. 7, xiii. in Joh. c. 11.

† [*Sinnliche*, that which is the object of the senses. The *external*, or material world.]

* Το *μη κωλυον ατιον εστιν*—was their usual motto in opposing the church doctrine.

the idea of moral good and evil, considered in themselves, because he throws back the origination of the latter upon God,—or else he must prejudice the omnipotence of God, because he establishes an absolute evil, and an independent foundation of that evil beyond God, by which also, in fact, he fundamentally removes the idea of evil in a moral point of view, because he deduces it from without, and makes of it an independent nature, which operates necessarily, by which means he involves himself at the same time in a contradiction with himself, through the idea of an independent being besides God, of a God who is not God, who is not good. The Gnostics, avoiding the first rock, made shipwreck on the second.

They united a Dualism with their system of emanations, and endeavoured to explain the origin of this whole earthly world, in which good and evil are mingled together, and which does not answer to the ideal of the spirit, from the intermixture of two opposite principles and their mutual operations; and this endeavour to explain, opened a wide space to their speculation and their formation of fantastic theories. There now developed themselves here two modes of viewing these matters,* which, however, in those days, of religious and philosophic eclecticism, did not always come into sharp opposition, but came into connection with each other by the amalgamation of various intermediate members, while the same idea, in fact, forms the foundation of both these modes of view, only that it was conceived in the one case after a more *speculative* fashion, in the other after a more *mythical*. In the one mode of conception the element of *Grecian speculation* more prevails, in the other the element of *Oriental imagery* [anschauung,] and hence these two modes of view make the difference between an Alexandrian Gnosis and a Syrian Gnosis, (the latter being determined particularly by the influence of *Parsism*,) as far as we can oppose, in abstracts, these two kinds of Gnosis to each other, without regard to the intermixture of them together, which we find in the phenomena of those times.

In the first the *Platonic notion of an ὕλη* prevails; this is dead and lifeless matter; the boundary of which from without, limits the development of life, that proceeds by regular gradations, in virtue of which imperfect beings develop themselves out of the perfect, each more im-

perfect than the preceeding; and this ὕλη again is represented under various forms—as the Darkness that stands by the side of the Light—as Emptiness (κενότητα, κενον) in opposition to the Fulness of the Life of God—as the Shade that stands beside the Light—and as Chaos and the dark stagnant water. This matter of itself being lifeless, has by its nature no impulse; every kind of life is foreign to it, and of itself it makes no attack on the Divine being; but inasmuch as the Divine developments of life, (the beings that proceed from the preceding emanation,) the farther they are removed from their first member, become always weaker and weaker, because their connection with that first member is always less close, there arises in the last grade of the development an imperfect work, which cannot maintain itself in connection with the divine chain of life, which sinks from out of the world of Æons into that Chaos, or else—which is the same representation a little differently modified—something froths over out of the fulness of the Divine life into the neighbouring chaos.*

Lifeless matter now receives, by means of its intermixture with the Living Being, that of which it was in want, a quickening;† but then the Divine Being, the Living Being, is also injured by means of its intermixture with the chaotic. Being multiplies itself; a subordinate, deficient life arises; ground is taken for a new world, and a creation forms itself beyond the bounds of the emanation-world; but, as the chaotic principle of matter on the other hand, has obtained a spirit of life, a clear, active opposition to the Divine nature now comes forward, a blind, undivine natural power, of an entirely negative character, which opposes itself hostilely to all formation through the Divine Being; and thence come as the works of the spirit of the ὕλη (the πνεῦμα ὕλης)—Satan, evil spirits, and wicked men, in all of whom no reasonable, no moral principle, no principle of freewill prevails, but only blind desires. As Dualism carries in itself a self-contradiction, it cannot maintain its ground with any clear speculative thinker, who is conscious of the course of his reasoning. The more Gnosis inclined to this side, and became clearly conscious

* According to the representations (anschauungsweise) of the Ophites, and of Bardesanes.

† [Eine Beselung—Germ. Literally a quickening, an animation, the infusion of a soul of life, H. J. R.]

* [Anschauungsweise.]

to itself of this disposition, which to say the truth rarely happened, because of the prevalence of oriental imagination over occidental abstract comprehension, in all Gnostic systems,—the more must it have endeavoured to lead back this Dualism to a higher unity. It then declared expressly what the Cabbala and the Neo-Platonism taught,—that *Matter is nothing else than the necessary limit* between existence*, which can be conceived as any thing having an independent existence, only by the power of abstraction:† it is the opposition to being, which arises as a necessary limit on every development of life from out of the Deity.‡ In such a manner *Dualism* might finally resolve itself into *Pantheism*.

The other mode of viewing these matters engrafted itself more upon the *Parsic* doctrine of an *Ahriman* and his kingdom, which it would be an obvious course for the Gnostic sects, especially those which were formed in Syria, to appropriate to themselves. This mode of view supposed an active, wildly-raging dominion of evil or darkness, which by means of its attack on the empire of light, introduced a mixture of light and darkness, of the divine and that which opposes it. Different as these two modes of conception may appear in their way of representation, yet the selfsame fundamental idea may be recognised in them.

When the latter mode of view takes a somewhat more speculative turn, it passes into the first, of which we shall find traces in the views of Manicheism, which bears upon it far more than all Gnostic systems the mark of Parsism (see below;) and where the first mode of view takes a more poetical character, and endeavours to picture itself upon the imagination, it passes over involuntarily into the last.§

* It was thus also called the exterior rind of existence, קליפה.

† By means of a νοθος λογος according to the Neo-Platonists.

‡ Thus the Gnostics in Irenæus, (ii. 4.) expressly defend themselves against the reproach of Dualism. ‘Continere omnia Patrem omnium et extra Pleroma esse nihil et id quod extra et quod intus, dicere eos secundum agnitionem et ignorantiam, sed non secundum localem distantiam.’ The lower creation was contained in the Pleroma veluti in tunica maculam.

§ Thus, for example, where Plotinus paints matter as seized with a longing after light or the soul, and speaks of it as darkening the light, while it endeavours to embrace it, Plotin. Enneas I. lib. viii., c. 14. ὅλη παρυστα περισσῆται, καὶ εἰς ἐνὶ ἑλῷ, καὶ εἰς τὸ εἶσα παρῶθεν ἰθὺς, τὴν δὲ ἄλλα μὴ φαν καὶ τὸ ἐκῶθεν φῶς ἰσχυρῶς τῇ μιᾷ.

Even among the Platonists there were some, who supposed that from the very beginning, together with an unorganic, dead matter, as the materials for the *bodily world*, there existed also a *blind, unbridled, moving power*, an undivine soul, as the originally-moving and active principle. Thus, while that unorganic matter was organized into the bodily world by the formative power of the Deity, that formative power communicated also law and reason to that wild, tumultuous, and reason-opposing soul. Thus the chaos of the ἰλν was formed into an organized body of the world, and that blind power into a reasonable principle of the soul of the world, that animates the universe. Thus, while all reasonable spiritual life in human nature descends from this last, all that is contrary to reason comes from the other: all that is impelled by desire and passion; all evil spirits are its productions. One sees easily how the idea of this ψυχή ἀλογος, floating over the chaos, might fall in with the idea of a Satan, who originally presided over the kingdom of darkness.*

In the system of the *Zabians* or *disciples of John*, which is undoubtedly connected in its origin with the Syrian Gnosis, although there appears an independent kingdom of darkness with its own peculiar powers, yet this has no influence on the higher kingdom of light.† It was the thought of one of the genii of the kingdom of light, to tear himself loose from the source which every thing ought to glorify, and to form an independent world that should exist for itself—it

* See Plutarch de Animæ Procreat, e Timæo. especially c. 9. Opera Ed. Hutten. t. xiii. p. 296.

† This sect of Zabians, (βαπτισται, from בָּבְיָ) Nazarenes, Mandæans, (according to Norberg, from נָרִי, מבִּשְׁתִּי אוֹר גִּבְרִיתִי.) clearly derives its origin from those disciples of John the Baptist, who, contrary to his spirit and feeling, after his martyrdom took up an hostile disposition towards Christianity. Traces of such persons are to be found in the Clementine, and the Recognitiones Clementis, and perhaps, also in the ἡμετέρι βαπτισται γαλαλαμ of Hegesippus. See F. Walch, de Sabæis comment. Soc. Reg. Gott. t. iv., Part. Philolog. From these a sect afterwards formed itself, whose system being formed out of the elements of older Oriental theosophy, is of great importance for the history of Gnosticism. A critical treatise on their most important religious book, the Liber Adami, would contribute much to this object. See the critique of that work by Gesenius, in the Literatur Zeitung of Jena. Jena. 1817, No. 48—51, and (Kleuker's?) critique on it in the Anzeigen of Göttingen.

was this thought that first became the cause of a mixture between the two kingdoms, the first foundation of this visible world, built upon an earth won from the kingdom of darkness; i. e. from chaos, which world the powers of darkness at once endeavour to seize upon or to destroy, because they will not suffer any strange rule in their domain. Now, while this genius, *Abatur*, who formed the third stage in the development of life, was looking into the dark water of chaos, there arose out of his reflection in it an imperfect genius, formed from a mixture of this form of light with the being of darkness, and to be ennobled by degrees hereafter, namely, *Fetahil*, the former of the world, from whose imperfection all the defects of this world are derived.* In the system of the Syrian Bardesanes also, matter appears as the mother of Satan.†

This sufficiently shows how the modes of view of the Syrian and the Alexandrian Gnosis pass into each other on this side. It may, indeed, very fairly be asked, whether one is justified in speaking of a Gnosis as originally Alexandrian, or whether Syria be not the birthplace of all Gnosis, whence it was only transplanted to Alexandria, and received a peculiar stamp at this latter place in consequence of the Platonizing, Hellenizing disposition, which prevailed there? In Alexandria, such a Gnosis would probably find much to engraft itself upon in certain Jewish idealistic philosophy of religion, already in existence there; but in this the platonic and occidental element, which keeps itself more on the pure idealistic point of view, and does not immediately hypostasize ideas, and make representations of them, was two predominant to suffer the peculiar character of Gnosis to proceed forth from it, without the influence of the pure Orientalism from Syria.

One might imagine that this double mode of view would have produced a peculiar distinction in the practical spirit of these two systems. As the Syrian mode of view supposed an active empire of evil, which was destroyed with the empire of matter, one might be led to imagine that it made the avoidance of this abominable matter and its hostile produc-

tions, and the strictest asceticism, the chief object of morality. As, on the contrary, the Alexandrian Gnosis considered matter as unorganized materials for formation, and the *Divine Being* as the *formative principle*, one would think that it would recognise no such negative system of morality, but would establish a more active formation and improvement of the world, by the power of the Divine principle as the foundation of the moral system. This supposition might, perhaps, appear still more probable on a comparison of many Alexandrian and Syrian systems.

And yet on a more accurate investigation, it appears that such a difference in the practical influence of these two systems is by no means necessary. Even a system, in which the *Parsic Dualism* prevailed to the utmost extent, might recognise in the whole universe a higher life, which was only bound prisoner in the bonds of matter, and might recommend co-operation towards the freeing of that life, by victory over the empire of darkness, by means of a practical forming and improving influence over nature. And so, in fact, Parsism commanded an outward activity, because it represented all formative influence upon the outward world, especially agriculture, as a struggle against the destroying and order-opposing power of Ahriman, and as an activity which was employed in the service of Ormuzd. And therefore, the dualistic Manicheism furthered a *great reverence towards nature*, and by no means an *enthusiastic and ascetic contempt* of it; although on another ground this system led to a strict asceticism: and certainly it cannot be denied, that the prevailing feeling of Oriental notions, as we may even now see from the people of the East, in general shone forth in highly prizing an ascetic and contemplative disposition, which elevated itself above the ordinary earthly life. But this disposition had also spread itself already in the district, where a Grecian spirit prevailed, and had found reception particularly in Alexandria.* The *pure Platonic doctrine of gross matter*, as being the source of blind desires, and of the guilt contracted by the soul in a former life, might become a point for a strict asceticism to fix itself upon; as in fact it did to many Platonists.

The most *essential* difference between the different Gnostic systems, the influence of which was very great on the reli-

* Lichtnatur, Being of light.—Germ.

† This idea is entirely to be compared with the ophiomorphos of the ophitish system, (see below,) although in the ophitish system this appears of a lower kind; and the ophitish system, in its speculative notions, is yet akin to the Alexandrian system of Valentinus in many respects.

* See the introduction.

gious and spiritual character of these sects, concerns their different view of the relation of the temporal, earthly system of the world, to that higher and invisible one, of the relation of Christianity to the whole development of human nature, (whether they supposed a gradual development of the theocracy, as an organically-connected whole; or whether they made Christianity out to be a fragment which appeared all on a sudden, without previous preparation,) and of the relation of Christianity to Judaism. All these considerations are closely connected together.

All Gnostics agree in this, that they suppose, as we have above remarked, a world in which there is a pure development of life out of God; a creation, which is nothing but a pure unfolding of the Divine Being,* as being elevated far above that creation which was produced from without by means of the formative power of God, and was limited by matter previously existing;—and they agreed in *this* also, that they did not allow the Father of that higher emanation-world to be the immediate Former of *this lower* creation; but they brought down the Former of the world, (the δημιουργός,) far below that higher system and its Father, because he (the δημιουργός) was connected with the universe, which was formed and governed by him. But the difference among them was this; namely, that though they agreed as to the existence of this inferiority, they were at variance as to the mode of it. One party, setting out from views which had already long been prevalent among the Alexandrian Jews, supposed that the Supreme God had produced, and still governed this world, by means of the angels, who were his ministering spirits. At the head of these angels stood one, who guided and ruled every thing, and on that account was especially called the Former and the Governor of the world. They compared this Demiurgos with the spirit that formed and animated the world, after the system of Plato and the Platonists, which also (according to the Timæus of Plato, endeavoured to form the image of the Divine reason in that which belonged to time, in that which was “Becoming to be.”† This angel is a representative of

the Supreme God on this lower stage of existence; he does not act independently, but only according to the ideas given to him by the Supreme God, as the world-forming soul of the Platonists creates every thing after the ideas imparted to him by the supreme νοῦς;* but these ideas are elevated above his own limited being; he is unable to understand them; he is only their unconscious instrument, and is, therefore, unable himself to understand the meaning of the whole work wrought by him: as an instrument guided by a higher inspiration, he reveals what is above his own comprehension. Here, therefore, they grafted themselves on the current ideas of the Jews, in supposing that the Supreme God had revealed himself to their ancestors through the medium of an angel that served him as the organ of his will; and that the Mosaic legislation was derived from such an angel. And they considered the Demiurgos as the representative of the Supreme God in this respect also; just as the rest of the nations of the world were partitioned among the other angels, as their guides, so the Jewish people, as the peculiar people of Jehovah, that is, the Supreme God, were committed to the care of the Demiurgos, as his representative.† He also revealed here in the establishment of their religion, as well as in the creation of the world, those higher ideas which he himself could not understand in their

Neander: Das ideal der göttlichen vernunft in dem *werdenden*, zeitlichen darzustellen strebt. We have no word that answers to *werdenden*, which expresses the *beginning of existence*, the *becoming*, not the actually *being*.—H. J. R.]

[Since the above note was written a friend lent me “Bockshammer on the Freedom of the Will; translated by A. Kaufman, of Andover, 1835:” in which the word ‘becoming’ is used substantively, e. g. p. 75: “Yet this connecting love, according to the representation of the above named treatise, is rather an *originated becoming*, man, an original being:” and a note referring to Neander is added by the translator, to this effect: “The idea of a secondary Being, without beginning, anfangslosen werdens, an originated becoming in opposition to an unoriginated Being, (eternal generation,) was somewhat refined, was somewhat incomprehensible; nay, it appeared even contradictory to Arius, who had but little of the speculative or intuitive, &c. Neander,” &c.—H. J. R.]

* The ὁ ἐστὶ ζῶν (in opposition to the γινώσκον, or the θεὸς γινώσκων of Plato,) the παραθεσµα of the Divine reason hypostasized.

† According to the Alexandrian version of Deuter. xxxii. 8. ὅτι δημιούργησεν ὁ ὕψιστος ἔθνη, ἱσθῆσαν ὅρα ἔθνη κατὰ ἐξέθµον ἀγγελῶν Θεοῦ καὶ ἐγὰνθη μέγας Κυρίου λαὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰσραὴλ.

* עולם אצילות.

† [As Neander has only referred generally to the Timæus, I have taken this phrase from the translation by Taylor. I add the original of

true meaning. The old Testament, like the whole creation, was the *veiled symbol of a higher system*.

But in the Jewish people itself they made a complete distinction, after the Alexandrian fashion, between the great multitude, which is only a representative type of the people of God (the Israelites according to the flesh, the Ἰσραηλ αἰσθητός, κατὰ σάρκα,) and the small number of those who become really conscious to themselves of the destination of the people of God. (The souls of this number are the spiritual men of Philo, the Ἰσραηλ πνευματικός, ἰωήτος, the generation consecrated to God which really lived in the contemplation of God, the ἀνὴρ ὄρων τὸν Θεόν, the πνευματικοί, γνωστικοί, in opposition to the ψυχικοί or πιστικοί.) The latter (the ψυχικοί) with their fleshly thoughts kept fast to that which was outward only; they did not observe that *this* was merely a symbol, and therefore, they did not recognise the intention of that symbol.* Those sensuous-minded men did not recognise the angel through whom God *revealed* himself in all the appearances of God (the Theophanies) in the Old Testament, that is to say, the Demiurgos, in his just relation to the hidden Supreme God, who never reveals himself in the world of sense; they confused form and prototype, symbol and idea.† They did not elevate themselves above the Demiurgos, but considered him as the Supreme God himself. Those spiritual men, on the contrary, have clearly recognised the ideas which were wrapped up in Judaism, or at least have a presentiment of them; they have raised themselves up beyond the Demiurgos to recognise the Supreme God, and thence they become peculiarly his true worshippers (θεραπευταί.) The religion of the former class was solely founded on a faith which they took upon authority, while these latter lived in the contemplation of Divine things. The former required to be edu-

cated by the Demiurgos by rewards and punishments, and the means of terror; but these latter required no such means of discipline; they raised themselves up by the force of their spirit to the Supreme God, who is a source of blessing only to those who are capable of communion with him, and they love him for his own sake.*

Now, when these Jewish theosophists of Alexandria had embraced Christianity, and interwoven their former notions with it, they saw the spirit of the Old Testament entirely unveiled in Christianity, and the highest ideas of the whole creation brought clearly before the light; and now for the first time the object of the whole creation, and of the whole development of human nature became clear. As far as the highest Æon,† who appeared in the person of Christ, was elevated above the angels and the Demiurgos, so far is Christianity elevated above Judaism and the whole earthly creation. The Demiurgos himself now recognises a revelation which entered into his kingdom, and from henceforth serves it as its instrument, conscious that he was only an instrument.‡

The *other party of the Gnostics* consisted especially of persons who had *not* been attached to the Mosaic religion before their conversion to Christianity, but had formed to themselves in former times an Oriental Gnosis opposed to Judaism as well as to all national religions, a kind of system of which we find some traces in the books of the Zabians, and which is constantly found in the East among the Persians and the Hindoos. They did not, like the former, consider the Demiurgos and his angels merely as subordinate and limited beings, but as beings entirely hostile to the Supreme God. The Demiurgos and his angels wished to establish themselves in their limited condition as independent beings and would suffer no foreign sovereignty in their dominion. Whatever of a higher nature comes down into their sphere they endeavour to keep

* Thus a moderate Gnostic, who had not reached that refined Gnosticism formed by the mixture of Alexandrian idealism with Syrian theosophy, determines (in the letter ascribed to Barnabas,) that the Jews had entirely misunderstood the whole ceremonial law, by observing it outwardly, instead of seeing in it only an allegorical representation of general religious and moral truths. It was Gnosis, which first opened this true sense of it.

† [The form, and the original form represented by it; the symbol, and the idea symbolized. The German is, sie verwechselten auch hier bild und urbild, symbol und idee.]

* See page 33, et seqq. on the twofold views mentioned by Philo.

† Νῶς or λογος.

‡ We see easily how these Gnostics might use the passages of the New Testament where the λογος λαλῶν δια τοῦ τίω is compared with the λογος λαλῶν δι' ἡγγεῶν, (see e. g. Heb. ii. and Ephes. iii. 10.) in order to form their artificial superstructure of doctrines, by means of their fanciful and idle speculation, on the foundation of a Jew, hints only thrown out, *en passant*, by the apostle.

imprisoned there, that it may never be able to raise itself above their narrow limits. In this system it is probable that the empire of the world-forming angels coincided for the most part with that of the deceiving spirits of the stars, which are hostile to man's freedom and exercise a tyrannic sway over the affairs of this world.* The Demiurgos (according to this system,) is a limited and limiting being, proud, envious, and revengeful, and this his character declares itself in the Old Testament which is derived from him. As these Gnostics were unable, from want of the requisite exegetic and hermeneutic knowledge, as well as of the proper pædagogico-historical† point of view, to understand the Old Testament, which was so opposite to their system, and were yet, nevertheless, accustomed to give their judgment upon every thing, they attributed all the errors which arose from a gross and sensuous anthropopathical view of the Old Testament among the common sort of Jews, to the *Old Testament itself*. But, according to their view, the error of the Jews consisted solely in this, that they considered the Demiurgos who reveals himself such as he is, in the Old Testament, to be the Supreme God, who differs from him infinitely. The Demiurgos is (according to them,) really such a being as that which the Jews represented to themselves under the notion of the Supreme God. These Gnostics believed that they recognised the form of that hateful Demiurgos in the Old Testament, and also in nature, which they judged with the same dogmatical human rashness. The Supreme God, the God of holiness and love, who stands in no connection with the world of sense, has not revealed himself in this earthly creation by any thing, except by some Divine seeds of life which are scattered abroad in human nature, and whose unfolding the Demiurgos endeavours to stop and to over-

whelm. He can be acknowledged and honoured in the highest degree only in the mysteries, by the few who are spiritual men; and now (according to them,) this God has let himself down all at once, without previous preparation, to this system of the world by means of his *highest Æon*, in order to draw up to himself the higher spiritual natures akin to himself which are imprisoned there.—Christianity can find no point in all creation to attach itself upon, except in some mysteries and philosophical schools, in which a higher kind of wisdom is propagated as their common doctrine.

This difference between the Gnostic systems was of the greatest importance in a theoretical and practical point of view. As the Gnostics of the first class recognised in the Demiurgos the instrument of the Supreme God and his representative, who formed nature according to the ideas of the Supreme God, and conducted the development of the kingdom of God, in history, they might, in accordance with their principles, search for the revelation of the Divinity in nature and in history; they needed not of necessity to be entangled in an *unchristian hatred of the world*. They might acknowledge that the Divinity might be revealed under earthly relations, and that every thing earthly might by this means become ennobled. They might, therefore, be very moderate in an ascetic point of view, as in fact we find was the case with many of this class, although the practically injurious disposition of deducing evil only from the existence of objects of sense, must easily have arisen from their notion of the *ἰσὺς*; and although their overprizing of a contemplative Gnosis must have been in danger of becoming prejudicial to the spirit of active love.

On the contrary, the other sort of Gnosis, which considered the Creator of the world as a being entirely at enmity with the Supreme God and his system, would naturally produce a wild, dark hatred of the world, entirely at variance with the spirit of Christianity. This exhibited itself outwardly in two ways; it either showed itself with nobler and more rational men in an extravagantly strict asceticism, and an anxious avoiding of all intercourse with the world,—on which, however the Christian is bound to exert a forming influence, and then, at all events, morality would be a thing merely of a negative kind; nothing, in short, but a way of purification as a preparation for

* Thus the seven star spirits, and the twelve star spirits of the zodiac, which were produced by the evil connection between the deceived Fetalil with the spirit of darkness, in the Zabian system, play an important part in all that is evil. It is from their deceitful artifices that Judaism and Christianity, which are so hateful to the Zabians, are produced.

† [I suppose Neander here considers the Jewish history as affording an instructive lesson to man, as containing the Divine mode of education for human nature; but as I am not certain that this is his view, I have only put the German compound word into literal English; pädagogisch-geschichtliche Gesichtspunct.—H. J. R.]

contemplation,—or else it showed itself in men of an impure nature, and inclined to wild fancies, and in men of ungoverned passions, in a *licentious contempt for all moral laws*. When once these Gnostics set out from this principle,—‘this whole world is the work of a limited ungodly spirit, it is utterly incapable of all revelation of the Divinity, and we higher natures, who belong to a far higher world, are imprisoned in it,’—this conclusion would immediately follow; ‘Every thing outward is utterly and entirely indifferent to the inward man; nothing of an higher nature can here be expressed, and the outward man may give himself up to every kind of lust, provided the inward man be not thereby disturbed in the tranquillity of his contemplation. The very means by which we must prove our contempt and our defiance of this wretched and hostile world, is by not suffering ourselves to be affected by it in any condition whatever. The means by which we must extinguish the empire of our senses, is by remaining undisturbed in our tranquillity of spirit, while we give ourselves up to every kind of desire. “We must struggle against our lusts by the indulgence of them,” said these freethinkers; “for there is nothing great in abstaining from pleasure, if we have never tried it; but it argues greatness when a man finds himself in the midst of pleasure, and yet is not overcome by it.”’* The heathen philosopher Plotinus makes a very striking remark against these men, which all, who view the matter even from the ground of Christianity, must recognise as true, namely, that while they venture with *more boldness* than Epicurus, who denied any overruling Providence of this world, to throw out the same accusations that he did, they must necessarily bring men to *the same result*, in regard to morals; which result would be this: “That nothing is left for us here, except to give ourselves up to our desires, and to despise all the

laws of this world, and all morals, for there is nothing good to be found in this abominable world.”*

This difference is also shown in the consideration of individual moral relations. The Gnostics of the latter class either prescribed celibacy and abhorred marriage, as something unclean and profane, or else, according to the principle that every thing relating to the senses is entirely indifferent, and that people here must only defy the Demiurgos by contempt of his limiting laws—they justified the indulgence of every desire. Those of the former class, on the contrary, honoured marriage as an holy state, by which the natural state of man was to be ennobled. And the *Valentinian* Gnosis, in fact, as it universally considered the lower world as a symbol and mirror of the higher, and as it sought for the revelation of the highest law of that higher system in the different stages of existence in manifold degrees,—so also it recognised, in the marriage connection, the image of a higher connection, which runs through all stages of existence, from the very highest link of the whole chain. (See below.) Besides, the influence of the *originally Jewish notions*, which were inclined to prize the marriage condition highly, is also shown here.

The difference between these two classes of Gnosis is still farther brought prominently forward in their different mode of considering the *person of Christ*. *All Gnostics*, however, in a certain respect agree in this, that, as they separated the God of heaven and the God of nature from each other, and as they, therefore, severed also the invisible and the visible system, the Divine and the human, too widely from each other; so also they would not recognise the union of the Divine and the human in the person of Christ. And yet, just as we have observed a remarkable difference in regard to the first of these matters, between the two chief divisions of the Gnostic system, we shall also be able to remark such a difference in regard to the latter of them. We shall find here also an essential gradation in the views entertained of the relation between the Divine and the human in Christ. The one party, indeed, recognised the manhood of Christ as real, and also conceded to it a certain dignity, although, as they made two Gods out of the one God of heaven and of nature, and

* Clemens, Stromata, lib. ii. p. 411. Porphyry de Abstinencia Carnis, lib. i. § 40, &c., paints the notions of these men in a manner quite accordant with that of Clemens. “It is only some little standing water,” say they, “which can be defiled by receiving into it something unclean; not the ocean, which receives every thing, because it knows its own greatness. So also little men may be overpowered by what they feed upon, but not he who is an ocean of power (*ἐξουσία*, apparently an expression peculiar to them, founded on a misuse of that of St. Paul in 1 Cor. viii. 9; vi. 12,) which receives all things into itself, and becomes not defiled.”

* See the excellent argument in Plotinus, Ennead. ii. lib. ix. c. 15.

allowed the Creator of the latter to be only the instrument of the former, they also divided the one Christ into two Christs, a higher and a lower, a heavenly and an earthly one, in such a manner, that the latter was merely the instrument of the former; and these two they held were not originally indissolubly bound together, but the former had united himself to the latter, for the first time, at the baptism in the river Jordan. But the other class of Gnostics, as they denied the connection of Christianity with Judaism, and with all historical development of God's kingdom among mankind, and as they made out of the God of Christ and of the Gospel a different God from that of nature and of history, so also they rejected the connection of the appearance of Christ with nature and with history. Christ did not here, (according to them,) enter into nature, nor into the historical development of human nature. The view, which suited the fantastic disposition of the East, and had long since been spread abroad among the Jews, namely, that a higher Spirit might represent itself to the eye of sense in a multitude of delusive forms,* which appeared to the senses, but had no reality,—this notion was applied to Christ, and one whole essential part of his earthly existence and his personality, was thus argued away; *the whole of his human nature was denied; the whole human appearance of Christ was made a mere deceptive appearance, a mere vision*—and this was *Docetism*, the direct contrary to mere *Ebionitism*, which would recognise nothing but the human in Christ. And this view might, at last, be carried so far—as it was among the more fanciful *Basilidians*—as exactly to despise the most holy points in the human life of Jesus in the most profane manner.

The Gnostic systems will also admit of a very natural division into two classes by means of their most essential and influential differences. *The first class*, consisting of those sects which acknowledge the connection between the visible and the invisible world,—between the relation of God in nature, in history, and in Christianity, and the connection between the Old and the New Testament, as the development of one whole theocratical scheme—and the second class, of those which tear asunder these connections, and which make

Christianity only an insulated fragment in the history of man; or, as we may explain it more shortly, the sects which founded their views on Judaism, and those which set themselves entirely at enmity against it.* It is, we avow, natural enough, that between these opposite extremes many intermediate opinions should be found, which do not, however, invalidate the correctness of the division.

It is peculiarly instructive to consider the mode and manner by which these Gnostics were able to come to the persuasion, that their doctrines, so foreign to the simple Gospel, could have been delivered by Christ and the apostles, and how they endeavoured to prove this. We find here the same phenomena, which, arising out of causes that lie in the very inmost nature of man, were often repeated in following centuries. With a ready-formed Theosophic system, based on its own fundamental principles, they went to the Holy Scriptures, and sought to find in them something to hang their system upon. And this they might easily find, because they were wholly unacquainted with the rules of grammatical and logical interpretation,† and despised attention to such matters as carnal.‡ for their inward intuition was to open every thing. But they were punished for the pride, which, trusting to a certain inward light, only granted to higher natures of a certain class, despised the usual human means of knowledge. Therefore, they were given up to every kind of error which can arise from the want of considering the occasion and the connection in which anything is said, from the confusion between different meanings

* This division has this circumstance in its favour, that it is only in this manner that the peculiar system of Marcion—which, however, is necessarily connected with the Gnostic systems only from one side,—can find its proper place among them. Clement of Alexandria in a certain degree confirms this division, when he calls Valentinus the *κεφαλαιος των προβαλυσαντων την κειντητα*. (Strom. lib. vi. 641.)—the leader of those who maintain a common source of the revelation of the Divinity among men, and do not deny the connection of Christianity with all earlier revelations of God. The *προβαλυντες το ιδιον του χριστιανισμου*, who would not acknowledge any such *κειντης* between Christianity and any other revelation whatever of Divine truth, according to him, also, would be the contrast to this class.

† Origen (Philocal. c. 14.) shows how much strengthened in their errors the Gnostics were by their *αρχαία των λογικων* in their interpretation of the Bible.

‡ Only fit for the *ψυχικα*.

* My readers may remember the Indian Maja, and many other Indian Myths.

of a word,* from the want of distinguishing between metaphorical and proper expressions, and from the arbitrary application of single traits in comparison, without regard to that which constitutes the real points of comparison. The subjective caprice of the imaginative faculty, of the feelings, and of speculation, without an objective law, proceeding from the application of the rules of thought and language, might find whatever it chose in the Scriptures and introduce it into them. The Parables, for the simplicity and practical depth of which they had no feeling, were, therefore, peculiarly acceptable to them, because an arbitrary interpretation, when they had once put the real point of comparison out of their view, had the freest play here. But contention against the arbitrary biblical interpretation of the Gnostics had also the advantageous effect, that it made their opponents attentive to the necessity of a more accurate grammatical and logical interpretation of the Bible, and induced them to the establishment of the first Hermeneutic Canons, as we may observe from various proofs in the writings of Irenæus, Tertullian, Clemens, and Origen.

The bolder among the Gnostics used a theory of interpretation likely to lead to arbitrary principles of criticism. They said,—Christ and the apostles spoke according to the different conditions and views of the man to whom they spoke; they took these different positions themselves. With the *ψυχικοί*—those who were in the condition of a blind unintellectual faith (those who were fettered by Jewish prejudices)—they spoke only of a Demiurgos, because their limited natures could not understand any thing higher. (The Gnostics are the fathers of the theory of an accommodation as used in the Christian Church, in an exegetical point of view, although of itself the theory of an accommodation is as old as the difference between an esoteric and an exoteric religious system.) The higher truths from the world of Æons, and those above that world, they (i. e. Christ and the apostles,) had (according to this view,) communicated only to a

small circle of initiated men, who were capable of receiving such truths in virtue of their higher spiritual natures (as *πνευματικοί*;) and these truths they indicated only in detached images and hints, which could be understood by none but such natures. That higher wisdom they had delivered (as St. Paul says, 1 Cor. ii. 6,) only orally among the perfect, and only orally was it forever to be propagated in the narrow circle of the initiated.

The knowledge of this secret tradition, therefore, first gives the true key of the deeper interpretation of the Scriptures. Irenæus says, on the contrary,* “For the apostles, who were sent forth to find the wandering, and to give sight to those who saw not, and to heal the sick, did not address them in language suited to their then notions, but according to the revelation of truth. . . . For what physician who wishes to heal the sick, would act according to the desires of the sick man, and not according to that which is proper to cure him? . . . †The apostles, who are the disciples of the truth, are far from all lies; for a lie has nothing in common with the truth, any more than darkness with light. . . . Our Lord, who is the truth, lied not.”

Or else they said, “From the account of the apostles itself, we cannot learn the pure doctrine of Christ, for the apostles were fettered by psychical, and Jewish opinions; and the Pneumaticus (i. e. the spiritual man,) must separate the psychical from the pneumatical in their writings.” Or they even ventured to separate, in the very discourses of Christ himself, what the psychical Christ spoke in him by the inspiration of the Demiurgos,—what the Divine wisdom, still hovering between the dominion of the Demiurgos and the Pleroma, and not yet arrived at its full perfection,‡—and what the highest *νοῦς*, uttered from out the Pleroma.§

If these Gnostics had been thinkers of the same sort with the people of the western world, they would have separated in their composite (construirten) Christ what he said under the influence of immediate inspiration, out of an intuition elevating itself above all that belongs to

* As, for example, where they found the word “world” used with blame in the New Testament, these passages served them for a proof, that this whole creation is something imperfect, and could not come from the supreme and perfect God; for it never entered into their heads, that the word “world” might be used in the New Testament in a different sense.

* Contra Hæres. iii. 5.

† [This passage, in the original, precedes the rest of the quotation.—H. J. R.]

‡ “Sophia,” or “Achemoth.” See below.

§ See Irenæus, lib. iii. c. 2.

time; and what he said speaking from a reflection disturbed by ideas belonging to time; but they would only have been expressing the same notions in different language.

These Gnostics were, in part, not thoroughly resolved to break from the rest of the Church, and to found separate communities. They were, indeed, persuaded that the *ψυχικοι*, as they were conditioned, could receive Christianity in no other than the churchly form; that they could arrive at no higher degree than that of faith upon authority, that their faculty for the higher spiritual intuition was utterly gone, and therefore, they wished not to disturb these men,* whose views were more of the common ecclesiastical kind, in their tranquil faith,—but they wished, after grafting themselves upon the common Church assemblies, to found, in connection with them, a kind of theosophic schools, and of Christian mysteries, into which all those in whom they believed they could observe that higher faculty, not conceded to all, might be received. They made complaints also that men would not suffer them to remain in the communion of the Church, and called them heretics, whereas they entirely agreed with the doctrine of the Church.†

But what would have become of the Church, if this intention of theirs,‡ of extending themselves in the Church by this distinction of two different stages of religion, had succeeded? How deeply would it have injured the simplicity, the confidence, and the clearness, of the Christian faith, the practical spirit of Christianity, the bond of Christian communion that unites all hearts, and reason also which attains the development due to its nature in the light of Christianity, while it is conscious to itself of its natural limits,—limits which a presumptuous intellectual intuition pretended to pass over.§ But the

spirit of Christianity, as we shall see when we come to consider the theological development of spiritual knowledge in the Church, awakened two different dispositions, which, uniting in this warfare, opposed Gnosticism.

That which procured an entrance for Gnosticism, was a pride (founded, we confess, on one side in human nature,) which has always especially contributed to further those dispositions which are not willing to content themselves with that which is simple, but are always anxious to have something of their own, which sets them above others, a pride which finds it very hard to let itself down so far, as *simply to receive and accept*, together with the rest of mankind. Irenæus and Plotinus, two men of such thoroughly different characters, both point out to us how the pride of human nature is flattered by the phantasies of the Gnostics. The former says,* “He who has given himself up to them becomes instantly puffed up; he believes himself to be neither in heaven nor on earth, but to have entered into the Pleroma, and carries himself most proudly.” And Plotinus says, “Irrational men are at once caught by such speeches as these: ‘Thou shalt become better, not only than *all men* but than *all Gods* also,’ for great is the pride of men. The man who was before humble and discreet, now hears with pleasure—‘Thou art a son of God,† but the rest, whom thou lookest up to with admiration, are no sons of God; thou art also higher than heaven, without doing any thing for that purpose.’”

On the other hand, as it usually happens that every prevailing error of any age has its opposite in another error, by which it has been called forth, and the combating of which lends it a plausible appearance; and as, for the most part, it happens that whenever any false tendency spreads itself abroad among one part of mankind, it has

* *Τους κενους εκκλησιαστικους.*

† *Queruntur de nobis, quod cum similia nobiscum sentiant, sine causa abstineamus nos a communicatione eorum, et cum eadem dicant et eandem habeant doctrinam, vocemus illos hereticos.* Iren. lib. iii. c. 15.

‡ In which they themselves were conscious of no impropriety, because this sort of proceeding was founded on the entire view which they entertained of religion.

§ The doctrine of Plotinus,—*το δε υπαρ νουν, ηδη εστιν εξω του νου το πνευ,*—is quite just, in as far as it opposes the Gnostics, who spoke of a higher organ than reason for the knowledge of the Divine nature, that is to say, the *πνευματικον*, a faculty which resided only in certain natures. But *this*

proposition is false when it is used, as in the notions of Plotinus it might be, to oppose Christianity in general, which gave us an objective source of knowledge of Divine things, elevated above human reason, in a revelation of God, from which reason, as an organ (or instrument) is to draw (its knowledge) under the illumination of a higher Spirit.

* Lib. iii. c. 15. [This passage is paraphrased, but not translated, by Neander; in fact, the first part of it almost baffles translation. We must remember that part of Irenæus has descended to us only in a Latin translation.—H. J. R.]

† *Α πνευματικος*, who alone could descend immediately from the Supreme God.

for its foundation some truth, which is misunderstood, and partially conceived, and some want of human nature, which, *in itself*, and of itself, is real, but has been led astray,—so it happened here also. It was opposition against a gross and sensuous conception of Divine things, among the Jews and Christians, which called forth Gnosticism; and it furthered its propagation the more, because Christianity had awakened also new spiritual wants, which could find no satisfaction in a mere faith founded on authority, which despised every thing ideal, cast away from it all higher contemplation and intuition, and abruptly rejected all speculation. If the Gnostics did imagine faith so mean a thing, and if they did not attain to a knowledge of what it is in vital Christianity, and in the ideas of St. Paul, they may have been induced to such a course by their opposition to men, who either did not in their lives manifest the true power of faith, by showing that it was an animating principle of life, or at least did not understand how to show, in its full development, the truth, that faith is something more than a mere belief on the strength of authority, and than a mere subjection to outward authority, that it is an *inward living disposition* and an *inward principle of life*, the source of a *new life within*.

Many have been led to Gnosticism by an unsatisfied desire after a deeper Christian knowledge, and after a knowledge of the inward organic connection of the doctrines of Christianity.* The Gnostics made the first attempt to develop the Christian doctrine as a whole, and in its individual parts, according to their interior connection, and to form out of Christianity a continued and connected mode of viewing divine and human things. The desire and endeavour after an inward connection and an inward unity of knowledge, is not to be mistaken among them; although we acknowledge this endeavour of theirs, which in one point of view was right, was sadly

led astray, and took a false and destructive turn, because they would not know Christianity from its own peculiar and essential nature, because they mixed heterogeneous elements with Christianity, which is complete and sufficient in itself, because they did not regard the natural limits of human knowledge, and because they were unable to perceive the limits which belong to religion, and those which belong to knowledge. Their tremendous errors stand in history as an instructive warning and example.

After these general reflections, we now proceed to the individual Gnostic sects, and, according to the division which has appeared the most suitable, we shall first speak of those *Gnostic sects which, engrafting themselves on Judaism, supposed a gradual development of the theocracy to take place in mankind, proceeding from one original foundation.*

(β.) *The individual sects.*

(1.) *The Gnostics, whose system was engrafted on Judaism.*

(a.) *Cerinthus.*

As the doctrine of this Gnostic shows us clearly how Gnosis formed itself out of Judaism, he forms the natural transition-point from the Judaizing sects to the Gnostics. In the accounts which remain to us of his opinions, we find contradictions and difficulties which can only be explained by taking a just view of the manner in which Gnosticism was deduced from Judaism. Cerinthus, according to an old tradition which we have no valid reason to doubt, lived at Ephesus at the same time with St. John. He lived in those regions, where corruptions of Christianity had already in early times threatened Christianity; which were, however, different corruptions from those* with which Christianity had to contend in its very birth, and which proceeded from a Pharisaical Judaism, while these rather arose from a mixture of Jewish theosophy with Christianity.

The most striking contradiction between the accounts of the doctrines of Cerinthus appears to lie in this; that Irenæus makes him out a *complete Gnostic*, while the Presbyter Caius of Rome, who wrote *at the end of the second century*, and Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, after the middle of the third century,

* As Ambrosius, of whom and to whom the great Origen (who converted him from the errors of Gnosticism,) said: "From want of persons who preach the better truths, while you could not, out of your love to Jesus, bear an unreasonable and ignorant faith (αὐτοὶ γὰρ περιελατὼν προσέβησαν τὰ κρείττερα, μὴ φέρειν τὴν ἁλοῦν καὶ ἰδιωτικὴν πίστιν, διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὴν Ἰησοῦν ἐγάπην.) you gave yourself up formerly to doctrines which afterwards, using the understanding bestowed upon you rightly, you knew to be erroneous, and cast away."—Origen. T. v. Joh. towards the end.

* See Acts xx. 29. Comp. 1, and 2, Epistles to Timothy, and the Epistle to the Colossians.

ascribe to him a gross sensual Chiliasm, which bears upon it the garb of the carnal notions of Judaism. We might, however, bring these two accounts nearer to each other, if we were at liberty to subtract a little from each. It may easily have happened to Irenæus, that, where he found a few traits resembling Gnosticism, he made out of them a whole Gnostic system. To the Presbyter Caius, as a zealous opponent of Chiliasm, every thing was welcome which could serve to place Chiliasm in an unfavourable point of view; and certainly he was not inclined to explain the expressions of a system which he detested, in the mildest manner; and was the less likely to do so, because these expressions might easily be misunderstood by a person not accustomed to the Jewish-Oriental mode of speaking allegorically. And besides, it was natural that Irenæus, in whose persuasion a belief in Chiliasm was necessary to a perfect orthodoxy, should not quote such a view among the peculiar opinions of a Gnostic, whom he hated. We shall now endeavour, from the fragments which we can gather from the above cited reports, compared with the account of Epiphanius, to put together a whole.

According to Irenæus,* Cerinthus taught that the world was created by a power† quite subordinate to the highest God, which did not even so much as know this God who was elevated above every thing. According to Epiphanius,‡ he held that the world was created by angels. The Jewish element, which is the foundation of all this, is here easily recognised; he thought that the God,§ who was elevated above all contact with material things, and who came not forth from the hidden recesses of his incomprehensible nature, had created this world by means of ministering angels. He supposed, in accordance with the Jewish theories, different ranks and degrees in the higher world of spirits, and ascribed to the angels or powers, through which God had created earthly things, a lower stage in this gradation; just as he chose to place earthly things, without denying their divine origin, yet far below heavenly things.

* The passage which is most to be used for this purpose, being that in which Irenæus mixes up Cerinthus less than elsewhere, with other Gnostics, is lib. i. 26.

† Virtus, *δυνάμις*, גְבוּרָה, a *terminus technicus* of Jewish theology.

‡ Hæres. 8, or 28.

§ The *Θεός* of Philo.

Perhaps he did not teach, that those angels did not know the Supreme God; but only that they had a very imperfect knowledge of God, and of the highest heavens, and not the perfect knowledge which was first to be communicated by the revelation of the Divine Logos. At the head of these angels, Cerinthus (according to Irenæus) placed a power, which was taken from among them, and presided over them. He maintained also, according to the apparently common representation of the Jews, that the Mosaic law had been revealed by means of this angel.* While he said this, he still desired strictly to bring forward and elevate the dignity of the Mosaic law, as compared with all human systems, and all other national religions: but then when compared with the revelation of the Messiah, he desired to sink this same law as low as the angels are below the highest Logos. In his doctrine as to the person of the Messiah, he was in some respects entirely inclined to cling to the usual Jewish notion. (See above.) The man Jesus was (in this view) a son of Joseph and Mary, begotten in the natural way, provided with no sort of miraculous gifts, who had distinguished himself from the rest of the Jews only by a superior degree of obedience to the law† and wisdom. By these qualities he made himself worthy of being chosen‡ from among all mankind as the Messiah. He himself knew nothing of this destination appointed for him; this was first revealed to him in his baptism by John, at the time destined to his consecration for the office of Messiah, and at the same time he was furnished with the powers necessary to him for the fulfilment of this destination. That Supreme Logos or Spirit of God§ appeared and descended from the heavens which opened above Jesus, in the radiant form of a dove, and it sunk down into the heart of Jesus. The narrative given in an Ebionite recension of the Εὐαγγέλιον καθ' Ἐβραίους, where it is said,|| “While the people were being

* According to Epiphanius, by one of those, perhaps the presiding one, to whom, as the representative of the Supreme God on this stage of being, the guidance of the people consecrated to God, was especially confided.

† By δεικνύσκειν in its usual Jewish sense.

‡ τῇ αἰσχρῇ Χριστός.

§ It is quite allowable to suppose that Cerinthus, like many Jewish theologians, considered the πνεῦμα ἁγίον and the λόγος as identical.

|| [This extract is taken from Epiphanius Hæres. xxx. Ebion. § 19, and is printed in Grabe Spicilegium Patrum sæculi I. p. 27.—H. J. R.]

baptized, Jesus came and suffered himself to be baptized by John," (probably without being conscious that he was different from the rest of those baptized by John, or that any thing peculiar would take place in regard to him,) "and when he came forth from the water, the heavens were opened, and he saw the Holy Spirit of God, in the form of a dove, descending and entering into him."* (The luminous form descended visibly upon his head, and entered into him. It now disappeared; a proof that the Holy Spirit or Logos had wholly united itself with his person.) "And there was a voice from heaven which said, Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased;" and again, "this day have I begotten thee;"† that is to say, I have brought thee to the dignity of a Son, that is of the Messiah, by means of the connection with this Spirit of God; "and immediately there shone around a great light."‡ By means of a connection with this Supreme Spirit, Jesus now first attained to a rank, a power, and a wisdom, elevated above this whole world, and the angels that preside over it. He now first attained to the perfect knowledge of the Supreme God, and of heavenly things. Now the angels themselves might learn from his revelations; and now he performs miracles by the Divine power of this Spirit which is united to him. This is that which used him as its instrument in every thing; this is the *πνευμα του Χριστου*, the Messiah himself, in the highest sense of the word.§ The idea of a Messiah, who should redeem by means of his sufferings, did not suit the notions of a Cerinthus, who had no feeling for the Divine nature in the form of a servant, and who was attached to the imposing grandeur of a magical and theosophic system.|| In union with the mighty Spirit of God, Jesus could not have suffered: by this union he must necessarily have triumphed over all his enemies. The very fact of suffering is of itself a

proof that the Spirit of God which was united with him, had been beforehand separated from him, and had gone up again to the Father. To the suffering of the man, now left to himself, Cerinthus apparently ascribed no part of the redemption.*

According to Epiphanius, this theosophist, who arranged every thing anew so as to suit his own notions, denied the resurrection of Jesus Christ. In pursuance of this idea he may have supposed that the Divine Logos would unite itself again to the man Jesus, only when it was about to appoint him the victorious king of the Messiah's kingdom, and to raise up all the faithful with him to take their share in that kingdom. The account of Epiphanius, however, is not entirely to be relied on; because as he proceeded on the supposition that St. Paul was contending in every place against the followers of Cerinthus, he may have attributed to Cerinthus a doctrine which he did not hold, in consequence of the passage in 1 Cor. xv.

Cerinthus further agreed with the Ebionites in holding the perpetual obligation of the Mosaic law, in a certain sense, upon Christians. He might well suppose that the highest meaning of Judaism, which was not clearly known even to the lawgiving angel himself, the *Ιουδαϊσμος πνευματικος*, the heavenly Judaism, which was shadowed forth by the earthly, had been first revealed by the revelation of the Logos, and that yet that earthly and shadowy form was still to last till the triumphant approach of the kingdom of the Messiah, or to the beginning of a new and heavenly order of things. But as Epiphanius says of him, that he *partly*† held fast to Judaism, and it is not likely that the latter should have invented any thing of this sort; we may conclude from it, that Cerinthus did not look on every thing in Judaism as equally divine; and that in some degree, like the author of the Clementine, and many other mystic sects of the Jews, he made a distinction between an original Judaism, and the latter corruptions of it; and that he insisted on the continued obligation only of that part of the ceremonial law which he considered as among the genuine parts of it. As a sort of middle and transition point from the earthly system of the world to the new, eternal, heavenly

* Εἶδε το πνευμα του Θεου το ἄγιον, ἐν εἰδῇ περιστέρης κατεβήσσης καὶ εἰσελθούσης εἰς αὐτόν.

† ὅτε ση σήμερον γεννηθήκα σε.

‡ [I have distinguished the parts which occur in the Greek text by inverted commas; the rest is the interpretation put upon it by Neander, which is hardly distinguished enough in the German. It contains his view of the interpretation the Gnostics put upon this passage.—H. J. R.]

§ The *ἀνθρωπος Χριστός*, the *Χριστός ἰσχυράνους*, of whom Jesus was only the human instrument, the *κατω Χριστός*.

|| [Literally, who loved magic-theosophic grandeur.—H. J. R.]

* See p. 257, under the head Basilides.

† Προσέχει το Ἰουδαϊσμόν ἀπο μαρτύριον.

system, Cerinthus, with many Jewish theologians, supposed a thousand-year season of happiness, under the government of the Messiah rendered triumphant through the power of the Logos, which was to take place in Jerusalem as the centre point of the ennobled earth. A too literal interpretation of the passage in Ps. xc. 4, led people to suppose, that as a thousand years in the sight of God are but as one day, the world would last in its present state six thousand years; and then at the conclusion of the earthly course, a Sabbath (a time of undisturbed blessing) of a thousand years would take place on earth for the pious, now delivered from all struggles. We are certainly inclined to ask, whether he made to himself so gross and carnal a representation of the blessings of this thousand-years' Sabbath, as Caius and Dionysius accuse him of, which does not appear to harmonize well with the general character of his opinions. He spoke of a marriage feast, which was at that time an image commonly used to represent the happy union of the Messiah with his own people;* but those who explained his words with a feeling of bitterness against him, might misinterpret such images. Dionysius says, that when he spoke of fasts and sacrifices, he was only endeavouring to gloss over his gross and carnal representations. But what was there to justify him in this declaration?†

(b.) *Basilides.*

We pass now from Cerinthus to Basilides, who wrote in the first half of the second century. It is most probable that Alexandria was the sphere of his activity; the stamp of an Alexandrian Jewish education cannot be mistaken in him and in his son Isidore, whose name points out his Egyptian birth. But the account of Epiphanius, that Syria, the general birth-place of Gnostic systems, was also the native land of Basilides, is not in itself improbable, although it is on the other hand not a sufficient proof. The doctrines of emanation and dualism were the foundation of his system; at the fountain head of these emanations he placed the

hidden God, elevated above all representations and images.* The middle point between this incomprehensible origin and all following developments of life, is the unfolding of that Being in his several powers which individualize themselves, and become in fact, so many names of the unnameable Being. Man can only think on God after the analogy of *his own spirit*; and an objective truth forms the foundation of that analogy, inasmuch as the spirit of man is the image of God. He can form to himself no representation of the most perfect Being, without breaking the idea of the most perfect, which resides within his spirit, into the several parts of which it consists; and he feels himself compelled to distinguish the several attributes of this most perfect Being, in order to make this idea comprehensible to himself: but a deep thinker is well convinced, that this is merely a necessary expedient to assist human imperfection, and knows how to distinguish that which is objective, from that which is subjective. And yet the Gnostic was not capable of entering into this distinction: what is necessary to *human conceptions*, he attributed to the objective development of existence; as thus:—in order to bring forth life out of himself, the Being which contains all perfection within himself, must first unfold himself into the several qualities which the idea of absolute perfection contains; and then, instead of the abstract conception of attributes, that suits not with Oriental habits of thought, there come *living, personified* [hypostasirte] *powers, which continue working in independent activity*; as, for instance, first, the *intellectual* powers, the Spirit, (πνεῦς,) Reason, (λογος,) Thought, (φρονησις,) Wisdom, (σοφία,) and then Power, (δυναμις,) by which God puts the resolves of his wisdom into execution; and, lastly, the *moral attributes*, without which God's almighty power never shows itself active; namely, *holiness or moral perfection*, (δικαιοσύνη,† a word which must be understood according to the Hellenistic and Hebrew phraseology, and not in the narrow sense of the German word, gerechtigkeit, unless people will under-

* The Gnostics also pictured the happiness of the πνευματικοί received into the Pleroma, under the image of a marriage festival, a marriage between the σωτήρ and the σφραῖς; between the spiritual natures and the angels. (See below.) So in Heracleon ap. Origen. t. x. Joh. § 14, we find ἀπαυσις ἡ ἐν γάμῳ.

† Euseb. Hist. Eccles. iii. 28.

* Ὁ ἀκρίτων μαστος, ἕρπης.

† It is remarkable that Basilides used the word δικαιοσύνη according to its Hebrew and Hellenistic sense, to denote moral perfection, while other Gnostics, especially those of the second class, used it only to denote a more imperfect moral condition; an idea of righteousness (gerechtigkeitsbegriff) in a more confined sense.

stand this German word in its original etymological sense,) and then, after moral perfection, follows inward tranquillity, *peace* (εἰρήνη,) which, as Basilides justly acknowledged, can only be there where holiness is; and this tranquillity is the characteristic of the Divine life: and this forms the close of this inward Divine development of life.* The number seven was a holy number to Basilides, as well as to many theosophists of these times; and thus, in his system, these seven δυνάμεις, together with the first original, which had unfolded himself into them, formed the πρώτη ὄνδοα, and the root of all existence. From thence the spiritual life went on developing itself, constantly farther and farther into manifold degrees of existence, every lower one being always the impression, the resembling image (αντιτύπος) of the higher. If we may draw conclusions as to the doctrines of the original school from what we find of the later Basilidians in Irenæus, and from the gems and amulets of the Basilidians, as Basilides, in accordance with the seven days of the week, always supposed seven similar beings in every stage of the spiritual world,—so also, in consideration of the days of the year, he supposed there were three hundred and sixty-five such regions, or stages, in the spiritual world. This is expressed in the mystical word ἀβραξας (which was a symbol of his sect) when it is interpreted by the usual method of reckoning Greek letters numerically.†

Within this *emanation-world* every thing was that which it ought to be in its own proper position: but out of an union between the Divine and the undivine there arose a disharmony, which was to be brought again into harmony.

There is, alas! in this place, an hiatus in our accounts of the Basilidian system. It is a matter of question whether Basilides followed the mode of conception in use with those who supposed the intermixture to take place by the falling down of some of the Divine seed of life into the chaos bordering upon it; or of those, who imagined an empire of evil, which was active

by its own energy, and supposed the intermixture to have taken place by an aggressive assault of this empire upon the Empire of Light. In a fragment* which is still extant, Basilides quotes the opinion of the Persians on the two opposite empires of Ormuzd and Ahriman; but as the passage which follows has not been preserved to us, we cannot with certainty conclude whether he quoted this doctrine in approbation or disapprobation. If we remember that he belonged to those who wished to complete the propositions of the Grecian, that is, the Platonic philosophy, by means of the profounder wisdom of the East, the first of these suppositions will appear the most probable. Also, when he spoke of a confusion and intermixture of principles,‡ this might very naturally lead to such a conclusion. The accusation made by Clemens of Alexandria against Basilides, that he deified the devil,‡ leads also to the supposition that Basilides gave occasion to this accusation by his representation of a substantial evil Being.§ And, besides, the Basilidian doctrines have much that is akin to the Parsic and Manichæan.||

But howsoever this intermixture of Light and Darkness, of the Divine and the undivine, might have arisen, it would nevertheless, according to this system, necessarily be subservient to the glorification of the Divine Being, to the fulfilling of the ideas of the Supreme Wisdom, and of the law of all the development of life; because the empire of evil is of itself naturally nothing worth. The empire of the Divine Being is the real empire, and that which is naturally victorious.

Light, Life, Soul, Good; on one side:—*Darkness, Death, Matter, Evil*, on the other—these in the system of Basilides, were the members which answered to each other, and maintained the opposition which he supposed to exist

* Iren. lib. i. c. 24, lib. ii. c. 16. Clem. Strom. lib. iv. 539.

† $[α = 1 + β = 2 + ρ = 100 + α = 1 + ξ = 60 + α = 1 + ε = 200.]$ —H. J. R.]

It may be that this name, which designates the whole emanation-world as development of the Supreme Being, had also another meaning; but all attempts at an explanation of it will forever be merely arbitrary ones, for there are no sure grounds in existence from which one could argue about it

* Disputat. Archel. et Mani. opp. Hippolyt. ed. Fabricii. lib. iii. p. 193.

‡ ταρχος και συγχος αρχην. Clem. i. ii. f. 408.

‡ Clemens Strom. lib. iv. p. 507. πως οὐκ ἄθεος, θεάζων τὸν δι' ὅλον.

§ Δι' ἄβραξ, Ahriman.

|| If Basilides, l. c. in the Dissertation of Archelaus, speaks in his own person of a pauperis natura, sine radice et sine loco rebus superveniens, must not these enigmatic words be taken to express the doctrine of an empire of evil, without beginning, which, in its poverty, is smitten with desire after the treasures of the kingdom of Light; and penetrating into the light, would wish to seize these, and carry them off for itself.

throughout the whole course of the universe. In general, just as rust fastens itself from without on iron, so *Darkness* and *Death* cleave to the fallen seed of *Light* and *Life*, *Evil* cleaves to *Good*, and the *undivine* to the *Divine*, without, however, effecting the annihilation of the original Being; it must only by degrees purify itself from every thing foreign to it, in order to attain to its original splendour, just as iron must be cleansed from rust in order to obtain again a higher polish.* Such a process of purification the whole course of *this world* affords to the fallen being, as a system which was formed for the perfection of this purification, in order to separate that which is Divine from that which is foreign to its nature, and to conduct it again to what is akin to it, and to a reunion with its original source.

One would be inclined to think that a system in which a *moral retribution* was the prevailing idea, might, perhaps, admit the notion of a passage of the soul into *various human bodies*, according to the measure of its deserts in a former state of existence, so that it might be placed, according to its *deserts*, in a different human body, and in different circumstances, and a different situation, and so that it might have to expiate by penitence the guilt contracted in its former state, although only conscious of it in a mysterious and general manner. But the doctrine of a banishment of the soul into the bodies of animals does not appear to suit so well the prevailing moral notion of the system, as one cannot imagine any penitence taking place where there is no moral consciousness at all. And yet, in all systems of this nature, the moral element is not purely and abstractedly conceived, but is always mixed with physical considerations. We have, therefore, no reason to doubt an account which makes Basilides introduce such a metempsychosis in his own words; as it is a doctrine which, by means of the intermixture of Orientalism, Platonism, and Judaism, was certainly at that time widely diffused even among many Jewish sects.

Two modes, however, of viewing this doctrine may now be thought of; the one, when the notion of *moral retribution*

is constantly kept steadfastly in view, and the soul is supposed to be banished into the bodies of animals, only as a mode of *punishment*: the other, when it is conceived under the more *physical notion* of a gradual development of the spiritual seed of life, which constantly becomes more freed from matter, which keeps it prisoner, and constantly attains more and more to consciousness, and to the development of its original nature. Basilides appears in one passage to favour this latter notion, and appears to be declaring how the soul struggles itself into *consciousness*, in the *body of an animal out of an unconscious state*. The words in Rom. vii. 9, about a life without the law, he understands as relating to such a life in the body of an animal, whether that of a quadruped, or that of a bird; where no law for the soul could exist.* The view, that the soul might be still more imprisoned and hemmed in by matter, in yet lower degrees of existence, would easily engraft itself on this interpretation; and also that in plants, and in stones, there is a soul, only more imprisoned, which, by degrees, freeing itself more and more, develops itself from stone to plant, from plant to animal, and from animal to man. This mode of representation suits also with his whole system; because he considers matter not as any thing that lives, but only as that dead stuff, which has joined itself with that which is living. And beside, there is with him no such thing as a *dead nature*; but in all nature there is a life which is held prisoner by matter, and striving to set itself free. And thus he might well say, that all existence is connected together one part with the other; and that, according to the will of God, man must love all that exists, in virtue of this mutual connection.†

Two different views were here also united together: the one was, a gradual development from the lowest to the highest, from which that *original intermixture* and that *original fall* had proceeded; and the other, a voluntarily-incurred degradation into a lower state of being. And yet, one is inclined to ask, whether Basilides really supposed that the being of light (*lichtnatur*) or soul, which had once attained to humanity, in the process of its

* Basilides speaks thus in general terms about the *sufferings* of all fallen Beings of Light; "Trouble and anxiety naturally fall on things, as rust on iron." Ὁ πόνος καὶ ὁ φόβος ἐπισυμβιβάνη τοῖς περμασιν ὥς ὁ ἴστος τῇ σιδίρῳ Clemens Alex. Strom. lib. iv. p. 509. a.

* See Origen Commentar. in Ep. ad Rom. vol. iv. Opp. p. 549.

† Ἐν μέρει ἐκ τοῦ λεγόμενου θανάτου τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑπέκειντο φέμεν τὰ ἡγαπημένα ὅπαντα, ὅτι λογὸν ἡπείσαν ζῶσαι πρὸς τὸ παν ὅπαντα. Strom. lib. iv. fol. 508.

purification and development, could ever sink back into the body of an animal; or whether he did not, on the contrary, confine the process of purification for a nature which had once attained to this point, entirely within the limits of human nature.

To the whole earthly system, or to this whole purifying process of nature and history, Basilides assigned such a Creator (of whose place in the Gnostic systems we have already spoken in the introductory remarks,) as he called by the name of the Ruler, or the angel that has the government of this world, (ὁ ἀρχων,) and yet, according to the doctrine of Basilides, this Archon does not act independently and by his own power in the conducting of the universe; all at last proceeds from the providence of the Supreme God, which presides over every thing.

In the first place, all beings develop themselves according to the law implanted in their peculiar individual natures; which law, together with their nature, proceeds from the Supreme God. The Archon only gives the first impulse to this natural course of development, and then he himself becomes guided in his whole conduct by the ideas of the Supreme God, who animates every thing, without being able to comprehend them.* We cannot, therefore, in any way accuse Basilides of an unchristian contempt of the world, a denial of a revelation of God in the universe, or an unchristian dualism, which does not recognise the God of grace as the God of creation, and which tears asunder the harmonious connection between revelation and nature; such a violent dualism can by no means be laid to his charge. It was rather that he made it a matter of great consequence to set forth the law of unity which bound every thing together, from the highest to the lowest; "the world is only one, and is

the temple of God." (See below.) It was a great object to him to justify Providence against every reproach. His conclusion always was, "I will rather say any thing whatever, than cast the slightest imputation on Providence."*

With regard to the relation of Judaism to the revelation of the loftiest truth and to Christianity, it is in the highest degree probable that Basilides thought in a manner analogous to the Alexandrian Jewish notions on this point, and to his own notions as to the relation between the earthly world and the loftiest system of the universe. He supposed that the Archon, in the conduct of the Jewish people, as well as in the conduct of the universe, had served the Supreme God as an instrument, which was not itself conscious of the ideas which were implanted in it, and that the Archon had been taken by the great mass of the Jewish people for the Supreme God himself, whom he was to represent. It was only those higher natures, which were to be found dispersed among the Jewish people; it was only the "people of God," in its true sense; the πνευματικός Ἰσραηλ, that had been able to raise themselves above the Archon himself, to a recognition of the Supreme God represented by him, and thus, above the sensuous covering of Judaism to the contemplation of those ideas, which were contained under this covering, but not understood by the Archon himself. An example of his allegorical notions is found in the following saying, "The one temple of Jerusalem is the type of the one world, which is the temple of God."†

But he supposed also the existence of written documents, in which the higher wisdom was brought forward, perhaps more unreservedly than in the writings of the Canon of the Old Testament. In accordance with an idea then widely spread, he traced the tradition of such a philosophical secret doctrine up to the Patriarchs in particular; and it would appear to him hardly any thing else than natural, that the great mass of the sensuous-minded Jews should not receive those writings, of which they could understand

* Clem. Strom. lib. iv. p. 509. Ἡ προνοία, ἐκ καὶ ἀπο τοῦ ἀρχόντος κινεῖσθαι ὀρεχεται, ἀλλ' ἐκ κατὰ τὴν ταύτης φύσεως συν καὶ τῇ τῶν ὧν γένεσι πρὸς τοὺς ὧν ὅταν Θεοῦ. Thus, also, in Plotinus (Ennead. iii. lib. ii.) on the subject of προνοία as a natural development in virtue of an indwelling eternal law of reason, we find the following remark: τὴν προνοίαν τῶν πάντων εἶναι, τὸ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ εἶναι. There is, however, this difference, that in Basilides there is a more Christian consideration brought forward; because he supposes, in co-operation with the law of nature, a personal God, who acts independently, and guides the development of that law of nature; and, by means of the act of redemption, brings to perfection higher results, than could proceed from the more development of the law of nature.

* Clem. Strom. lib. iv. p. 506. c. Πάντ' ἔρω γὰρ μάλλον, ἢ κακὸν τὸ προνοεῖν ἔγω.

† Clem. Strom. lib. v. p. 583. D. Ἐνὰ νέον ἱδρυτάμενος τοῦ Θεοῦ (ὁ Μωσῆς) μονογενὴς τὴν κόσμον κατήγαγε. Similarly also, Philo says, παρὰ μοναρχίας, lib. ii., τὸ μὲν ἀνάστατον καὶ πρὸς ἀληθινὰ ἔργα Θεοῦ νομιζὺν τὸν συμπάντα χρὴ κόσμον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ χυροκλήτων. This idea is still farther carried into particulars both by Philo and Josephus.

nothing, as canonical. According to the Alexandrian fashion, he deduced all the traces of truth found in the best Greek philosophers,* which he eagerly hunted after, from that original tradition. "Let no one believe," says Isidorus, the son of Basilides, "that that which we call a peculiar possession of the elect, was earlier said by some philosophers; for it is not their discovery, but they have taken it out of the Prophets, and attributed it to their pretended sages (or to their false wisdom.)"† It certainly deserves to be remarked (as Gieseler has remarked,) that Basilides supposed even Ham to have been among those who handed down this higher wisdom, and perhaps, he deduced peculiarly from him the φιλοσοφία βαρβαρῶς,‡ which he probably, as a recogniser of the higher wisdom, set above the Greeks.§

The fundamental Christian doctrine of a redeeming grace had its essential place in the system of Basilides, as the Supreme God was to manifest himself to human nature, and communicate to it a life akin to his own, in order to raise it above the limits of the mundane system, or the world of the archon, to communion with himself, and to the higher world of spirits. It is clear that *this* operation of the Supreme God, according to the system of Basilides, could only relate to those spiritual natures which were destined by their very constitution for a higher world, but which found themselves prisoners in a lower one. These might, through the progressive development of the metempsychosis raise themselves from one stage to another in the kingdom of the Archon; but they could not, in compliance with the desire implanted in them, attain beyond this kingdom and the Archon himself, to communion with the highest system of the world, and to clear knowledge, as well as to the free exercise of their higher nature, unless the Supreme God himself brought his Divine life near to their kindred seed of life, and thereby first set this

into activity. And while spiritual natures, by the act of redemption, are raised to the highest position, the influence of redemption at the same time extends itself also to the subordinate stages of being; harmony becomes universally re-established, and every class of being attains the condition which is conformable to its nature. But although Basilides on the one side brought forward an element in the doctrine of redemption, which was entirely foreign to the fleshly Judaism that clung to earth,—he was on the other side, like Cerinthus, altogether *Ebionitish*, inasmuch as he supposed a sudden entrance of the Divine nature into the life of Jesus, and did not recognise any God-man, in whom the Divine and the human natures had been inseparably united from the first. He supposed, as his fundamental position, a redeeming *God*, but no redeeming *God-man*.

The man Jesus was not to him the Redeemer, he was distinguished from other men only in degree; and Basilides does not appear ever to have ascribed *absolute* un sinfulness to him. He was, in the notions of Basilides, only the instrument which the redeeming God chose, in order to reveal himself in human nature, and to seize on that nature so as to work upon it. With him the Redeemer, in the peculiar and highest sense of the word, was the highest *Æon*,* who was sent down from the Supreme God for the fulfilment of the work of redemption; this Being united himself with the man Jesus at his baptism in the Jordan. From this point the whole work of redemption set forth: from that time the man Jesus spoke things which were far beyond the reach of this lower creation.

The Archon himself, as well as John the Baptist (who was, in the name of the Archon, to consecrate Jesus to the office of Messiah, in the subordinate sense in which the Archon wished, and had promised a Messiah,) was surprised, and seized with astonishment, when he saw the *Νους* descend, and when he heard at the same time the voice that sounded from heaven, and perceived the accompanying appearances,† and heard this Jesus, whom he had supposed a man of his own kingdom, announce such extraordinary things. He now himself, for the first time, recog-

* As with Plato and Aristotle.

† Clem. Strom. vi. 641. Καὶ μὴ τις οἰεῖσθαι, ὁ ρα μὴ ἰδὼν εἶναι τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν, τοῦτο πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑπαρχάν ὑπο τῶν φιλοσοφῶν, οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν αὐτῶν εἰρημα, τῶν δὲ προσφῶτων σφαιρησάμενοι, προσέβηκαν τῷ μὴ ὑπαρχοντι κατ' αὐτοὺς σοφίᾳ. It appears to me now, that this passage requires no emendation, if we may take the word σοφίᾳ either as masculine or neuter. The expression that follows, εἰ προσποιούμενοι φιλοσοφεῖν, confirms this explanation of it.

‡ The traces of the higher wisdom, to be found among the Persians and Hindoos.

§ Ἕλληνες δὲ πάντες.

* Or *νους*, which is called *διακονος*, as serving to the salvation of mankind.

† Which Basilides apparently learned from an apocryphal Gospel.

nises the Supreme God, and the highest system of the world, to both of which he had involuntarily served, till now, as an unconscious instrument, which believed that it acted independently. He now submits himself willingly to a higher Power, imploring it with astonishment; and from this moment he works freely and consciously, as the instrument of that higher Power. He now recognises the truth, that even *in the kingdom* in which he had hitherto believed himself to be supreme, there are beings imprisoned, which are elevated above himself and his world, and which the *Νους* will free from these bounds, as well as the man Jesus, and raise them to the higher system of the world; he recognises the essential distinction between the natures that belong to him of right and are akin to him,* and those which, by their kind, belong to a higher kingdom, and are capable of communion with the *Νους*; he separates each from the other, and lets the latter go free out of his kingdom, without putting any impediment in the way of their elevation. We shall now quote the very words of this man, who conceived every thing under his own peculiar imagery: "When the ruler of the world heard the words of the Redeeming Spirit;† he became astonished at that which he heard and saw, as he heard unexpectedly the glorious message; and his astonishment was called fear." The words, "The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom," are thus to be understood; they mean that the fear of *this* God is the beginning of wisdom, which separates the different kinds of beings from one another, allows them to come to perfection, and leads them all to the stage of existence for which they are destined; for he that rules over all does not separate merely those which belong to the world, but even the elect, and suffers them to depart freely from his dominion.‡

* The *κόσμος*,—the *κτίσις*,—the *κόσμοις*,—the *κτίσει*.

† Also in the *Εὐαγγέλιον καθ' Ἑβραίους*, which Jerome had received from the Nazarenes, the words which sounded from heaven, are ascribed to the "sons omnis Spiritus Sancti, qui requievit super Christum," who descended from heaven.

‡ Clemens, *Stromat. lib. ii. p. 375*, τὸν Ἀρχόντα ἐπακουσάντα τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ διακονομένου πνεύματος, ἐκπλαγῆναι τὰ τε ὀκνισματὶ καὶ τῷ θέλματι καὶ τὴν ἐκπλαγῆναι αὐτοῦ φόβον κλυθῆναι ἀρχὴν γενόμενον σοφίας φυλακρηντικῆς τε καὶ διακριτικῆς καὶ τρωστικῆς καὶ ὑποκαταστατικῆς, οὐ γὰρ μόνον τοὺς κόσμους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐκλογὴν διακρίνας, ὃ ἐπὶ πασὶ προσημνῆται. We must here add a few remarks. The explanation of the

We see here how Basilides conceived and painted after his own eccentric manner, that which Christianity effects, as a divinely animating, freeing and enlightening principle, as the matter which sets human nature in fermentation. These effects, partly judging by the deep penetration of his own mind, and applying its inward operations to outward things, he traced to some fundamental law of Christianity, and partly from observation of the phenomena of his own time. That which Christianity effected generally, in reference to the history of human nature, Basilides represented as an impression made on the Archon which represented that nature.

Like Cerinthus, he also attributed the whole work of redemption to the redeeming heavenly Genius, and most probably coincided with him in the supposition that this Genius had left the man, whom he had hitherto made use of as his instrument, to himself at the time of his suffering. According to his system, the suffering of Christ could have nothing to do with the work of redemption; for, according to his narrow views of justice, it was not consonant to the Divine justice that one, who deserved it not, should suffer for others; and it was required, that all evil should be atoned for by suffering. He considered not merely suffering in general, but also every suffering *in particular*, as a punishment for sin. He

words of Ps. xxi. 10, or of Eccles. i. 16, according to the Basilidian system, gives a remarkable example of the caprice of a theosophical exegesis, which, without regard to the context in which the words stand, lets them, according to this system, mean any thing which they can possibly mean in any context whatever. If the announcement of the heavenly *διακονος* is called an *εὐαγγέλιον* for the *ἀρχων*, then it is clear (they conclude,) that he did not merely submit himself by compulsion to the higher powers, but that his first astonishment passed into a mingled feeling of delight and reverence. The prospect, as soon as the elect natures should have attained the glory destined for them, of becoming freed from the tiresome regimen of this world, and of entering into rest with his own people, (to which expectation of the Demiurgos the Gnostics referred, Rom. viii. 20, 21, according to Origen, t. i. in Joh. p. 24,) must assuredly have been a joyful one for him. Comp. Didascal. anatol. opp. Clem. p. 796 D., where the fact that the Demiurgos established the Sabbath, is adduced as a proof how disagreeable labour is to him. Perhaps it may occur to some persons, that we ought to read τῷ ἐπὶ πασὶ instead of ὃ ἐπὶ πασὶ, so that it would mean that the Archon freely leads the elect natures out of his kingdom to the God who is above all, to whom it is their last destination to elevate themselves.

held the theory against which Christ spoke in John ix. 3. Luke xiii. 2. Every one suffers for his actual sins, or for the evil present in his nature,—evil which he brought with him out of a former state of existence, and which, nevertheless, had not yet come into a state of activity.* And thus, by reference to evil of this kind, he justified Providence in the sufferings inflicted on children. If any one made an objection to him from the sufferings of *acknowledged* good men, he had a fair right to answer by an appeal to the general fact of the presence of sinfulness in human nature, and to say,—“Be the man you show me what he may, he is still a man, and God only is holy; who will find harmony among those, where there is no harmony?”† Job xiv. 4.

But then the case was different, where this proposition was applied to the Redeemer, who, as sure as he is the Redeemer, must be free from sin. Clemens of Alexandria expressly blames Basilides because he went so far in the extension of this proposition. But in *those words* of his which Clemens quotes, this is not necessarily implied; he says only,—“But if you, leaving this whole inquiry on one side, come to this, that you put me into a difficulty by *particular persons*, if you say, for instance,—‘Then *he* has sinned because *he* has suffered.’”—It may be said that Basilides here speaks only of certain persons held in particular reverence, and in great fame for holiness; and that Clemens has allowed himself to draw an inference. But, *in the first place*, the reproach which Basilides here suffers to be made against his proposition, would lose its proper force and signification, if it were not so understood; and *in the second*, the extension of this proposition thus far, altogether coheres also with his theory of the relation of suffering to sin, and with his theory of the Divine justice, and of the process of purification, to which every nature belonging to the kingdom of the Archon is subject. The Jesus which belonged to this kingdom required redemption even himself, and could be made partaker of it only by his connection

with that heavenly redeeming Spirit (the *διακονος*.) In order to become worthy of being redeemed before all others who needed redemption, and being used as an instrument to extend farther the operations of the redeeming Spirit to others, it was sufficient if he, as the most excellent and purest man, and the most advanced in the process of purification, had merely the minimum of sinfulness. We must here observe that the Basilidian system, which at any rate supposed a proportion between the sin and the degree of punishment, was certainly liable to the following objection: “How does so great suffering consist with the smallest degree of sinfulness?” But, apparently he was not at a loss for an answer here, if we may judge from what he says on the subject of martyrdom. He says, “The consciousness of serving as an instrument for the highest and holiest things of human nature, and of *suffering* in this office, (perhaps also, a prospect of the glory into which he should enter by means of his suffering,) sweetened his sufferings to him so much, that it was to him as if *he did not suffer at all*.”

According to the same principle, he also consistently acknowledged no justification in the sense indicated by St. Paul, no objective justification before God; no forgiveness of sin as a release from sin and the punishment of sin. According to his doctrine, every sin, whether before or after faith in the Redeemer, or baptism, must be alike atoned for by suffering. That is a necessary law of the system of the world, which nothing can annul. The only exception he makes is in the case of sins proceeding from ignorance, or involuntary sins;* but it is a pity that his explanation of this very indefinite expression has not been preserved to us. But if, on the contrary, under the term justification (*δικαιωσις, δικαιωσιν*) be understood an inward subjective making just, a sanctification through the communication of Divine life, then such a doctrine would hold a very necessary place in the system of Basilides.

Among the religious and moral notions of the Basilidian school, there is much that deserves attention, which we are desirous of bringing forward particularly.

In regard to the idea of *Faith*, the Basilidian school distinguished itself by this:

* Sufferings,—the penances and purifications of *ἀμαρτια*, or *ἀμαρτυρια*.—Stromat. iv. 506. [Sylburg, p. 217. Potter, p. 600. Klotz, vol. ii. p. 322.]

† [Germ. “Wer will eine Stimme finden bei denen, da keine Stimme ist?” The Hebrew of the passage, however, is different from this, and exactly agrees with our English translation.—H. J. R.]

* Μὴνας τὰς ἀκούσιως καὶ κατ’ ἀγνοίαν ἀμαρτῖαι. Strom. iv. 536. [Sylb. p. 229. Potter, p. 633-4. Klotz, vol. ii. p. 362.]

that they expressly opposed the usual Jewish and Jewish-Christian notion of Faith, as another kind of *opus operatum*, an acknowledgment of certain religious truths, which exists as something individual in the soul of man, and operates no farther on the whole inward life, a mere outwardly existing traditional belief, which brings forth no fruits in the life of man—and also that they, with a deeper penetration into the spirit of St. Paul's doctrines, represented Faith as an inward thing, an entire bent of the inward life, an entrance of the Spirit into a higher sphere, and a *real communion with that higher system*. But, on the other hand, he receded from the genuine notion of St. Paul, because, like all Gnostics (except Marcion) he considered religion in its contemplative, more than in its practical, character; and also, in his notion of Faith, made the contemplative element more prominent than the practical. With him Faith is a certain kind of view,* which includes in itself a certain intellectual appropriation of that which is beheld, and a new spiritual life also in it. On the contrary, according to the genuine Christian idea of St. Paul, Faith is a *practical* appropriation of Divine things, by a *devotion* of the will, a practical entrance into a new relation with God, given by a peculiar revelation from him, from which an entirely new direction and employment of the inward life proceeds. From this we acknowledge, as the whole spiritual life is formed anew from this foundation, an entirely new kind of religious view must develop itself. When, therefore, Basilides supposed different degrees in *this* view [anschauung] (in respect of purity, clearness, elevation and depth,) no objection could lie against him on that account, on any genuine Christian grounds, had he only recognised the common foundation of faith in all Christians, and deduced every thing only from the different degrees in which the influence of that faith developed itself on the spiritual life. But he, confounding between faith and sight,† supposed, instead of one and the same life in a Faith, which is the same in all Christians, *different kinds* of Faith, according to the different sorts of natures. That is to say, just as

men, according to their nature, belonged to a higher or a lower grade of the spiritual world, so also they were capable of a higher or a lower kind of view. Those higher ideas need no proof, but they prove themselves through themselves, to those higher spiritual natures which are akin to them, and which become involuntarily attracted by the revelation of the higher world, which is their proper home. Therefore, Basilides says, "The faith of the elect finds out doctrines without any demonstration by means of a spiritual comprehension" (an intellectual sight);* and in this sense he gives this definition of faith; "an assent of the soul to something which does not act upon the senses, because it is not present."† That is to say,—although the elect live in this world as strangers, nevertheless, by the influence of faith, they recognise, as real, those things of the higher world which beam upon them from afar. And hence he supposes the degree of faith to which a person can elevate himself as a stranger in this world, to correspond to *that* grade of the spiritual world to which he belongs.‡

From the principles of Basilides, his *moral doctrines* must have been of a *severe* nature. In his morality the ruling principle must have been *this*, that man should free himself from that foreign admixture, which having attached itself to his original nature, disturbs and controls it, and that he should constantly attain more and more to a free development and exercise of that original nature. According to this system, man is a little world; just as, according to his spirit, he may be akin to the different natures of the higher spiritual world, so also, in accordance with his lower nature, he bears within himself that which is akin to the different grades and natures of the lower earthly world. He has within himself many admixtures§ of a foreign nature, wherein the different qualities of the world of animals, of vegetables, and of minerals, are reflected:

* [Anschauung. See the former notes on this word, and the Preface.—H. J. R.]

† [Anschauung. Between faith and that faculty, by which Basilides supposed a view, an image or visible representation, to be present to the mind of the believer. See Preface.—H. J. R.]

* Clem. Strom. ii. 363, ἡ πίστις τῆς ἐκλογῆς τὰ μαθημάτων ἀναπόδεικτος ἐπίσκεινται καταλλήλῃ νοητικῇ. [Sylb. p. 156. Potter, p. 433-4. Klotz, vol. ii. p. 128.]

† Clem. Strom. ii. 371. ψυχῆς συγκαταβασίς πρὸς τὰ μὴ κινουμένων αἰσθῆσιν, διὰ τοῦ μὴ παρεῖναι. [Sylb. p. 159. Potter, p. 443. Klotz, vol. ii. p. 139.]

‡ Clem. Strom. ii. 363, πίστις καὶ ἐκλογὴ οἰκεῖα καὶ ἐκαστον διὰ στοιχεῖα ἐπακολουθεῖν τῆς ἐκλογῆς τῆς ὑπερκόσμου ἢ κοσμικῆς πίστεως.

§ Appendages of matter, προσάρτηματα.

and thence come the desires, passions, and affections corresponding to these (as, for example, the imitative and pranksome nature of the ape, the murderous propensities of the wolf, the hardness of the diamond;) and the collection of all these influences of the world of animals, plants, and minerals, forms the blind unreasonable soul,* which always opposes the operations of that part of man's nature which is akin to God. It seemed of importance to Isidorus, the son of Basilides, to guard this doctrine from the objection, or the misunderstanding, which would represent it as endangering moral freedom, and holding out an excuse for every wickedness, as if it proceeded from the irresistible influences of these foreign admixtures. He appealed to the superior power of the Divine nature: "Since we have so much vantage-ground by means of our reason, we must, therefore, appear as conquerors over the lower creature in us."† He says also, "Let a man *only* desire to do good, and he will attain it."‡ It is already to be deduced from the whole connection of the Basilidian scheme, that while he placed the power of the will so high, yet he by no means ascribed to it an independent self-sufficiency, nor at all denied the necessity of the assistance of grace from a higher power. According to his theory of redemption, he acknowledged it as necessary that the Divine in man should receive power from its connection with a higher source in order to give it a just activity. How far men were admonished by him of their need of help, is shown by the advice which Isidorus gives to him who is suffering under temptations: "Let him only," he says, "not withdraw himself from the brethren; let him only confide in his communion with the body of saints; let him say, 'I am entered into the sanctuary, nothing evil can happen to me.'"§ It is also proved by the distinction which he made, of the two conditions of the inward life, the one, where a man in temptations prays for strength to conquer, and the other, where he gives thanks for the victory, which he has obtained by the sup-

port of the Divine power.* I grant that the doctrine of certain higher natures, which are elevated above the weaknesses of other men, might always easily create dangerous self-deceits of pride, because it is irreconcilable with the existence of Christian humility. There were later Basilidians, who corrupted this doctrine in a most pernicious manner, and thence deduced the freedom of the saints, which was to be bound by no law.† (See below.) The doctrine of matter might have led to an exaggerated and partial ascetic tendency in morality: but the acknowledgment of the communication and the interlacing which exists between the visible and the invisible world, as well as the recognition of the Divine nature as a victorious forming-principle for all creation, had here a counter-balancing effect, as we have already observed in regard to this whole class of Gnostics. Basilides considers marriage as a holy state, in no way inconsistent with the existence of Christian perfection; and, under certain circumstances, as a means of guarding against evil propensities. And it was only under certain circumstances that he allowed celibacy to be efficacious, as a means of attending to Divine things, with less interruption from earthly cares.‡

(c.) *Valentinus and his School.*

NEXT to Basilides we place Valentinus, who was contemporary with him, although a little later. If we judge from his Hellenistic expressions, and the Aramaic names, which appear in his system, he was of Jewish origin. He was born an Egyptian,§ and most probably he owes his education likewise to Alexandria. He travelled thence to Rome, where he appears to have passed the latter part of his life; and this gave him an opportunity of making his doctrines more known, and propagating them in these regions also. In his fundamental notions he agreed with Basilides; it was only in the manner of explaining them, and in the representation of the images in which he developed his ideas, that he differed from him. But as people did not carefully distinguish from one another, the doctrines of the founders of Gnostic schools, and

* The ψυχή περιφραγμένη ἀλλοτρίως.

† Διὰ δὲ τοῦ λογιστικῆς κρηττοῦτος γινώσκοντος, τῆς ἐλαττοῦτος ἐν ἡμῖν κτίσεως φανῶναι κρατεῦντας.

‡ Strom. iii. 427, θελήσας μόνον ἀπαρτῆσαι τὸ κελὸν καὶ ἐντελεῖσθαι. [Sylb. p. 183. Potter, p. 510. Klotz, vol. ii. p. 213.]

§ Strom. iii. 427. [See the last note for references.]

* Strom. i. c. ὅταν δὲ ἡ ὑπερχριστία σου εἰς αἰτίαν ὕποπτον.

† Strom. iii. 427. [See note first column.]

‡ Strom. lib. iii., from the beginning.

§ According to the account given by Epiphanius.

those of their later followers, by whom these doctrines had only been modified in a peculiar manner, and as they joined with the Valentinian system many kindred doctrines, which flowed from one common source, it is difficult, from the representations which have come down to us, to determine with certainty what doctrines properly belonged to Valentinus himself, as the founder of the school.

What the *δυναμεις* were with Basilides, the *Æons** were with Valentinus; but the *following notion* is peculiar to him, namely, that as the veil (or covering) of all life resides in the original source of all existence, (the Bythos,) but is not yet unfolded, together with the development of life that proceeds from that first source, members which mutually supply the defects of each other form themselves, that is to say *Æons*, both male and female, one of which is *chiefly generative*, the other *receptive*;† and that by the mutual communication of these *Æons* the chain of that development of life constantly goes on. The female is the supplement of the male, *το πληρωμα*,‡ and the perfect line of *Æons* is now considered as a whole, as the fullness of the Divine life streaming out of the Bythos, which must again be constantly rendered fruitful, as it were, by it, (the Divine life,) and it is called, in relation to him, the female, the Pleroma! The *hidden being* of God cannot be known by any one; it is the absolutely *ἀγνωστον*; it is only in as far as he has revealed himself in the unfolding of his powers or *Æons*, that he can be recognised. All individual *Æons*, in their varied modes of revelation, are called forms and names of that Being,§ who, in his secret existence is inconceivable, not-to-be-named, and elevated above conceptions and images, just as the Monogenes, that first self-revelation of the hidden Being, is called peculiarly the *INVISIBLE NAME of the Bythos*. It is an idea deeply rooted in the Valentinian system, that since all existence has its foundation in the self-limitation of the Bythos, so also the existence of all created being

depends on *limitation*. When every thing remains within the limits of its peculiar sphere, and is that which it ought to be according to its assigned position in the development of life, then every thing can dovetail together well, and a just harmony exist in the chain of the development of life. As soon as any being endeavours to overpass these limits,—as soon as ever a being, instead of recognising God in the revelation which he makes of himself to that being, according to his position,—emboldens himself so as to wish to penetrate into His hidden Being, it runs a risk of sinking into annihilation. Instead of laying hold of that which is real, it loses itself in that which is without existence. The Horos (*ὄρος*), the Genius of limitation, of bounding, (the power of truth personified, which assigns and sets fast the boundaries of each individual being, which watches over those boundaries, and when they are broken restores them,) therefore, takes an important place in the system of Valentinus. Gnosis is here, as it were, giving testimony against itself. The ideas of the Horos and the Redeemer must have been much akin to each other in the Valentinian system, and in fact the Horos was called by many the *λυτρωτης* and *σωτης*, the *Redeemer* and *Saviour*; and we find traces which indicate that he was meant to represent only one mode of operation of the one redeeming Spirit,—that Spirit which, according to the different places of his operations, that extend themselves throughout all the stages of existence, and according to his different modes of operation, is betokened by different names, and by others is divided into different persons, (Hypostases.) The Valentinians ascribe two modes of operation to this Horos; *the one* of a negative kind, by means of which he lays down the limits for all existence, and separates and removes from it all that is foreign to it;* and in virtue of this power he is *properly* called *ὄρος*; and *the other* is that operation, by means of which he sets fast and establishes, in their peculiar sphere and forms, all those beings who are purified from that, which, being foreign to their nature, troubles their existence;† and in virtue of this power he is called *σταυρος*, a word which is used both for a cross, and a stake or bulwark; to both of which meanings the Valentinians here made allusion. Their remarks on those

* See the explanation of this word, p. 261.

† Just as in all the rest of the creation, which represents an image of that higher world, this two-fold line of agents is to be found.

‡ *Πληρωμα*. These Theosophs, who certainly did not scrupulously adhere to the strict grammatical meaning of terms, perhaps understood this word both in an active and a passive sense at the same time, and applied it both to *το πληρουν* and *το πληρουμενον*.

§ The *Æons* are *μορφη του Θεου, ονοματα του ἀγνωμαστου*.

* The *ἐνεργεια μωριστικη και διωριστικη*.

† The *ἐνεργεια ἐδραστηικη και στυριστηικη*.

sayings of the Redeemer in which they thought they recognised the Horos, make their ideas on the subject plain. Thus they referred Luke xiv. 27, to the *establishing* power of the Horos,* and Matthew x. 34, and Mark x. 21, to *his separating power*.† In the first of these passages, according to them, our Saviour means that only those persons can be his disciples who bear his cross, i. e. who give themselves up to that Divine power of the Redeemer which is symbolically represented by the cross, and suffer themselves to be formed and firmly established by it in his own peculiar way. In the second passage our Saviour hints at his Divine purifying power, by which he clears that which is akin to God from the admixture of the ungodly, and produces the annihilation of the latter.‡ Both are intimately connected together, the *clearance* from the foreign admixture of the *ἐλη*, from intermixture with which this irregular, indefinite, and unquiet vacillation between existence and non-existence proceeds, and a firm establishment in a definite, peculiar, Divine existence, unmingled with any thing else.

If Basilides deduced the intermixture of the Divine with matter from an assault of the kingdom of darkness upon the kingdom of light, on the contrary, Valentinus deduced it from a commotion that arose in the Pleroma, and a descent of the Divine seed of life from the Pleroma into matter, consequent upon that commotion. He acknowledged, as well as Basilides, a Divine wisdom, which revealed itself in the world; but here, also, in his view, the lower is only *an image* of the higher. It is not the Divine wisdom itself, not the *Æon σοφία* herself, but the untimely fruit of her travail, which is to unfold itself and arrive at its maturity only by degrees. He distinguishes between an *ανω* and a *κατω σοφια* (Achamoth:);§ this latter is the soul of the world, from the admixture of which with the *ἐλη* all living existence is produced, and is in different stages, higher, in proportion as it can keep itself clearer from connection with the *ἐλη*, and lower, in proportion as it is attracted and affected by matter. There exist, therefore, these *three* stages of being.

1. The *φύσεις πνευματικαι*, or those Divine seeds of life, which are elevated above matter by their nature, and which

are akin to *σοφια*, to the soul of the world, and to the Pleroma.

2. The *φύσεις ψυχικαι*, or such natures as proceeded from the life that had been divided by admixture with the *ἐλη*; and an entirely new stage of being begins with these natures, an image of the higher world, but in a subordinate position.

3. The ungodly, which is opposed to all improvement; the being which can only disturb, and is entirely the slave of blind desires and passions.

There is only a *difference of degree* between all, which proceeds from the unfolding of the Divine life (which flows forth from the Bythos through the *Æons*), from the Pleroma downwards to its seed, which has fallen down into human nature—that seed which, being sown, must attain its ripeness in the earthly world; but between those three classes of being there is an *essential* difference of *nature*. Each one, therefore, of these classes must have its own independent principle which predominates in it, although every process of improvement and development leads back in the end to the Bythos, which works on every thing by means of various organs in the various grades of being, and whose law is the only ruling one. He cannot, however, himself enter into any immediate connection with that which is foreign to him, and, therefore, in that subordinate grade of being which lies between the perfect or Divine, and the ungodly or material, there must exist a Being as the image of the Most High,* which, while it thinks that it acts independently, must yet serve the universal law, from which nothing is exempt, for the realization of the ideas of the Supreme even to the very extreme limits of matter. This Being is in the psychical world, what the Bythos is in the higher world, only with this difference, that it involuntarily acts as the organ of the former; and this being is the Demiurgos of Valentinus. The *Hyle* also has its principle, which represents it, and through which it operates; but by its very nature it is not of a forming and creative, but of a *destructive* kind: this is Satan.

1. The nature of the *πνευματικον* is that which is essentially akin to God (the *ἁμουνισιον τῷ Θεῳ*) and thence comes simple and undivided existence,† the life of unity or oneness (*οὐσια ἑνικη μονοειδης*.)

* The *ἐνέργεια στοιχειστικὴ καὶ ἰδρυστικὴ*

† The *ἐνέργεια μεριστικὴ καὶ διριστικὴ*.

‡ Irenæus i. c. 3. § 5.

§ תְּבִיטוֹת.

* The *μετέστης*.

† [The German is here "das Leben der Einheit." I think in English the same idea would be better rendered 'oneness of existence.'—H. J. R.]

2. The Being of the $\Psi\chi\iota\kappa\omicron\iota$, divided into number and variety, but still submitting itself to a higher unity, and allowing itself to be guided by that unity, at first unconsciously, afterwards consciously.

3. The Being of Satan and his whole kingdom: mere opposition to all unity; the Being divided and distracted in itself, without any capability for unity, or any point for unity to begin from; and with all this, an endeavour to destroy all unity, to spread its *own* indwelling distraction over every thing, and to distract every thing.*

In that first grade of being, the life, which, by its very nature, is eternal, exists as something inalienable, a necessary $\acute{\alpha}\varphi\theta\alpha\rho\sigma\iota\alpha$; the $\Psi\chi\iota\kappa\omicron\iota$, on the contrary, stands in the middle between immortal and mortal. The $\Psi\chi\iota\kappa\omicron\iota$ obtain immortality, or they become subject to death, according as they give themselves up by their inclinations to the Divine or to ungodliness. The nature of Satan, like that of the $\acute{\iota}\lambda\eta$, is death itself, annihilation, the negation of all existence, which, in the end, when all existence, which has been divided by its means, shall have developed itself to the full extent of all its properties, and shall have fixed itself sufficiently in itself, shall then destroy itself in itself, being overcome by the power of the positive, after it (the negative, annihilating power,) has drawn to itself all its kindred ungodliness. The existence of the first is the pure development of life from within,—an activity which is not directed outwards, and which has no obstacles to overcome; and a tranquillity which is a life and action.

2. The existence of the $\acute{\iota}\lambda\eta$ is of itself, and by its own nature, the stillness of death; but after a spark of life has fallen into it, and communicated to it a certain something analogous to life, it becomes in its representative, Satan, a wild kind of self-contradicting impulse.

3. To the Demiurgos, and to those that are his, namely, the Psychical, there is peculiarly assigned an activity directed outwardly; an impelling activity: they desire to do much, as it usually happens with such busy people, without rightly understanding what they do,†—without becoming themselves properly conscious of the ideas which direct them.‡

The doctrine of the redemption took also a very important place in the Valentinian system, and peculiarly forms its centre point; but it was by him, even more than by Basilides, removed from the regions of practical things into those of speculation and metaphysics. As, according to his system, a process of the development of life pervades all regions of existence, and as the disharmony, which, as far as its seed is concerned, first arose in the Pleroma itself, beginning thence, has spread itself farther,* so the *whole course of the world can only then first attain its proper object*, when *harmony* shall be again restored, *in all grades of existence*, as well as in the Pleroma; that which happens in the Pleroma must be imaged in all other grades of existence. And thus, therefore, as the work of redemption takes place in different stages of existence and the same law is here fulfilled in different forms, and in different conditions, it is the same agent of the revelation of the hidden God, the same agent, through whom the life that streamed forth from God becomes united with him again, who, continuing his work, till the completion of the whole, is imaged (or reflected) in different hypostases, wherever he is perfecting his work in different stages of existence. So it is the same idea which is represented in a Monogenes, a Logos, a Christus, and a Soter. The Soter is the Redeemer for the whole of the world that lies beyond the Pleroma, and therefore, also the plastic Being for that world; for in this system, to form and to redeem hang closely together, as is already evident from the twofold operations of the Horos. By means of this *formative process*, the higher nature is first made free from the matter that adheres to it; and out of an unorganic, formless being, is unfolded into a definite, organized being, gifted with individual qualities.† It is by means of redemption that the higher property first attains to its mature and perfect development, and to clear consciousness. Redemption is the completion of the formative process. All the Divine life of the Pleroma concentrates itself, and is

found in the writings of Heracleon, quoted by Origen, tom. xiii. Joh. c. 16, 25, 30, 51, 59; tom. xx. c. 20.

* The foundation of the whole of the new creation, lying beyond the Pleroma, which new creation can proceed from division alone.

† [Literally, "into a definite, individual, and organized being."—H. J. R.]

* The $\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha$ $\pi\alpha\lambda\upsilon\sigma\chi\iota\delta\eta\varsigma$, which endeavours to assimilate every thing to itself.

† $\varphi\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ $\pi\alpha\lambda\upsilon\mu\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\varsigma$, $\pi\alpha\lambda\upsilon\pi\tau\epsilon\gamma\mu\alpha\upsilon$.

‡ The documents on which this rests will be

reflected in the Soter, and through him extends its operations for the individualizing of the Divine life, in order that the spiritual natures, which are akin to the Pleroma, may be sown abroad in the world, and ripen into perfect existence. The Christus of the Pleroma is the working principle, the Soter beyond the Pleroma* is the receiving, the forming, and the perfecting principle.†

The Soter first proves his redeeming and forming power on that still imperfect soul of the world, which came from the Pleroma, as this soul must, at some time or other, spread itself abroad over all the spiritual natures that are akin to it, and which sprouted forth from it, as the universal mother of spiritual life in the lower world. (See above.) The Soter is the proper fashioner and governor of the world, as he is the Redeemer; for the formation of the world is the first beginning of the process of development, which can only be brought to completion by means of redemption. The Soter, as the inward active principle, puts into the soul-of-the-world,‡ destined to make up a syzygy§ with him, the formative ideas, and she communicates them to the Demiurgos, who imagines that he is acting independently; and he, unconsciously to himself, under this cultivation becomes animated and influenced by the power of these ideas. Whilst Valentinus|| represented the Demiurgos and the world fashioned and animated by him as one whole, he paints this whole as an image

of the glory of God, sketched by the Soter, as by a painter. But, to say the truth, as every image, from its very nature, is an imperfect representation of the original prototype, and can be rightly understood only by him who has the power of beholding the original,—thus also the Demiurgos, with his creation, is only an imperfect image of the glory of God; and he alone who has received in his inward soul the revelation of the invisible Divine Being, can rightly understand the world as the image, and the Demiurgos as the prophet, of the Supreme God. The inward revelation (which is the portion of the πνευματικοί) is an authentication of the outward, an authentication of the Demiurgos as the representative of God. Valentinus himself expresses this thus: “as much as the picture is less than the living countenance, so much the world is less than the living God. And what is the cause of the picture? The greatness of the countenance, which afforded the original to the painter, in order to become honoured by the manifestation of his name; for no form has been invented as an independent thing. But as the name of the thing itself supplies that which is wanting in the paintings, so also the *invisible* God† acts for the authentication of the image which is made.”

It is a fundamental notion of the Valentinian and of all Gnostic systems, that *man* is destined to represent and to maintain the connection between the higher world and the empire of the Demiurgos, that is, to reveal the Supreme God in this world. Human nature, and the revelation of God, are here kindred notions; and hence the *first man*‡ [Urmensch] was one of the Valentinian Æons; and, according to other Valentinian systems, it was said, “When God wished to reveal himself, this was called *man*.”§ The Demiurgos created man, to image and represent himself; he breathed into him a soul akin to

* In the τῶτος μεστότης.

† Thus Heracleon says of the Soter, in relation to Christians, that the former receives the Divine seed out of the Pleroma from the latter, as a yet undeveloped seed; and that he communicates to it the formation into a definite and separate being—τὴν πρώτην μορφωτὴν τὴν κατὰ γενεάν, εἰς μορφὴν, καὶ φωτισμὸν, καὶ πᾶν ἔργον ὁραζὸν καὶ ἀναβαλόν. Origen, Joh. t. ii. c. 15. To *bring to light*, to *form*, and to *individualize*, are identical ideas among the Gnostics. The indefinite, the unorganic, corresponds in spiritual beings to the ὕλη. Thus in the Valentinian fragment in Irenæus i. c. 8. § 4, the μορφὴν, φωτίζον, φανερῶν, is opposed to the πρὸ βλαστῆν σπέρματος τὴν ὕλην οὐσίαν. Christus sows the seed, the Soter harvests it. Origen, Joh. i. 13, p. 48.

‡ Κατὰ σοφίαν, Achemoth.

§ [It will be remembered that in this system all the Æons were evolved by pairs, or syzygies.—H. J. R.]

|| After Plato, who considers the Spirit that fashions the world, and the world animated by him, as one whole, one Θεὸς γεννῶν, ἐν ζῶον; and after the example of Philo, who represents the Λόγος, and the body of the world animated by him, as *one whole*.

* Clem. Strom. lib. iv. 509. [Sylb. p. 218. Potter, p. 603. Klotz, vol. ii. p. 326-7.]

[The quotation from Valentinus is probably corrupt, and requires the alteration of ἐπληρώσαν into ἐπληρώσων, which the common interpreters, as well as Neander, have made. The only difficulty lies in the latter part, which I here quote: τῶν αὐτῶν τοῦ εἰκόνος; μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πρῶτου παρὰ χημῶν τοῦ ζωγράφου τὸν τύπον, ἵνα τιμῇ δι' ἰσχυροῦς αὐτοῦ: οὐ γὰρ αὐθεντικὰς εἰρήνη μορφῇ, ἀλλὰ τὸ νομὰ ἐπληρώσαν τοῦ ὑπερῆσαν ἐν πάσει.—H. J. R.]

† God's invisible Being.

‡ The Adam Kadmon of the Cabbala.

§ See Iren. lib. i. c. 12. § 4.

his own being. But, even here, he was acting as the instrument of a higher Being. Man was to represent that first man. Without the Demiurgos being conscious of it, the Sophia communicated to him the spiritual seed, which he transplanted into the soul of man; and thence it happened that man at once revealed something which was of a more elevated nature than the whole creation, into which he entered; so that the Demiurgos himself, and his angels, were seized with astonishment, for as yet they knew nothing of a higher world. The Demiurgos thought that he himself was an independent ruler; but now, to his astonishment, he saw a higher power enter into his dominions. This astonishment is universally repeated, wherever man, limited as he is, being animated by the ideas of a higher world, expresses them in his works, as in art, and indeed, universally, where the hands of men execute any thing in relation to the name of God. Thus it happens that men fall down and worship their own images, being filled with a reverential astonishment by the sensation* of a higher power, which is unknown to them. We will bring forward the words of the man himself: "And just as the angel was seized with fear at that creature (*πλασμα*) when it spoke of loftier things than such as suited its creation, by means of him who had invisibly communicated to it the seed of the life from above, (namely, the Soter,) and when it spoke with freedom and confidence,—so also, in the race of the men of this world, the works of man become a terror even to those who made them, such as pillars, and statues, and every thing which the hands of all men execute in honour of the name of God."†

But that which human nature was universally to represent, became now really brought to pass only in those spiritual men.‡ Through them was the life-giving, purifying principle of the Divinity to be spread abroad, and penetrate even to the utmost limits of the *ύλη*; these spiritual natures are the salt and the light of the earth, the heaven for all the race of man. The *ψυχη* is only the *vehiculum* for the *πνευματικον*, in order that it may be able to enter into the temporal world, in which it is to develop itself to maturity. When

this aim shall have been attained, the spirit, which is only destined for the life of intuition,* will leave that *vehiculum* in the lower sphere; and every spiritual nature, as the female and recipient element in regard to the higher world of spirits, will be elevated in the Pleroma to its syzygy with the angelic nature which corresponds to it. Only the highest and immediate intuitive powers (that is the meaning of Valentinus,) will then come into operation. All the powers and modes of operation of the soul, which are directed to that which is temporal and perishable, —such as its powers of reflection, and the understanding, in which, according to Valentinus, is contained the *ψυχη*, will then utterly cease.†

The attractive power, with which the Divine Being works on every thing, without those who receive the impression understanding it, or being able to explain it to themselves, is a favourite notion with Valentinus. The Demiurgos was attracted by the spiritual natures which were scattered among the Jewish people, without being conscious of the reason of it. He made them, therefore, prophets, priests, and kings. Therefore, it happened that the prophets were enabled especially to hint at the higher order of things, which should be brought among men by the Soter. According to Valentinus, a four-fold principle acted upon the Prophets:—

1. The psychical principle, the human and limited soul, the unassisted soul.

2. The *spiritualization* of this *ψυχη*, which is derived from the Demiurgos working upon it.

3. The unassisted *πνευματικον*.

4. The pneumatical spiritualization, which is derived from the influence of the Sophia.‡

Thus Valentinus, in reference to these four principles, could distinguish in the writings of the prophets, different promises of a higher and lower character and meaning, and a higher and lower sense, which differed from each other, in the same passage.

1. The mere human sayings.

2. The *single* prophecies of future events, which the Demiurgos, who, although not Omniscient, yet looked into a wider circle of the future, was able to communicate; and the prophecies of a

* [Ahnung. Literally, a *presentiment*. It expresses here a feeling indicating a sense that leads us to recognise this higher power.—H. J. R.]

† Clem. Strom. lib. ii. 375. [Sylb. p. 161. Potter, p. 448. Klotz, vol. ii. p. 145.]

‡ The *φυσικη πνευματικη*.

* [Das Leben der Anschauung. See Preface.—H. J. R.]

† Comp. Aristot. de Anima., lib. iii. c. 5.

‡ See Iren. lib. i. c. 16, § 3, 4.

Messiah, which came also from the same source, but were still enveloped in a temporal and Jewish form; the prophecies of a Messiah, such as the Demiurgos would send,—a Psychical Messiah for the Psychical world, the ruler of a kingdom of this world.

3. The ideas which verged upon the Christian economy, and pointed to it, the enlightened Messianic notions, brought forward in more or less purity, according as they proceeded purely from the higher spiritual natures, or the immediate influence of the Sophia. This view might lead to remarkable investigations as to the mixture of the Divine and human in the prophets, and introduce conclusions which would be fruitful towards the interpretation of the prophets themselves. The Valentinian view was opposed to the determination of those, who, in spite of the words of Christ in Matt. xi. 9, &c., and in spite of 1 Pet. i. 12, attributed a perfect and Christian knowledge to the prophets. It may be asked, whether Valentinus recognised the beams of higher truth only among the Jews; whether he allowed the existence of spiritual natures only among the Jews, or whether he acknowledged that they were spread abroad also among the heathen. According to Heracleon,* he held the Jews to be the kingdom of the Demiurgos,—the Heathen the kingdom of Matter, or of Satan,—and the Christians the people of the Supreme God; but this does not prove that he excluded from the heathen all that belongs to the superior race; because, although he expressly assigned Judaism to the Demiurgos, he supposed that it contained some scattered seeds of the higher pneumatical system; and although he assigned Christianity to the Supreme God, he saw also, even among the Christians, a large class of Psychical persons. He, therefore, only speaks of the *prevailing ingredients*; and therefore, notwithstanding the prevailing state of the *ἰλη* among the heathen, he might recognise scattered seeds of the pneumatical. He was in fact obliged to confess this according to his own principles, according to which the higher spiritual principle of life (the *πνευματικόν*) was to pervade all grades of being even to the very limits of matter, in order to prepare the universal annihilation of the *ἰλη*. What Valentinus says, in the passage above quoted, of the power of art, which

turns itself to the formation of idols, allows us to conclude that he judged the polytheistic system more mildly than the common Jews, to whom the idols were only evil spirits, and that he, supporting himself by Acts xvii. 23, believed that even in this system, although it was sullied by the prevalence of the hylie principle, there might be observed traces of an unknown God, who spread his unrecognised influence over all things. Thus Valentinus, in a still extant fragment of a homily,* actually hints at the traces of truth spread about even in the writings of the heathen, in which the inward being of the spiritual people of God, or of the *πνευματικοί*, who are spread abroad in the whole world, reveals itself. “Much of that which is written in the books of the heathen, is found written in the Church of God; this common part is the voice out of the heart, the law written in the heart; this is that people of the beloved (*i. e.* this higher consciousness which is found in common, is the mark of the scattered community of the Soter, the *πνευματικός*), which is beloved by him, and loves him in return.”

The Soter, who from the beginning had conducted the whole process of the development of the spiritual seed of life, which had fallen down from out of the Pleroma for the formation of a new world, the *invisible Fashioner* and *Ruler* of this new world,—was now obliged at last, himself, to act upon the course of the world, *without any intermediate agency*, in order to spread forth the act of redemption, which he had originally perfected in the mother of all spiritual life, the soul of the world, or the Sophia,—upon all the spiritual life which had flowed forth from her, and thus to bring the whole work to completion. All being, even down to the very hylie matter that struggles against all being, was capable of ennoblement, *each after its own degree*. The Soter must, therefore, enter into connection with all these stages of being, in order to fashion all, both the lower (the Psychical) as well as the higher (the Pneumatical,) into the degree of the higher life, of which each is capable. Except for this, according to the usual course of nature, the Soter could enter into connection only with the spiritual nature, which is akin to him, and such a nature could enter into this tem-

* Origen, in Joh. t. xiii. § 16.

* Clem. Strom. lib. vi. p. 641. [Sylb. p. 272. Potter, p. 792. Klotz, vol. iii. p. 123.]

poral world only in connection with a ψυχη.

Valentinus might here coincide with the doctrine of Basilides, only with this difference, that with the first of them, the human part in the person and in the life of the Redeemer received a somewhat higher character, although not the right and becoming one; the Christ, composed and decomposed by him, according to *his own* notions, was always very different from the *historical* Christ.

The Demiurgos had promised to his own people a Redeemer, a Messiah, who would release them from the dominion of the hylical, introduce the annihilation of every thing which opposed itself to his empire,—rule over every thing in his name,—and rejoice all that obeyed him with all kinds of earthly happiness. He sent down this Messiah, who represented the very image of the Demiurgos, out of his own heaven; but this elevated Being could not enter into any connection with matter; nay, as it was to introduce the annihilation of every thing material, how could it receive any thing whatever from matter? There would then have been joined with the material body a material spirit* of life, akin to it, and the source of every thing evil; and how could he have been the Redeemer, if the principle of evil had been present in his own nature? The Demiurgos also formed a body for the psychical Messiah out of the finer ethereal matter of heaven, out of which he sent him down into this world. This body was so formed, by some wonderful contrivance,† that he appeared visibly, and could subject himself to all sensuous actions and affections, and yet do this in a manner entirely different from the usual kind of bodies.‡ But the miracle of the birth of Jesus consisted in this, that the psychical nature which came down from the heaven of the Demiurgos, together with the ethereal body brought from thence, came into the light of the world through the body of Mary only as through a canal.§ But yet this psychical Messiah would never have been able to complete the work laid upon him by the Demiurgos: there was need of a higher power for the conquest of the empire of the ὕλη; the Demiurgos acted as well here as in every thing as the unconscious instrument

of the Soter. This latter had appointed the moment in which he would unite himself with this psychical Messiah as his instrument, in order to fulfil the work which had been prepared and promised by the Demiurgos in a far higher sense than he himself anticipated, and to found a Messianic kingdom of a far higher kind, to the real circumstances of which only the most elevated predictions of the prophets, and those not understood by the Demiurgos himself, had pointed.

The psychical Messiah, who did not perceive the destination which was to fall to his lot through his union with the Soter, in the mean time laid before man the Ideal of ascetic holiness. He was able to exert an extraordinary dominion over matter from the peculiar nature of his body. He let himself down, indeed, to man, so as to eat and drink; but still without being subject to the same affections as other men: he carried on every thing after a divine manner.*

At the baptism in the Jordan, where he was to receive his solemn consecration to his calling as the Messiah, from John the Baptist, the representative of the Demiurgos, the Soter, who had thus conducted every thing through his invisible guidance, united himself with him, descending under the symbol of the dove. On this question, *whether the psychical Messiah from the first bore a spiritual nature within him*, which, descending with the vehiculum of a soul, was to develop itself to maturity in this world, that it might then first become capable of redemption; or whether it was only *at his descent into this world* that the Soter first received from the Sophia a spiritual nature as a vehicle, in order to be able to unite himself with the human nature, and that also the higher pneumatical nature was communicated to the Messiah of the Demiurgos during baptism: on this point there might be a diversity of opinions even in the Valentinian school itself.†

* Clem. Strom. Lib. iii. 451.

† The latter view is apparently found in a passage of Heracleon; Origen, t. vi. § 23.; Grabe Spicileg. t. ii. p. 89, where I once (see my *Gene-tische Entwicklung*, &c., p. 149.) erroneously supposed that I could recognise the doctrine that the Soter himself became man, and that of his union with the human nature from its first development. He explains John i. 27, in his manner, first justly, according to the sense expressed by the words, "John avows that he is not worthy to render the smallest service to the Redeemer;" and then afterwards he arbitrarily introduces a higher sense into the simple words, according to

* The ψυχη ἀλογος. † Ἐξ οἰκονομίας.

‡ Σωμα ἐκ της ἀφανους ψυχης οὐσιας.—Theodot. Didascal. Anatol.

§ Ὡς δια σωτηριος.

According to the doctrine of Valentinus, as well as that of Basilides, the appearance of the redeeming Spirit in human nature, and its union with the psychical Messiah would be the chief business in the work of redemption. He also agreed with Basilides in this, that the Soter had left the psychical Messiah to himself at his passion, but he ascribed more importance than Basilides to the passion of the Messiah, although a theosophy, which sought peculiar mysteries every where, despised a simple explanation, and in consequence of its multitude of mystical and speculative relations and meanings would not allow the feelings of the heart to show themselves; although this theosophy was too contemplative and superhuman to be able rightly to comprehend the passion of Christ in its human and moral aspect. As the psychical Messiah spread himself upon the cross, and with the cross spread himself over the lower world, this was an image of that first act of redemption by which the Soter (see above,) had extended himself over the Sophia with the *σταυρός*. Just as in the higher region this effected the freeing of the Sophia from that which is foreign to her, so also it effected in the lower the freeing of the psychical from the material, which is the groundwork of all that is evil, even to the final annihilation of it

his own theosophic ideas: οὐκ ἔγω εἰμι ἱκανός, ἵνα δι' ἐμέ κατεβῇ ἀπο μηθένος καὶ σαρκὸς λαβῇ, ὡς ὑπόδειγμα, περὶ ἧς ἔγω λέγον ὑπεβύβαιμι αὐτὸν δυνάμει, οὐδὲ διαμαρτυροῦμαι ἢ ἐπιτυχαίνω τῇ περὶ αὐτοῦ οἰκονομίᾳ. We can hardly here, under the term "the flesh," which the Soter, who came down out of the higher region from the bounds of the Pleroma and the *τοπος μετῴντης*, had received, understand the body of the psychical Messiah, formed by some peculiar *οἰκονομία*; for he is certainly here speaking of the Soter, who revealed himself to John at the baptism, and at all events, according to the Valentinian doctrine, he did not unite himself with the *body* but with the *psychical Messiah who bore this body*. And then John, who here represented the person of the Demiurgos himself, would never have uttered his astonishment thus at this wonderful body, formed by the latter person himself (the Demiurgos.) But the Valentinians called *every covering, every vehicle* for a higher being, which lets himself down into a lower region, a *σαρεξ*. The Sophia gave a *σπερμα πνευματικόν*, in order that he might let himself down to the earth in this as a vehicle for his appearance, and might thereby enter into union with the *ψυχή*. The opening words of the Didascal. Anatol. give us the proof of this, for it is said, ὁ πρεσβύτερος σαρκεν τῷ λόγῳ (as well as to the Soter) ἡ σοφία τοῦ πνευματικόν σπέρμα, τοῦτο στοιχείσμενος κατήλθεν ὁ σωτήρ. It was also of this wonderful apparatus that Heracleon spoke,

altogether, after it has become dissolved in itself.* By the words, "Into thy hands, O Father, I commend my *spirit*," he commended the *πνευματικόν σπέρμα* which was then leaving him, in order that it might not be detained in the dominion of the Demiurgos, but that it might raise itself up free into the higher region, and that all those spiritual natures, whose representative this spiritual nature united with him was, might also be raised up with it. The psychical Messiah raises himself up to the Demiurgos, who transfers to him in his name the sovereign might and rule, and the pneumatical Messiah raises himself up to the Soter, whither all freed spiritual natures are to follow him.

The most important matter, the chief concern for the pneumatical natures in the work of redemption, is still the redemption, which was imparted to human nature by its union with the Soter at the baptism in the Jordan. This must be repeated in every individual case. Valentinus speaks thus of the sanctifying effects of inward communion with the Redeemer. "But there is one Good, (whose free appearance is the revelation through the Son,) and through *him alone* can the heart become pure after all evil spirits have been banished out of the heart, for many spirits inhabiting it will not allow it to be pure. Each one of these fully performs its own work, while they defile it in manifold ways by unseemly desires. And it appears to me to be with such a heart as with an inn, which is trampled upon and trodden down and often filled with dirt, while men dwell within it without restraint, and take no care whatever about the place, as one in which they have no concern. Thus also the heart, until it attains heavenly grace, remains unclean, as being the abode of many evil spirits. But where the Father, the only one that is good, takes possession of it, then is it sanctified and it shines with light; and thus he who possesses such a heart, is declared to be blessed (*μακαρίζεται*) because he will see God."†

He who is thus united with God is already a member of the heavenly com-

* The declaration of Heracleon in Origen, t. vi. § 23, τῷ σταυρῷ ὑνωσθῆναι καὶ ὑφαισθῆναι πᾶσαν τὴν κληρίαν, must be understood in connection with the whole Valentinian system.

† Strom. lib. ii., p. 409. [Ed. Par. 1629.] [Sylburg, p. 176. Potter, p. 488—9. Klotz, vol. ii. p. 191.]

munity, is already incorporated by the power of the Redeemer into the host of blessed spirits, which is thus expressed in the language of the Valentinian school: "As every pneumatical soul has its other half in the higher world of Spirits (the *angel* which belongs to it) for union with which it is destined, so does it receive through the Soter the power to enter at once into this syzygy in regard to its spiritual life."*

As the psychical and pneumatical beings are different from one another in their nature and their destination, so they remain different also in Christianity. There is a *χριστιανισμός ψυχικός* and a *χριστιανισμός πνευματικός*. St. Paul declares to the psychical, that for them he has known nothing and could preach nothing but Christ crucified; † that he could not preach to them that wisdom of the perfect which is hidden even to the Demiurgos and his angels. The Valentinians distinguish also, according to their system, a *twofold signification of redemption* and of baptism, in regard to the psychici and the pneumatici. The psychici must be led to believe by means of miracles and other acts that strike the senses; ‡ they are only capable of a *belief upon authority*, and not capable of a *persuasion which proceeds from the inward essence of truth*, nor of the intuitive perception (*anschauung*) of truth itself. To such men Christ speaks in John iv. 48. The spiritual men, on the contrary, need no such outward means of instruction: in virtue of their kindred nature they are attracted by truth itself without any intermediate means. § When truth reveals itself to them, there follows instantly in them a confident belief, such as could not be effected from without, and could only proceed from the immediate influence of truth upon their kindred spiritual nature. || Their worship of God founded on their knowledge of the truth is the true "reasonable service of God."

That seed of the spiritual nature is that by which men are attracted by the Re-

deemer, and led to him, the men of the Spirit; therefore, they who possess that seed are the salt and the soul of the outward Church, those through whom Christianity is farther propagated as the forming principle of human nature.* By these spiritual men the illumination of all this earthly universe, the final annihilation of all that is material and evil, is to be prepared, after matter has been deprived of all the life which it has seized upon for itself. Valentinus thus addresses these pretended spiritual men: "Ye are, from the beginning, immortal, and children of eternal life, and ye have been desirous to divide death among yourselves, † in order that ye may exhaust and expend it, and that death may die in you and through you; for when ye dissolve the world, (prepare the dissolution of the material world,) but ye yourselves will not be dissolved, ye are lords over the creation, and over all that is corruptible." ‡ Although at the bottom of these high-sounding words, as far as they were applied to the calling of Christians, as instruments for the revelation and extension of God's kingdom, there is something of truth; yet this truth is here mixed with a pride, which in the case of certain peculiarities, might easily introduce the most mischievous excesses of fanaticism. If the Valentinians had been able to found a Church according to their own notions, the Pneumatici would have been the Christian *Brahmins*.

Now, when the end prepared by these spiritual men should have been attained, then, after the dissolution of the whole material world, the Soter, united into a syzygy with the Sophia, and under him the matured spiritual natures in pairs with the angels, were to enter into the Pleroma, and the last (lowest) stage of the spiritual world § was to receive the psychici under the Demiurgos; and they also were to receive that measure of happiness, which was suited to their peculiar nature. The Demiurgos rejoices himself

* Heracleon, ap. Origen, t. 13, § 11, *καμίζεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ τῇ δυνάμει καὶ τῇ ἐλπίσει καὶ τῇ ὑπακοῇ πρὸς τὸ πλῆρωμα αὐτοῦ.*

† Didascal. Anatol. Of a twofold mode of preaching of St. Paul. In regard to the *Psychici*, *ἐκφύει τὸν σωτήρα γνησίην καὶ παύτην.*

‡ Δι' ἐργῶν φύσιν ἔχοντες καὶ δι' αἰσθησέων παύεσθαι καὶ οὐχὶ λογῇ πιστεύειν. Orig. t. xiii § 59.

§ Heracleon in Joann. t. xiii. c. 20, the *δεκτικὴ ζωὴ* διαβίαι.

|| Ἡ διακριτικὴ καὶ καταλλίλος τῇ φύσει.

* See the proof of this in Heracleon, to be given almost immediately.

† While they were sent down into the midst of the material world.

‡ Strom. lib. iv. p. 509. B. [Ed. Paris, 1629.]

§ Ἀπ' ἐρχεται θάνατος ἔσται καὶ τὴν ζωὴν ἔσται αἰωνία. Καὶ τὴν θάνατον ἰδεύεται μερισσέσθαι εἰς εὐταῖα, ἵνα διαπαντός αὐτὸν καὶ νικῶσιν καὶ πεινῶν ὁ θάνατος ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ δι' ὑμῶν. Ὅταν γὰρ τὸν μὲν κ' σμεῖν λυτὴ, ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴ καταλυθῆτε, κυριεύετε τῆς κτίσεως καὶ τῆς φύσεως ἅπασης. [Sylb. p. 218. Potter, p. 603. Klotz, vol. ii. p. 326.]

§ The *τεπὴς μεσοτικὴς*.

in the appearance of the Soter, through which a higher world, to which he had hitherto been a stranger, is revealed to him, and through which also he, being freed from his harassing service, is enabled to enter into rest, and receive an echo of the glory of the Pleroma. He is the friend of the Bridegroom (the Soter) who stands there and belongs to him, and delights himself in the voice of the bridegroom, and delights himself in the fulfilment of the marriage.* John the Baptist spoke those words, John iii. 29, as the representative of the Demiurgos.

§ *Distinguished Men of the School of Valentinus.*

AMONG the men of the Valentinian school, the Alexandrian Heracleon is distinguished by more learning and profoundness than the others. He composed a commentary on the Gospel of St. John, from which Origen† has preserved some fragments of importance, perhaps also a commentary on that of St. Luke, from which (if such be the case,) Clement of Alexandria‡ has handed down to us a fragment,—the explanation of Luke xii. 8. It is easy to understand that the deep and inward spirit of St. John's writings would be attractive to the Gnostics. Heracleon brought to the explanation of this Gospel a deep religious feeling directed to interior things, together with an understanding which was clear, whenever he was not led into error by theological speculations; but that which *was wanting in him* was a feeling for the simplicity of St. John, and a knowledge or a recognition of the principles of grammatical and logical interpretation in general, without which free room is given to every caprice, even in the interpretation of the Scriptural writers, inasmuch as they, as men, although inspired men, obeyed the laws which regulate the modes of speech and thought among men. Although as far as we can see, Heracleon intended honestly to deduce his theology out of St. John, yet he was altogether taken possession of by his own system, and so thoroughly entangled in it in all his modes of thought and conception, that he could not stir a step free from it,

and involuntarily introduced its views and ideas into the Holy Scriptures, which he considered as the source of divine truth. As a proof of what is here said, we will take a closer view of Heracleon's explanation of the glorious *conversation of our Saviour with the woman of Samaria*. He could not stand by the simple historical narrative, nor content himself with the profound, psychological consideration of this Samaritan woman in her relation to the Saviour. Immediately in this Samaritan woman, who was attracted by the words and the appearance of Christ, an image is presented to his mind of all spiritual natures, which are attracted by that which is divine; and, therefore, in this narrative the whole relation of the πνευματικοί to the Soter, and to the higher spiritual world, must be represented. And therefore, the words of the Samaritan woman must bear a double sense; one, a sense of which she herself was conscious, and the other that higher sense, which she uttered as the representative of the whole class of πνευματικοί, without being conscious of it; and therefore, the words of the Saviour in reference to these things must also bear a twofold sense, a higher and a lower, a notion which involves the unnatural supposition of a double conversation going on at the same time. And yet he had seized upon the fundamental idea of the words of the Redeemer in a very understanding spirit, if he could only have prevented himself from being drawn away from the main matter by seeking too much in subordinate particulars. He explains justly the words of Christ, (John iv. 10, 13, 14,) which are to be understood spiritually: * "The water which the Saviour gives, is from his spirit and his power. . . . His grace and his gift are something which can never be taken away, nor corrupted, nor consume away in him who partakes of it. . . . They who receive *that* which is abundantly given to them from above, themselves also let that which is given to them bubble over for the eternal life of others." But then he draws the false conclusion, that because Christ meant the water which he wished to give, to be taken in a symbolical sense, consequently also the water of the well of Jacob must be understood in a symbolical sense. It was to be a symbol of Judaism, which satisfies not the

* The union of the Soter with the Sophia, and of the angels with the spiritual natures in the Pleroma.

† In his *Tomi* upon John, in which he frequently refers to the explanations of Heracleon.

‡ Strom. iv. 503. [Syllburg, p. 215. Potter, p. 595-6. Klotz, vol. ii. p. 316-8.]

* [This passage is quoted, Grab. Spicileg. vol. ii. p. 94-5.—H. J. R.]

desires of the spiritual nature, and of its perishable earthly glory. When the Samaritan woman says, "Give me this water, that I may not thirst, that I may not come hither to draw;" then the burdensomeness of Judaism was to be betokened by this, the difficulty of finding in it (Judaism) the nourishment of the inward life, and its unsatisfactoriness.* When the Redeemer desired the woman to call her husband, he meant her other half in the world of spirits, the angel which belonged to her, in order that she, coming with him to the Saviour, might receive power from him to bind herself with this her other half, and thus unite with him.† The ground for this arbitrary interpretation was this: "He could not speak of her earthly husband, *because he* was well aware that she had no lawful husband. . . . According to the *spiritual* meaning‡ the Samaritan woman did not know her husband; she knew nothing of the angel, that belonged to her: according to the literal meaning,§ she was ashamed to say that she was living in an unlawful connection." Heracleon further concluded, that as the water is the symbol of the divine life bestowed by the Redeemer, so is the pitcher a symbol of the *capacity in the disposition of the Samaritan woman for this Divine life. She left the pitcher behind with him*; that is to say, as she had such a vessel with the Saviour, as was fitted to receive the living water, she returned into the world, in order to announce the coming of Christ to the psychical.||

Heracleon properly opposed the habit of prizing martyrdom as an *opus operatum*. "The multitude," he says,¶ "hold con-

fession before the civil power to be the only thing: but this is wrong, for even the hypocrite might make this confession. *This* is a particular confession; it is not the *common* confession, which ought to be made by all Christians, of which he is here speaking; it is the confession through works and conduct, which answer to a belief in him.* This common confession is followed by that peculiar one, if it be needful, and if reason enjoins it. . . . Those persons who confess him with their mouth, may deny him through their works. Those only can truly confess him, who live in the confession of him, among whom he himself confesses, because he has received them into himself, and they have received him into themselves.† Therefore can he never deny himself."‡

We next make mention of PTOLEMÆUS, who to judge from the work of Irenæus, (which was specially levelled against the party of *this man*,) must have laboured much for the propagation of Valentinian principles. One is led to inquire whether it be true, as Tertullian asserts,§ that Ptolemæus was distinguished from Valentinus, because he imagined the Æons rather under the form of Hypostases, while Valentinus conceived them to be powers in-dwelling in the being of God; or at least one inquires, whether this difference was of so much importance; because, in fact, the representation of the Æons by the Gnostics, far from being mere abstract notions of attributes, always must have bordered on hypostasizing.

A very important piece of Ptolemæus, which has been preserved—his letter to one Flora, whom he endeavoured to gain over to the Valentinian principles||—shows that he was extremely skilful in presenting his views to others in a manner likely to recommend them. As he was apparently writing to a Christian lady of the Catholic Church, he had particularly to remove *the objection*, which she would make on the contradiction *between his doctrines and those of the Church*, and

* Το ἐπιμεχθόν, καὶ δυσποριστὸν καὶ ἀτροφὸν ἐκείνου τοῦ ὕδατος.

† Το πλῆρωμα αὐτῆς. See above.

‡ Κατὰ τὸ νοούμενον.

§ Κατὰ τὸ ἀπλουν.

|| The thought of Heracleon is here a just one, that only he who is in union with the Saviour by his feelings can preach him properly to others,—although this just thought is introduced into this place by an arbitrary interpretation of that which is historical. We must here do Heracleon the justice to acknowledge, that Origen, here as well as in many other places, attacks him unjustly, as if he contradicted himself; "for how could the Samaritan," says he, "preach to others, when she had left behind her, with the Redeemer, from whom she departed, her organ for the reception of the Divine life?" But Heracleon was here quite consistent in his application of the allegory; he did not think of *any local leaving behind*.

¶ In the fragment of his Commentary on St. Luke, quoted above.

* Here again, what Heracleon says is in itself quite just; and yet his explanation, which has no reference whatever to the context, is quite false.

† Ἐνὶ ἡμῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐχρῆσθαι ὑποτακτικῶν.

‡ Which would necessarily happen, if those who are in connection with him were to deny him.

§ Noninibis et numeris Æonum distinctis in personales substantias, quas Valentinus in ipsa summa divinitatis, ut sensus et affectus et motus, includerat. Adv. Valentinian. c. 4.

|| Epiphani. Hæres. xxxiii. §. 3.

against the supposition that the *Old Testament and the creation of the world, did not proceed from the Supreme God*. In regard to the first, he appeals to an apostolical tradition, which had come down to him through a series of hands, as well as to *the words of our Saviour*, according to which men must determine every thing. By tradition he probably means an *Esoteric* tradition, which he, *being self-deceived*, doubtless deduced from some pretended disciple of the apostles; and as to the words of our Saviour, he could easily bring them into accordance with his own system by the *Gnostic exegesis*. In regard to the second point, we may well conceive that he has represented his principles under the mildest possible form, in order to obtain acceptance for them with one who was uninitiated; but still we find in his conclusions nothing which contradicts the Valentinian principles. He combats two opposite errors, the error of those who held that the creation of the world, and the Old Testament, were the work of an evil Being, and the error of those who attributed them to the Supreme God; in *his* opinion, the one party was in error, because it knew *only* the Demiurgos, and not *the Universal Father*, whom Christ, who alone knew him, had been the first to reveal: the other, because it knew nothing of an intermediate Being, like the Demiurgos. Ptolemæus, also, would probably say,—the first view is that of men, who remain Jews even in Christianity; the other that of men, who, without any intermediate state of transition from the service of Matter and Satan, in heathenism, had attained at once to the recognition and knowledge of the Supreme God; and who believed, because they had made this sudden spring in their religion and knowledge, that a similar sudden transition took place in nature. “How can a law,” he justly inquires, “which forbids all evil, proceed from an evil Being, who wars against all morality?” And he adds, “They who do not recognise the providence of the Creator in the world, must be blind not only in the eyes of the soul, but even in those of the body.”

He throws the Mosaic religious code into a threefold division:—

1. That which proceeds from the Demiurgos;

2. That which Moses settled after the dictates of his own unassisted reason;*

* This distinction of different agents (factors) who worked together in the composition of the

3. The oldest additions to the Mosaic law.*

The Saviour clearly distinguishes the law of Moses from the law of God (*i. e.* of the Demiurgos,) in Matt. xix. 6, &c. He, however, exculpates Moses again, and seeks to show, that he gave way to the weakness of the people only *when forced*, in order to avoid a greater evil. That which proceeded from the Demiurgos he divided again into a threefold division;

1. The purely moral enactments, disturbed by nothing extraneous, which are properly called “The Law,” in reference to which, our Saviour says that he is not come to destroy the Law, but to fulfil it; for as it contained nothing alien to the nature of the Saviour, it required only fulfilment; as, for instance, the commandments, *Thou shalt do no murder,—Thou shalt not commit adultery*,—were fulfilled in the commands *neither to be angry, nor to lust*.

2. The law, disturbed by the intermixture of evil, as that part, which permits of revenge, Levit. xxiv. 20; xx. 9: “He who recompenses evil for evil, does no less evil, because he repeats the same conduct, but in a different order.”

The Gnostic has here only one measure for all cases; he could not discover the distinction of the politico-juridical from the purely moral, nor the necessary connection between the two, from the very nature of the economy of the Old Testament. And yet he recognises here, as well as in Moses, an element of instruction. “This command,” says he, “was, and remains still, in other respects a *just one*, given on account of the weakness of those who receive the Law, though it transgresses *the pure Law*; but it is foreign to the nature and goodness of the Father of all, perhaps not consonant to the nature even of the Demiurgos,† but probably only forced upon him; for while *he* who *forbade one murder*, commanded a second, he suffered himself to be surprised by *necessity*, without being aware of it.” He means to say, that the Demiurgos was wanting, not in the will, but in the power, to overcome evil; and this part of the Law is entirely abolished by the Saviour,

Holy Scriptures, is quite conformable to the Valentinian notion of Inspiration.

* According to the theory of the Clementine, viz. that when the Law was written down from the oral tradition of it, many foreign additions were mingled with the oldest part of it.

† I have translated after an emendation of the text, l. c. c. 3, which I consider necessary: *ἰσας οὐδὲ τούτω, οὐ γὰρ τοῦτω καταλλήλῳ*.

as contrary to the nature of the Supreme God.

3. The typical ceremonial Law, which (see above) contains the type of the higher spiritual things, the Law of Sacrifices, of Circumcision, of the Sabbath, of the Passover, and of Fasts. "All this, which was merely type and symbol, was changed after the truth had appeared. The sensuous and outward observance is removed, but it is transferred to the spiritual: the names remain the same, but the things are changed. For the Saviour has commanded us also to offer sacrifices; but not sacrifices by means of irrational animals, nor such incense, but through spiritual praise and thanksgiving, and through charity, and doing good to our neighbour. He wills also, that we should be circumcised; not, however, by the circumcision of the foreskin of the body, but the spiritual circumcision of the heart. He wills also, that we should observe the Sabbath, because he wishes us to rest from doing evil. Also, that we should fast; but not with a bodily fast, but a spiritual, in which abstinence from all evil consists. Our people, however, do observe the external fast, because it may be of some service even to the soul, if reasonably used, and neither used in imitation of any one, nor out of habit, nor on some particular day, as if some one day were appointed for that purpose,—but where it is used also with remembrance of the *real* fast, that those who are unable to keep that fast, may be reminded of it by outward fasting." And yet what true insight into the spirit of the system of religion proposed in the New Testament; what thoughtfulness and mildness of judgment does he show here!

Marcus and Bardesanes* are distin-

* We can only mention Secundus in a cursory manner; for the only thing worth remarking about him is his modification of the ideas of Valentinus, by which he made a distinction in the first *ogdoad* between a *τετρας δέξια* and a *τετρας ὀρίστροι*, naming the first, *light*, and the second, *darkness*: this is remarkable, because it shows that, like most mystics, in the pride of his speculation he placed the *original foundation of evil* in God, while he elevated God above the opposition of good and evil, but supposed that the seed of the division took its rise when the development of life began to proceed from God. Irenæus, l. i. c. 11. § 2. A similar view is found with those magi among the Parses, who taught, after Scharistani, that "Yezdan cogitasse secum; nisi fuerint mihi controversiæ, quomodo erit? Hancque cogitationem pravam, naturæ lucis minus analogam, produxisse tenebras, dictas Ahriman." (Hyde, Hist. Relig. Vet. Pers. p. 295.)

guished persons among those who are called the disciples of Valentinus; we say, "*who are called the disciples*," because it would probably be more correct to state that both of them drew from the same sources in Syria, the native land of Gnosticism, which Valentinus had used. Marcus apparently came from Palestine in the latter half of the second century. His coming from Palestine appears probable, from the aramaic liturgical formulæ, of which he made use. While in an Heracleon and a Ptolemæus the Alexandrian *style of knowledge and learning* formed rather the characteristic of their theosophy, so on the contrary, in Marcus the *poetic and symbolic* was the prevailing character. He brought forward his doctrines in a *poem*, in which he introduced the *Æons* speaking in liturgical formulæ, and in imposing symbols of worship. (We shall hereafter introduce specimens of these latter.) After the Jewish cabalistic method, he hunted after mysteries in the number and the position of letters. The idea of a *λογος του ὄντος*, of a word as the revelation of the hidden Divine Being in creation, was spun out by him with the greatest subtilty; he made the whole creation a progressive expression of the inexpressible.* As the divine seeds of life,† which lie enclosed in the *Æons*, continually unfold themselves wider and individualize themselves, this represents, that these *names* of the unnameable being divide themselves into their separate sounds. An echo of the Pleroma falls down into the *ύλη*, and becomes the formative principle of a new inferior creation.‡

* Το ἄρρητον ρητοῖ γενθῆσαι.

† The σπέρματα πνευματικά.

‡ In general, it is a peculiarly Gnostic idea, to conceive that the hidden Divinity *expressed himself aloud* till it was re-echoed, and *died away*, and then again that the *echo* fashioned itself into a *clear note* [or *tone*, *τον*] and into a *clear word*, for the revelation of the Divinity; and this idea they could apply under a variety of different relations. Thus Heracleon says. The Saviour is the *Word*, as the revelation of the Divinity, all the body of prophecy, which predicted him, without being justly aware of the idea of the Messiah, in its spiritual sense was only one note [ton,] which preceded the revealing word: John the Baptist, standing in the middle between the economy of the Old and of the New Testament, is the *voice* [or *tone*, *stimmē*,] which is akin to the word, as the word expresses thoughts, with a consciousness of their meaning. The *voice* [stimmē, voice, note, or tune,] becomes a *word*, when John becomes the disciple of Christ, and the note [or sound, *ton*] becomes a *voice* [stimmē] when the prophets of the

The second of these, Bardesanes, who is still less to be reckoned as a proper disciple of Valentinus, lived at Edessa in Mesopotamia, as we learn from his name, "the son of Daisan," derived from a river of this name in the town of Edessa: he made himself known by his extensive learning; many among the older writings give notices of changes in the system of Bardesanes. According to the account of Eusebius, he was at first devoted to the system of Valentinus; but when he had seen, after accurate inquiry, how untenable much of it was, he went over to the orthodox Church; and yet at the same time retained much of his old doctrines, so that he became the founder of a peculiar sect. According to Epiphanius he went over from the orthodox Church to the Valentinians. But Ephraim Syrus, the learned Syrian writer, in the fourth century, who lived in the land of Bardesanes, and wrote in his language, and who had read his writings, gives us absolutely no notice whatever of these changes in the doctrinal notions of Bardesanes, and it is easy enough to explain how those false reports arose. Bardesanes, when he spoke publicly in the Church, like the rest of the Gnostics (see above,) made the *prevailing* doctrinal notions his starting point: he let himself down after his own fashion to the capacities of the *psychici*. On many single points he really coincided with those notions more than other Gnostics, and he might also, from sincere conviction, unite against many other Gnostic sects, at that time prevailing in Syria, as against those who denied the connection between the Old and the New Testament, or those who derived the visible world from an *evil* being, or those who held the doctrine of fate to the prejudice of moral freedom; just as the Gnostic Ptolemæus (see above) notwithstanding his Gnosticism, had also written against such people.

It was in entire accordance with the Valentinian system, that Bardesanes acknowledged something in the nature of man, incomprehensible to itself, and ele-

vated above the whole world, in which the temporal consciousness of man develops itself; the human soul being a seed shed abroad from out of the Pleroma; its essence and its powers, which are derived from higher regions, remain, therefore, hidden even from itself, until it shall have arrived at a full consciousness and use of them in the Pleroma.* This, however, according to the *Gnostic system*, could only be true about the *spiritual natures*; but according to that system he must have ascribed to the *psychici* also, a *moral freedom, elevated above the power of the influences of nature, or the power of the ὕλη*. He, therefore, although like many of those inclined to Gnosticism, he busied himself with astrology, contended against the doctrine of such an influence of the stars (an εἰμαρμένη) as should be supposed to settle the life and affairs of man *by necessity*. Eusebius in his great literary treasure-house, the προπαρασκευη εὐαγγελικη, has preserved a large fragment of this remarkable work; he here introduces among other things the Christians dispersed over so many countries,† as an example of the absurdity of supposing that the stars irresistibly influence the character of a people. "Where they are," he says of the Christians, "they are neither overcome by abominable laws and customs, nor does their nativity, deduced from their prevailing stars, compel them to practise the wickedness which is forbidden by their Lord. But they are subject to sickness, to poverty, to pain, and to that which is accounted shame by men. For as our freeman does not suffer himself to be compelled to slavery, and if he is compelled resists those who compel him, so on the other hand, the man who appears to us a slave,‡ does not easily escape from subjection. For, if every thing was in our own power, we should be το παν (the universe,) as, if we were not able to do any thing, we should be the mere instruments of others, and not of ourselves. But when God helps, every thing is possible, and no obstacle can exist, because nothing can resist his will.

Demiurgos, together with the Demiurgos himself, arrive at a consciousness of the higher world-system, which the Messiah reveals, and serve that system knowingly and willingly. Origen, t. vi. Joh. § 12. Ὁ λογος μὲν ὁ Σαυτης ἐστιν, φωνῇ δὲ ἢ ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πατρὶ προφητικῇ ταῖς, τῇ φωνῇ οὐκ αὐτοῦ οὐσαν τῷ λογῷ λογον γενεσθαι. τῷ ἡχῷ φωνῇ ἐσσεσθαι τὴν εἰς φωνὴν μεταβλιν, μὴ ἡρτι μὲν χωρὶς δίδωι: τῇ μεταβλυσῃ εἰς λογον φωνῇ ἢ (it ought rather to be τῇ), δουλὸς δὲ τῇ ὡστὸ ἡχῷ εἰς φωνὴν.

* See Ephraem. Syr. Opp. Sys. Lat. t. ii. p. 553—5.

† See pages 46, 47. (Euseb. Præp. Evang. b. vi. c. 10.)

‡ ["Unser Erscheinungsmensch als ein dienstbarer," &c. The original is thus: Ὡςτις γὰρ ὁ ἐλευθερος ἡμῶν ὑβριστος δουλων οὐκ ἀναγκιζεται, καὶ ἀναγκισθὴ ὑβριστᾶται τις ἀναγκιζῶν, οὕτως οὐδὲ ὁ φανόμενος ἡμῶν δουλὸς ἀνθρώπου τῆς ὑποταχῆς ἐκφωγῶν ῥηδῶν: δυναται.—H. J. R.]

And even if any thing does appear to oppose him, it then happens so because he is the *Good*, and suffers every nature to retain its peculiarities and its freewill.* In accordance with his system he searched for traces of truth among all nations, and he remarked in the East Indies a class of sages (the Brahmins, Saniahs) who lived a rigid ascetic life, and amidst idolaters preserved themselves free from idolatry, and worshipped only the one God.

2. *The Gnostic sects, which denied the connection between the Old and New Testaments, and between the visible and the invisible world.*

(a.) *The Ophites.*

As Cerinthus formed the most natural point of transition from the *Judaizing* sects to the *Gnostics*,—so the *Ophites* make the most natural point of transition from the *Valentinians* to this second class of *Gnostics*; for it is here shown how the same ideas, by a slightly different turn, may lead to entirely different propositions.

* In the system of *this sect*, as well as in that of the *Valentinians*, the notion of a soul of the world prevailed, of a weak reflection of light from the *Pleroma*, which falling down into matter, animated the dead mass, and yet was itself affected by matter also; this soul of the world, the source of all spiritual life, which attracts again to itself all which has once flowed from it, this *Pantheistic* doctrine, of which the seed had already been sown in the *Valentinian* system, in the *Ophitic* scheme, only comes forward in greater prominence, as the essential doctrines of Christianity are driven further into the back ground; and even in this respect again, different modifications appear to have found place in different branches of the *Ophitic* sects. The same *fundamental principle* might, at the same time, be conceived and applied in different modes, just according as the *Christian*, the *purely oriental and theosophic*, or the *Jewish* ele-

ment happened to predominate in each case.

The *Ophitic* system represented the origin of the *Demiurgos*, who is here called *Jaldabaoth*, exactly in the same way as the *Valentinian*; and even in the doctrine of his relation to the higher order of the world, the point of transition (i. e. from one system to another,) may be easily recognised. The *Valentinian* *Demiurgos* is a limited Being, who imagines, in his finite faculties, that he acts independently. The higher order of the world is a thing altogether strange to him; he serves it without being conscious of it. In the phenomena which proceeded from it, he was at first entirely at a loss, he was surprised; but this is not the fault of a wicked disposition in him, only of his ignorance. At length he is attracted by the *Divine* nature, and out of a condition of unconsciousness, attains at length to a state of consciousness, and he now serves the higher order of the world with delight. According to the *Ophitic* scheme, on the contrary, he is a being not merely finite, but entirely at enmity with the higher order of the world, and obstinate in his hatred of it. Whatever of higher light he derived, in virtue of his descent from the *Sophia*, he only misused, that he might set himself up against the higher world, and make himself an independent Lord. Thence came the desire of the *Sophia* to detach him from the spiritual being which had accrued to him, and to draw this latter again to herself, in order that *Jaldabaoth*, with his whole creation, deprived of all reasonable being, might be destroyed. On the contrary, according to the *Valentinian* scheme, the *Demiurgos* forms, for all eternity, a subordinate grade of rational and moral existence; subordinate, indeed, but required for the harmonious development of the whole. And yet, here again, *kindred ideas* are found in the two systems, in the circumstance that the *Demiurgos* is obliged, without knowing it or wishing it, to serve the *Sophia*, and to bring to pass the fulfilment of her intentions, and in the end, even *his own fall and annihilation*. This, however, is here no distinction for the *Demiurgos*, as in the *Valentinian* system; but in this very circumstance he is placed exactly on the same footing with the *Absolute Evil* (the evil principle itself.) It flows not from the excellence of his nature, but from the omnipotence of the higher system of the world. Even the *Evil Spirit*, the *serpent*-

* [The passage which Neander has here selected is so limited that it does not give an adequate view of the meaning of Bardesanes. The argument of Bardesanes appears to be of this kind: Some things are *αὐτεξούσια*, and these things are changed sometimes in nations, others are not. The things that are in our own power are not bound down in stern laws of necessity by climate. Such things may be instanced, as circumcision and keeping of the Sabbath; these the Jews celebrate every where.—H. J. R.]

spirit, ὄφιομορφος whose existence arose from the circumstance that Jaldabaoth, full of hatred and envy against man, looked down into the ἰλη, and formed a reflection and image of himself there, even this being was obliged, against his will, to become only an instrument for the accomplishment of her designs. The doctrine of the origin and of the destination of man, in this system, has, however, much in common with the Valentinian, but at the same time, also, much which belongs to another branch of the Gnostic systems.

In order to establish himself as an independent Creator and Lord, and to hold in subjection the six angels* begotten by him, and to distract them, so that they should not look up to and observe the higher Light of the world, Jaldabaoth required his six angels to create man, as their common form, that such a work might set the stamp upon their independent Divine power.† They now create man, who is, however, as their likeness, a monstrous mass of matter, but without a soul; he crawls upon the earth, and is unable to hold himself upright. They bring, therefore, this helpless being, man, to their father, that he may bestow upon him a soul. Jaldabaoth communicated to him a living spirit;‡ and by that means the spiritual seed proceeded, without his being aware of it, from out of his being into the nature of man, whereby he himself became deprived of this higher principle of life: the Sophia had so decreed it. In man (i. e. in those men who have received any portion of the spiritual seed,) the light, the soul; the reason of the whole creation, concentrates itself. Jaldabaoth is now seized with surprise and anger, because he sees a being, created by himself, and dwelling within the limits of his dominion, on the point of raising himself above him and his kingdom. Thence arose his endeavour, not to allow him to come to a consciousness of his higher nature, and of the higher world to which he is allied in virtue of that nature, and to keep him in a state of dull uncon-

sciousness, and thereby of slavish servitude. It was from the jealousy of Jaldabaoth, who was thus limited, that there proceeded that command to the first man; but the soul of the world made use of the *serpent-spirit* (of the ὄφιομορφος) as an instrument in order to frustrate the design of Jaldabaoth, while through it she enticed the first man to disobedience. According to another view, the *serpent* was itself a symbol, or a veiled appearance of the soul of the world;* and those Ophites who held this doctrine are the persons, who, properly, bear the name of *Ophites*, because they worshipped the serpent as a holy symbol, to which a kindred notion of the Egyptian religion might have led them, because in that the serpent is considered as the symbol of Kneph, or the ἀγαθὸδαίμων, which was similar to the σοφία of the Ophites. At all events it was the soul of the world, by which, either mediately or immediately, the eyes of the first man were opened.

The fall by sin (which gives us a characteristic trait in the Ophitic system,) was the point of transition from a condition of unconscious restriction to a condition of conscious knowledge. Man, become a being of knowledge, now renounces his allegiance to Jaldabaoth, who, being irritated at his disobedience, pushes him out of the ethereal region, where he had hitherto existed in an ethereal body, down into the dark earth, and banishes him into a dark body. Man finds himself now in such a condition, that on the one hand the seven star-spirits attempt to keep him in imprisonment, and to overwhelm the higher principle of consciousness within him,—while, on the other, the *evil* spirits of a purely material nature, endeavour to seduce him to sin and to idolatry, in order that he may become liable to the punishments of the severe Jaldabaoth. But yet the Sophia constantly strengthens anew the men who were of kindred nature with herself, by new communications of that higher spiritual nature; and she was able, during all the destructions and storms, to preserve a race of people belonging to herself from the time of Seth, whom all Gnostics look upon

* It must be observed, that according to the Ophitic system, Jaldabaoth and his six angels are the spirits of the seven stars,—the sun, the moon, Mars, Venus, Jupiter, Mercury, and Saturn: the same from which, in the books of the Zabians, and in many systems of Jewish Theosophists, a variety of delusions and seductions of mankind have proceeded.

† Thus they explain the words of Genesis i. 26.

‡ This they thought they found in Genesis ii. 7.

* The serpent, an image of the Ζωολογικὴ σοφία; the form of the intestines winding itself represents the image of a serpent, a symbol of that wisdom of nature, that soul of the world, which winds itself concealed through all the grades of life found in nature. Theodoret. hæret. fab. vol. i. 14. One sees how far more the pantheistic principle here shines through these notions.

as the representative of the *πνευματικοί*, the men of a contemplative character, in which race she preserves the seed of the spiritual nature.

The doctrines of the Ophites corresponded with those of Basilides and the Valentinians, as to the relation of the *psychical Christ*, or Jesus, to the *Christ* of the world of *Æons*, who united himself to the former at his baptism. This only is peculiar to them (the Ophites,) that while the higher Christ descended through the seven heavens of the seven angels, or traversed the seven stars, in order to arrive at the earth, he appeared in each heaven, in a form akin to that heaven, as an angel allied to it, and that he concealed from them his higher nature, and attracting to himself all which they still possessed of the spiritual seed, he thus weakened their power. But now, when Jaldabaoth, the God of the Jews, saw his expectations frustrated by his Messiah, and when this Messiah did not further his kingdom as he had wished and expected him to do, but announced the unknown father as the instrument of the higher Christ, and destroyed the law of Jaldabaoth, or rather Judaism, Jaldabaoth then brought about his crucifixion. Jesus remained eighteen months on earth after his resurrection, obtained through the inspiration of the Sophia a clear knowledge of the higher truth, and then communicated it only to a few of his disciples, whom he knew competent to receive such mysteries. Jesus is now raised by the heavenly Christ into heaven, and sits at the right hand of Jaldabaoth, without the latter being conscious of it, in order that he may attract to himself, and receive into himself, all the spiritual substance, which is set free and purified by the operation of redemption among mankind, as soon as that substance has been detached from its covering of flesh. The more Jesus, by this drawing to himself all that is akin to him, is enriched in his own spiritual nature, so much the more is Jaldabaoth denuded of all higher qualities. The object of all this is to set free all the spiritual life which is held captive in nature, and to reconduct it to its original source,—to the soul of the world from which all proceeded: Jesus is the channel through which this happens. The *stars* also must at last be deprived of all being gifted with reason which is found in them.

In this family of Gnostics there were some who maintained even a more consistent pantheism, and supposed that the

same soul was extended throughout the whole of nature, *animate* and *inanimate* and that, in consequence, all the life which was scattered abroad and held in imprisonment by the bonds of matter in the limited state of individual existence, would at last be attracted by the original source, the soul of the world, the Sophia, from which it had flowed forth, and thus flow back again into it through this channel. Such persons would say, when we use the objects of nature to our sustenance, we draw to ourselves seed which are scattered over them, and we raise them with us to the original source of all things.* Therefore, in an *apocryphal* gospel of this sect, the soul of the world, or the Supreme Being himself, spoke to the initiated thus: "Thou art I, and I am thou; and where thou art, there am I, and I am spread over every thing. Where thou wilt thou canst collect me, and where thou collectest me, there thou collectest thyself." (Chap. iii.)

Pantheism, and the intermixture of the natural and the Divine which flowed from it, by their very nature could not be very exacting in a moral point of view, although in those men who had embraced Pantheism, their *previously existing* moral sentiments might communicate even to the system itself a moral spirit which was foreign to its own nature. Pantheism, and a wild enthusiastic spirit of defiance towards Jaldabaoth, and his pretended restrictive statutes, appear in fact to have misled a part of these Ophites into the most unnatural excesses.†

* Epiphan. Hæres. 26. c. 9.

† As the accounts of Epiphanius in this matter agree with those of Clement of Alexandria, a person more worthy of credit, and of Porphyry, about similar Gnostic sects, and as they bear an entirely characteristic stamp upon them, we are by no means justified in calling their *correctness* into question. Nor can the fact alleged here be considered a thing to astonish us at all; similar excesses, arising from a pantheistic mysticism, have been often found, not only in the east, but in the west also, as the history of the sects of the middle ages and of modern times will prove. The latest examples may be found in De Potter's *Via de Ricci*. v. i.

The instances are too well known to readers of any general information to require specification. No references will, therefore, be given. It is enough to state the fact as illustrating a mental and spiritual phenomenon, but it is unfit to dwell upon.

[Other instances might be found in modern days where what was originally, perhaps, only a highly wrought speculative doctrine, became subject to this dreadful perversion. They could easily be cited, but it is needless, and perhaps,

It is of great importance towards the history of the Gnostic sects to inquire, although the inquiry be difficult of solution, whether these Ophites sprouted forth from a religious sect, which originally had no connection at all with Christianity, and whether, on that account, as a part of this sect had already appropriated to itself much which was Christian, a party existed also of those Ophites, who were quite out of the pale of Christianity, and who rather set themselves in hostility to it? The latter appears to be attested by an account given by Origen, who says, that the Ophites were *no Christians*, and that they suffered no one who did not curse Christ to enter into their assemblies. He names a certain Euphrates, who may have lived before the birth of Christ, as the founder of their sect.* The *Ophitic pantheism* may very probably have been borrowed from an older Oriental system of religion, and have been set in opposition to Christianity only by some, while it may have been clothed in a *Christian* garb by the others. The remarkable likeness between the *Ophitic* system, those of the *Sabians*, and the *Manicheans* may indicate an older and a common source in an antichristian Gnosis. But, on the other hand, it cannot be denied, that the Ophitic formulæ of adjuration, which Origen quotes immediately after this declaration, plainly contain allusions to Christian notions. And it may still be the case, that although the Ophitic sect appeared from the very first as a Christian sect, yet the contrast to the nature of Christianity which lay in its peculiar constitution also constantly became outwardly more prominent; and that, as the contrast between the Demiurgos and the Supreme God was so strongly brought forward by them, so also, in consequence of the distinction between the *psychical* and the *pneumatical* Christ, there arose at last in some portion of the Ophites, a hostile opposition to the former† (the *psychical*;) so that, to curse the finite Messiah of the psychici, became in the

end a token to show that men were disciples of the higher Christ. Something similar is found in the sect of the *Sabians*, who referred *much* which they took out of the history of Christ to a *heavenly genius, the angel of life*, Mando di Chaje, whom they worshipped as the proper Christ, from whom the *true baptism* proceeded, while they referred *the rest* to the Antichrist Jesus, (who had counterfeited the baptism of John,) who was sent by the star-spirits for the seduction of mankind.

(b.) *Pseudo-Basilidians.*

As we see in the Ophitic system how entirely different a direction the principles allied to the Valentinian system may receive by a slightly different modification and application, so we find a similar circumstance in the relations borne by a *variety of the Basilidian scheme*, the doctrines of which are often confused with those of the *genuine Basilidians*. The calm and moderate spirit of the Basilidian system* was here entirely extinguished, and the direct opposition to the Demiurgos, and the Antinomianism, which was connected with it, degenerated here into a wild dreaminess that made light of all that is most holy. According to their theory, the redeeming Spirit† could enter into no connection with the detested dominions of the Demiurgos, and he took upon himself only the semblance of a corporeal form. When the Jews were minded to crucify him, he, as a highly gifted Spirit, knowing how to clothe himself in every kind of corporeal appearance, and to cast every sort of illusion before the eyes of the gross-minded multitude, caused Simon of Cyrene, (Mark xv.,) to appear to the Jews in *his likeness*; he himself took the form of this Simon, and raised himself up unencumbered into the invisible world, making a mockery of the deluded Jews. To these men the doctrine of the cross was foolishness; and in the conceit of their theosophic pride, they mocked those who confessed it as the confessors of a mere illusory phantom. "Such men," they would say, "are no Jews, neither are they Chris-

improper, as it might lead to inquiry on a subject, which could end only in disgust. It is enough to state the fact as a mental phenomenon, and to leave any specification till the assertion is called in question.—H. J. R.]

* Origen c. Cels. lib. vi. c. 28, &c. The obscure and uncritical Philaster, who sets the Ophites at the head of the antichristian sects, cannot be valid as an authority.

† I am indebted for this observation to the profound critique on my work about the Gnostics, written by Dr. Gieseler.

* Were it not that Clement of Alexandria spoke of practical errors in pretended followers of Basilides, similar to those found in this sect, we might be led to suspect that those whom Irenæus calls Basilidians had nothing whatever to do with Basilides.

† The *πνεύμα*. See p. 257, on the system of Basilides.

tians." They despised the martyrs as men who gave up their life merely to confess in the name of a phantom. "Those who are initiated into the true mysteries know well, that only one out of thousands can understand them: as your *vous* was able to make himself invisible to all men, so could they* also, like this your *vous*, hide themselves in all kinds of phantoms, and pretend to take a part in every thing, in order to deceive the gross multitude, and to withdraw from their persecutions."†

(c.) *Sethites and Cainites.*

THE example of the *Sethites* and *Cainites*, who most probably are derived from the same source as the *Ophites*, teaches us how the same Gnostic principles, by being differently applied, may produce an opposite kind of Gnosis. The first of these two sects maintained, that from the beginning *two* human pairs were created, the one by the angels of darkness, from which the race of *χοϊκοί* or *ἰλικοί* arose, the other, by the angels of the Demiurgos, from which the race of *ψυχικοί* was derived; that Cain sprung from the first, Abel from the second; and, the two opposite natures contending together, that the weaker psychical nature was overborne; but that then *Sophia* allowed Seth to be born in his stead, in whom (viz. Seth,) she had implanted the higher spiritual seed, by which he was rendered capable of overcoming the hylic principle. From Seth the *πνευματικοί* derived their origin; but, the opposing powers now seeking constantly to defile the propagation of this spiritual race by the intermixture of ungodly natures, *Sophia*, on this account, produced the deluge, in order again to purify the degenerated race; but her adversaries contrived to suffer a *Ham* to insinuate himself among those who were saved out of the mass of mankind that was destroyed, and by him their dominion was again to be set up and extended. Thence came new mixtures and disorders, and again *Sophia* had to endeavour to produce new purifi-

cations: Seth appeared at last in the person of the Messiah.*

The *Cainites*, on the contrary, were abominable Antinomians; they went to such a length in their hatred to the Demiurgos and to the Old Testament, that they made all those whom they found represented in the latter (the Old Testament) in the worst colours, their *Coryphæi*, as being sons of *Sophia* and enemies of the Demiurgos; and hence they claimed Cain for their party. It was these persons who, while they considered the rest of the apostles as narrow-minded men, ascribed the higher Gnosis to Judas Iscariot, who effected the death of Jesus, because he knew, in virtue of his superior illumination, that the destruction of the dominion of the Demiurgos would by this means be brought about.

(d.) *Saturninus.*

WE recognise a peculiar branch of the Gnostic systems in the doctrines of Saturninus, who lived at Antioch in the reign of Hadrian; but we have, it must be confessed, in both the principal sources of information,† too imperfect data, to be able to recognise this system in its whole connection. (We pass over without mention whatever he has in common with the Gnostics, whom we have already described, as to the emanation-doctrines, and as to those of dualism.)

In the lowest grade of the emanation-world, on the very borders between the domain of light and the region of darkness, or of (Hyle) *ἰλη*, stood the seven lowest angels, those star-spirits; they unite together in order to win from the region of darkness a land on which they may carry on an independent kingdom. Thus arose our world, the earth, into different parts of which these star-spirits apportioned themselves, the God of the Jews being *at their head*: they carry on a constant war against the reign of darkness and Satan its prince, who will not suffer their dominion to be extended at the expense of *his*, and who constantly attempts to destroy that which they construct. Only a faint gleam from the higher regions of light shone down upon them here. This gleam of light filled them with a desire of it, and they wished to possess themselves of it, but were too weak to do so: it constantly recedes

* This art of becoming invisible is among the Cabbalistic arts also. A very remarkable instance of this fancy is to be found in Maimonides' history of his own life; and there are generally many interesting echoes of Gnosticism to be found in the latter Jewish sects, which *Beer* has delineated in his instructive history of the Jewish sects. (Brünn, 1822.)

† Irenæus i. 24.

* See the representation of the doctrines of the Clementine, pages 236, 237.

† Epiphanius and Irenæus.

again, just as they desire to lay hold of it. They unite, therefore, in order to drive these higher beams of light into their dominion by means of a form cast after the image of that form of light which played before them. But the form of the angel is unable to raise himself into heaven; he cannot stand upright;* he is a lump of matter without a soul. The supreme Father, from the kingdom of light, at last takes compassion on man, being thus helpless, although made in *his* likeness; he communicates a spark of his own divine nature to him, and man, now for the first time, becomes a being endued with a soul, and can lift himself up to heaven. *In the human natures*, into which it is transplanted, this divine seed of life is to develop itself till it arrives at independence, and after a certain time to return to its original source. Those men who, bearing this Divine seed within them, are destined to reveal the Supreme God on earth, are constantly opposed to those who bear within them only the hylic principle, as being the instruments of the kingdom of darkness. The Supreme God, therefore,—in order to destroy both the kingdom of the star-spirits, of the God of the Jews, which endeavoured to render itself independent, and that of darkness also, and in order to set free those men who were akin to him (the Supreme God,) by means of the Divine seed of life, from the imprisonment of the star-spirits, and to procure them a victory over the kingdom of darkness,—the Supreme God sent his *Æon* *vous* down; this *Æon* being unable to enter into union in any way with the kingdom of the stars, or with the material world, could hence only show himself in the phantom (or semblance) of a corporeal form. The doctrines of Saturninus led to a strict system of asceticism, and to the precept of celibacy, which was possibly, however, observed only in its strictness by those who were *peculiarly initiated* into the sect, and not by its ordinary members.

(e.) *Tatian and the Encratites.*

TATIAN, of Assyria, lived in Rome as a rhetorician, and was there converted to Christianity by Justin Martyr, who had much in common with him, in virtue of the similar mental education he had undergone, as having formerly been a Platonist. As long as Justin lived he adhered to the doctrines of the Church.

And even farther, after the death of Justin, he composed an apologetic writing,* conceived in the same tone of thought, in which, however, there was much which might afterwards afford an opening for Gnosticism. Tatian in this writing, as his master Justin had done, received, after Philo, the Platonic doctrine about matter, in its whole extent, into his system, little calculated as that doctrine was to suit his system, as he at the same time maintained the notion of a creation out of nothing. This Platonic theory also prevailed upon him to maintain the notion of an undivine spirit of life, united with and akin to matter, a reason-counteracting soul; and hence he deduced evil spirits, whom he represents as *πνεύματα ἑλικά*, little as this theory was in accordance with the Christian doctrine of the nature of the evil spirit, and of the origin of evil. Even in this writing he already maintained a proposition which was elsewhere transplanted by many of the first Christian Fathers from the Jewish theology; viz. that the souls of men, like every thing else, are formed out of matter, and are akin to it,† and therefore, by their nature, mortal; that the first man, living in communion with God, had within himself a *principle of divine life*, of a more elevated nature than this soul, sprung from matter, and that this principle was properly the image of God,‡ whereby he was immortal. By losing this through sin, he fell under the power of matter, and was subject to mortality.

It is easy to see how these opinions, which, according to Titian's system, were not very consistent with each other, might serve as a means of introduction to the Gnostic ideas of the *ἑλη*, and of the difference between the *ψυχικόν*, and the *πνευματικόν*; and a system of asceticism, which strove after a complete detachment from the things of sense,§ might be the result.|| According to the account of Irenæus¶ he formed for himself a system of *Æons*, like that of the Valentinians;

* His *Λόγος πρὸς Ἕλληνας*.

† Ἄ πνεύμα ἑλικόν.

‡ Θεὸν εἰκὼν καὶ ὁμοκρίσι.

§ [Entsinnlichung.—H. J. R.]

|| According to Irenæus, i. 28, he maintained at first the condemnation of the first man, which would harmonize well enough with the difference we have remarked between the *ψυχικόν* and the *πνευματικόν* in the nature of the first man, which latter [i. e. the *πνευματικόν*] he lost by sin.

¶ Comp. Clem. Strom. iii. 465. C. [Sylb. p. 100. Pott. p. 553. Klotz. vol. ii. p. 259.]

* See the history of the Ophites, page 280.

but this is not a sufficient ground to conclude with certainty that *his* system was connected with the Valentinian. According to Clement of Alexandria* he belonged to the class of anti-Jewish Gnostics; he referred the contrast made by St. Paul between the old and the new man to the relation between the Old and the New Testaments; but this also he might express according to the Valentinian Gnosis, which sets by no means an absolute opposition between the two systems of religion. A remark of Tatian, which has been preserved, appears to indicate, that he by no means so entirely detached the Demiurgos, the God of the Old Testament, from connection with the higher world.† The words of Genesis, "Let there be light," he considered (an instance, by the way, of his arbitrary mode of Scriptural interpretation) not as the words of a commandment given by the Creator, but as the words of prayer. The Demiurgos, sitting in dark chaos, prays that light may shine down from above. His wild, ascetic turn, however, may have arisen from the following circumstance, namely, that he made a more direct opposition between the creation of the Demiurgos and the higher world, and hence, also, between the Old and the New Testaments, than could find place according to the principles of the Valentinian school; for that practical opposition to the creation of the Demiurgos was usually founded in a theoretical one. Tatian wrote a book on Christian *perfection after the example of our Saviour*,‡ in which he sets forth Christ as the *ideal* of a single and abstinent life. If in this he kept simply to our canonical Gospels, and used no apocryphal narratives,§ in which the

picture of Christ had already been drawn after a theosophico-ascetic model, much must have met him here in such direct opposition, that it might have removed him from this mode of thinking. But we see by an example how Tatian was able, by means of his illogical mode of interpretation, to explain into an accordance with his opinions the passages of Scripture the most unfavourable to him, since he could find in the passage in 1 Cor. vii. 5, that St. Paul sets marriage and incontinency on the same footing, and calls them both a service of Satan.* As the disposition for such a theosophic asceticism was then, having arisen in the east, widely diffused, it cannot surprise us to find that there were different sects of such *continentes*,† who had no immediate connection with Tatian.

To these belonged Julius Cassianus, who considered Adam as the symbol of souls sunk down out of a heavenly condition into the world of bodies, and he, therefore, made it a chief point that man should detach himself from matter by a strict asceticism, and on that very account also would not allow any appearance of Christ in the world of bodies; he was therefore, one of the *Docetæ*. He may, probably, have been an *Alexandrian Jew*; his peculiar opinions, his *doctrines* of the materialization‡ of souls and about *matter*, and his docetism, which last theory Philo had already applied to the Theophaniæ (appearances of God) of the Old Testament,§ fitted on remarkably well to notions which had long been current among the Alexandrian Jews, and in his

* Stromat. lib. iii. 460. D. [Sylb. p. 197-8. Potter, p. 548. Klotz, vol. ii. p. 259.]

† Theodot. Didascal. Anatol. fol. 806. Origenes de Oratore, c. 24.

‡ Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ τοὺν σωτῆρα κατὰρτισμοῦ.

§ We should know more of this matter, if the *εὐαγγέλιον διὰ τεσσαρῶν* had been preserved. This writing appeared to the ancients to be a short harmony of the four Gospels, Euseb. iv. 29; but it is a question whether Tatian did not use, for that work, many apocryphal Gospels at least; as, according to the notice of Epiphanius, p. 26, which is, however, very indefinite—this collection appears to have had some similarity to the *εὐαγγέλιον κ' δ'* Ἑβραίου. Theodoret found more than two hundred copies of this writing in use in his Syrian diocese, and he found a necessity for sending them out of use, because, probably, he found much that was heretical in them.—Theodoret. Hæret. Fab. i. 20. Tatian.

* St. Paul gives permission in that passage only apparently; he withdraws again instantly from that which he permits, by saying, that those who follow his permission serve two masters. By their mutual abstinence united with prayer they would serve God; by the opposite conduct they would serve immodesty, lust, and Satan.—Strom. iii. p. 460. (See note to p. 109.) According to Eusebius iv. 29, he was accused of having made many changes in St. Paul's expressions; but from the words of Eusebius, *τινας αὐτὸν μεταφράσαι φωνῆς ὡς ἐπιβεβρυμένον αὐτῶν τῆς τοῦ φησίνου συντάξει*, we cannot see plainly whether they were changes in favour of his own doctrinal and ethical principles, or changes from Hebraistic expressions into purer Greek; and then one is led to inquire whether Tatian really allowed himself to use such licence as a critic (which may have been the case,) or whether he had only different readings.

† Ἐμψόχιστος ἀποκρίτικος.

‡ Einkörperung; Lit. *Embodying, Incorporation*.

§ See Philo on Exod. xxiv. 13. Opp. Ed. Mang. t. ii. p. 679, 686. de Abrahamo, 366. Ed. Francof.

ἐξηγητικά* he endeavoured apparently to introduce these notions into the Old Testament by an allegorizing mode of interpretation, an example of which is to be found in his explanation of Gen. iii. 21, by applying it to the material bodies in which fallen souls are clothed.

Such also were the persons who, after a certain Severus, called themselves Severiani, of whom we know nothing more than that they rejected the epistles of St. Paul and the acts of the Apostles. The first of these circumstances might lead us to suppose that they were derived from the Jewish Christians: but this cannot be considered as a proof, because it is also possible that, instead of taking refuge in forced and arbitrary interpretations, in order to bring the authority of those writings into harmony with their own principles, they found it an easier plan to throw away those writings entirely and at once.†

(f.) *Eclectic Antinomian Gnostics; Carpocrates and Epiphanes, Prodicians, Antitacti, Nicolaitans, Simonians.*

As on the one hand, we observe a tendency of Gnosis to a strict asceticism, which opposes itself to Judaism as to a sensuous and carnal religion,—so we remark, on the other, that it has also a tendency to a wicked antinomianism, which, confusing Christian freedom and unbridled license, set Christianity in opposition not only to the killing letter of a law, whose commands are outwardly, but to the very inward nature of the law itself, and which therefore, contended against Judaism, and with Judaism also against all moral law, as a thing too limiting for the inward life, and as proceeding from the limited and limiting Demiurgos. This was a misunderstanding against which St. Paul had given warning, when he developed the doctrine of Christian freedom.‡ We recognise in this a pantheistic mysticism, which opposed itself under various forms to the popular religions of the East, which had now mingled itself with the doctrines of the Greek philosophers of Alexandria, in consequence of the then intermixture of Oriental and western modes of thought, and which imagined that in Christianity, as a common religion for all mankind, which destroyed the Jewish exclusiveness,

and the old popular religions, it could find a point on which it might engraft itself. Such an antinomian Gnosis is shown in the system of Carpocrates and his son Epiphanes. The first probably lived in the reign of the emperor Hadrian, at Alexandria, where, at that time, there was a religious eclecticism which had struck the emperor himself.* He laid out a system of religion, which was propagated and extended by his son Epiphanes, a young man, who, by the perverse turn of mind given to him by his father, had abused great talents, but who died in the seventeenth year of his age. As Clement of Alexandria says, Carpocrates had busied himself much with the Platonic philosophy, and had instructed his son in it. The Platonic notions of the pre-existence of souls of higher knowledge, as being the remembrance brought from a former existence in heaven, are prominent parts in this system; and the originators of this system seem to have appropriated to themselves much out of the Phædrus of Plato. They made their Gnosis to consist in the recognition of one supreme first existence,† from which all being proceeds, and to which all being strives to return. The finite spirits, which had rule over the individual places of the earth, endeavoured to counteract this universal endeavour after unity; and from their influence, their laws, and their institutions, proceeded every thing which restrains, every thing which destroys and checks, the original and fundamental connection,‡ which is found in nature, considered as the revelation of that Supreme Unity. These spirits endeavour to retain under their subjection those souls, which, having flowed from out of the Supreme Unity are akin to it, but have sunk down into the material world, and are imprisoned in the body, so as to compel them, after death, to enter into new bodies, and to render them unable to raise themselves up in freedom to their original source. From these limiting spirits of the world proceed all popular religions. But those souls, which by the remembrance they retain of their former higher condition, elevate themselves to the contemplation of that Supreme Unity, attain the true freedom and tran-

* Clem. Strom. lib. i. 320. [Sylb. p. 138. Potter, p. 378. Klotz, vol. ii. p. 71.]

† Theodoret. hæret. fab. i. 21

‡ Galat. v. 13. et alibi.

* See his Letter to the consul Servianus in Flavii Vopisei Vita Saturnini, c. ii. Illi, qui Serapin colunt, Christiani sunt et devoti sunt Serapi, qui se Christi Episcopus dicunt.

† Hence comes the phrase γινώσκω μου, which occurs in Clement of Alexandria.

‡ [Gemeinschaft, communion, common nature.]

quillity, which nothing again can limit or destroy, and such souls raise themselves above the popular gods and popular religions. They considered a Pythagoras, a Plato, and an Aristotle, among the heathen, to belong to this class of men, and Jesus among the Jews. To him they ascribed only a peculiarly pure and powerful soul, by means of which, through reminiscences brought from his former existence, he raised himself up to the loftiest contemplation, freed himself from the limiting laws of the Jewish God, and destroyed the religion which had been established by that God, although he himself was brought up in it. By his union with the *μυρας* he obtained Divine power, in virtue of which he was able to triumph over the spirits of the world, and the laws which they had imposed on nature, to perform miracles, and to endure sufferings in undisturbed tranquillity. By this divine power he was afterwards enabled in freedom to raise himself up again to the Supreme Unity, beyond the power of the spirits of the world. Thus this sect put *no difference* between Christ and other sages of all nations; they taught that every other soul also which could elevate itself to the same height of contemplation, was to be put on the same level with Christ. This sect hardly deserved the name of a *Christian* sect, since they only appropriated to themselves some propositions, taken at their own will and pleasure, out of Christianity, and then connected them with other ideas totally foreign to them. They perverted, after their own Pantheistic mysticism, the assertions made by St Paul of the nothingness of the merit of works, and about justification, not by works, but by faith; for under the name of faith they understood nothing but that mystical brooding over the absorption of the spirit into the original Unity. It needs only faith and love, they said; all outward things are indifferent; he who introduces a moral meaning into outward things, makes himself dependent upon them, and remains subject to the dominion of the spirits of the world, from whom all religious, moral, and political ordinances are derived, he cannot raise himself up after his death, out of the mere circle of Metempsychosis. But he who gives himself up to all kinds of pleasure, without being affected by it, and so despises the laws of those spirits of the world, he raises himself up to *union* with the *ONE First Being*, with whom, being already united here below, he has made

himself free from all that can limit his nature.* Epiphanes wrote a book on righteousness, wherein he carries out the principle, that universal nature reveals a struggle after unity and communion; and that the laws of men, which are against this law of nature, but which are unable to conquer the desires planted by the Creator himself in the heart of man, first produced sin. Thus did he pervert what St. Paul had said of the insufficiency of the law to make man holy, and of its object, viz. to call forth the consciousness of guilt, in order that, with profligate pride, he might despise the ten commandments. These sects used to traffic much in magical arts, which they deduced from the power of their union with the First ONE, who is victorious over all the world-spirits; they worshipped an image of Christ, which was said to have come from Pilate, together with the images of heathen philosophers, who, like Christ, had raised themselves above the popular religion; and they worshipped it with heathen ceremonies, which latter certainly were not in accordance with the system of Carpocrates and Epiphanes, but proceeded from the superstition of their followers. At Same, the chief town of the island of Cephalonia, in the Ionian sea, from which the maternal ancestors of Epiphanes were sprung, this young man is supposed to have made so great an impression on the multitude, that they erected a temple, a museum, and altars to him, and offered him *divine worship*. As Clement of Alexandria,† a writer by no means of great credulity, relates this circumstance, which appears by no means incredible, if we take into account the circumstances of those times, we have no reason to doubt the fact. But, perhaps, it was only some members of this sect, which might have found peculiar success on the island; who offered this honour to him, as one of the greatest sages.‡

* Iren. i. 25.

† Strom. iii. 428. [Sylb. p. 183-4. Potter, p. 511. Klotz, vol. ii. p. 214-15.]

‡ The spirit of these antinomian, eclectic Gnostics, who arbitrarily jumbled together all religions, and all systems of philosophy, in which they could find a point whereon to fix their own system, as they might do in separate tenets detached from that with which they are connected, is shown in a marked manner in *two inscriptions* which were found very lately in the territory of Cyrene, and which prove the propagation of this sect to have lasted till the sixth century. They were published and explained by Gesenius in his Christmas thesis, 1825, [in dem Weihnachtsprogramm.]

To these unbridled *Antinomians* belongs the sect of the *Antitacti* (whose fundamental principle it was to set themselves in opposition to the Demiurgos, or the God of the Jews, who had sown evil, imperfection, and weeds, among the works of the Father of good,*) and the *Prodicians*, the followers of a certain Prodicus. These last maintained that they, as sons of the Supreme God, and as the royal race, were bound to no law, because for the king there was no written law; and hence they were lords of the Sabbath, lords over all ordinances. They apparently placed the worship of God only in the inward contemplation of the Divine nature; they rejected prayer, and probably all external worship, as fit only for puny spirits, who were still under the dominion of the Demiurgos; and they appealed to apocryphal writings that went under the name of *Zoroaster*.†

The first of them, in which the sect conceals itself under general expressions, which may, however, be taken in an innocent sense, ascribes the following words to Simon of Cyrene, whom the pseudo-Basilidians, who had the same sentiments, made a subject of their fictions: *φωβ* (Hermes Trismegistus, under whose name there exist spurious writings containing much Gnosticism.) *Κρονος, Ζωροαστρης, Πυθαγορας, Επικουρος, Μασδακις.* (Masdek, the founder of a Persian sect in the time of the Emperor Justinian, who appears, like Prodicus, to have drawn from apocryphal writings that went under Zoroaster's name. See Gesenius, l. c. p. 17.) *Ἰωαννης, Χριστος τε και οἱ ἡμετεροι Κουρα- νηκι καθηκται,* (with which last Clement l. c. p. 722, also classes Prodicus,) *συμφωνος εντελλωσιν ἡμιν μηδεν οικειπ.ισθαι, τις δε νημις ὄρηται,* (*they understood by these words, according to their sense of them, the νημις ὄρηται, which is derived from the Supreme, is implanted in nature, and strives after communion and unity, with which (i. e. the νημις ὄρηται) the separating and limiting ordinances of the Demiurgos, the spirits of the world and of men, are at variance,*) *και την παρανομίαν καταπολεμεν. τινος γαρ ἡ της δικαιοσυνης πηγη (δικαιοσυνη here has the meaning of the divine natural justice, founded on that νημις θεος, on which Epiphanius wrote a treatise,) τινος το μακαριος ἐν κινή ζην.*

The other inscription, in which the sect comes forward without disguise, is in the following terms: *ἡ πασαν εὐσταν και γυναικων κινήσας πηγη της θεας ἑστι δικαιοσυνη, εἰρηνη τε τελευτα της του τυφλου, ἐχλιν ἐκλή- τος ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρασιν, οὗς Ζωροάστης τε και Πυθαγορας, των ἰεροφάντων ἑσταν, κινή συμβίωσιν συνιεντο.* We cannot, however, exactly maintain more decidedly, that these inscriptions proceed from the sect of Carpocratians, because so many similar sects, as the Prodicians, the pseudo-Basilidians, the Nicolaitans, &c., had the same principles.

* Το ὑπερτασσοῦσθαι.

† Clem. Strom. i. 304. [Sylb. p. 131. Potter, p. 357. Klotz, vol. ii. p. 50.] iii. 438. [See Sylb. p. 189, et seq. Potter, p. 526, et seq. Klotz, vol. ii. p. 230.] vii. 722. [Sylb. p. 306-7. Potter, p. 854-5; Klotz, vol. ii. p. 236.]

To this family of Gnostics belong also the Nicolaitans, if the existence of any such sect can be proved. Irenæus, indeed, names such a sect as existing in his time, deducing them from Nicolaus the deacon mentioned in the Acts, and he believed that he found their portraiture in the second chapter of the Revelations.* But it may be doubted whether Irenæus has really penetrated the meaning of the Revelations in this case, and whether the name of Nicolaitans is the proper name of a sect, and still farther, whether it is the name of a Gnostic sect. The passage relates to such persons as seduced the Christians to partake in the heathen feasts at a sacrifice, and the excesses consequent upon them, as the Jews had formerly suffered themselves to be seduced by the Moabites. (Num. xxv.) The name of Nicolaitans might also be a merely *symbolical* name, as such an usage of it would suit very well with the whole character of the Revelations: "destroyer of the people," "seducer of the people," like Balaam, and thus Nicolaitans might mean Balaamites in this sense.† Now it was a favourite idea with Irenæus, that the apostle St. John had actually contended with many different sorts of Gnostics; and he was in the habit of searching for remarks which were meant to oppose the Gnostics, in the writings of St. John. As he found several of those errors, which are blamed in the Revelations, among the Gnostics of his own day, he concluded that the practical errors contended against by the Apostle had also had their foundation in a theoretical Gnosticism, and the name induced him to deduce them from the well known Nicolaus. But, in fact, we find in Irenæus only such *indefinite expressions* in regard to this sect, that it by no means follows necessarily that he wrote from any decided view of them. If we had only the account given by Irenæus, we must acknowledge it as possible that the story of this sect may have arisen solely out of a misunderstanding of the Revelations. Although it might then surprise us that Irenæus, without any ex-

* Irenæus i. 26. This refers to their practical errors: qui indiscrete (ἁδιαφρας) vivunt.—In loc. cit. 11, he speaks of their speculative errors, but he does not altogether separate them from other Gnostics, in order to bring forward what is peculiar to them.

† Balaam, that is, *νικολαος*; according to the etymology which deduces this name from *נִלַע* and *עַל*.

ternal evidence to induce him, should have made a man, distinguished by having a public office conferred on him by the apostles, the founder of a heretical sect. But such a mistake could never be laid to the charge of that learned Alexandrian Clement, an unprejudiced man, and one accustomed to historical criticism; and he appeals to facts which could not have been invented. There were people who had the corrupt principles which we have mentioned before, viz. that man must conquer his desires by giving himself up to them and not allowing himself to be affected by them, and that he must abuse his flesh and annihilate it by its own instrumentality, in order to show his contempt for it: their motto was words to this effect, which they ascribed to the deacon Nicolaus.* The same Clement afterwards, in another passage, quotes another trait out of the life of this Nicolaus, which this sect used in order to justify their own excesses.† The apostles, it would seem, had reproached him with his jealousy about his wife, and in order to show how little this reproof would attach to him he brought her forward and said, "Let him that will, marry her." But Clement was far from holding Nicolaus to be the founder of this sect, although the sect itself claimed him. He clears the character of that man of the Apostolic Church, and quotes the tradition, that this Nicolaus lived in unspotted wedlock to the end of his days, and left children, whose conduct was irreproachable, behind him. We see, therefore, that Irenæus did not err in *supposing the existence of such a sect, but only in not examining more carefully its pretences*. It was the fashion for such sects, as we have often before remarked, to engraft themselves to some great man or other of antiquity, in their choice of whom they were often guided by accidental circumstances. Thus the Nicolaitans made Nicolaus, the deacon, their founder, without any fault of his. Clement thought that they had only corrupted his words and actions in a perverted manner, and he endeavours to explain both one and the other in a more favourable mode; but one is led to inquire whether Clement has viewed it in a sufficiently critical manner. All which is here ascribed to

Nicolaus bears a very apocryphal stamp upon it; and perhaps, that sect had a life of that Nicolaus, in which all this was found, put together by themselves or by others from fictions and unauthentic traditions. If this sect be not the same which was in existence in the apostolic times, a point which cannot be decided with certainty,* the name of the Nicolaitans in the Apocalypse may have induced the later sect to name itself after Nicolaus. But as they probably belonged to the party of anti-Judaizers, and therefore, acknowledge only St. Paul as an apostle, they would also be induced by what they read in the Apocalypse to maintain the antiquity of their sect, as one which the Judaizing St. John had opposed; and the name induced them naturally to deduce it (i. e. the sect) from that Nicolaus. We have before found instances in which the Gnostics chose for their founders persons who appear in an unfavourable light either in the Old or the New Testament. •

The Simonians are also to be mentioned here, an eclectic sect, which it is difficult to bring into any *one* definite class, because they appear to have attached themselves, sometimes to heathenism, sometimes to Judaism, or to the religious opinions of the Samaritans; and appear to have been sometimes strict ascetics, sometimes wild despisers of all moral laws (the Etychites.) Simon Magus was their Christ, or at least a form assumed by the redeeming spirit which had appeared also in Christ, whether it was that in their first origin they had really proceeded from the party founded by that Goeta (magician,) mentioned in the Acts, or whether the sect which arose later, merely to please their own fancies, had made Simon Magus, whom the Christians abominated, their Coryphæus, and had forged under his name pretended books relating to the higher wisdom. What some learned men have supposed, viz. that another Simon, distinct from that old Simon Magus, founded their sect, and that he was confused with that older Simon Magus, is too arbitrary a supposition, and is by no means

* Even supposing that the name Nicolaitans in the Apocalypse should be really the proper name of a party founded by a person named Nicolaus, and that the mere existence of the name there had given occasion for allusions to Balaam, it would still not be a necessary deduction from these premises that this party which was then in existence was a *Gnostic* sect.

* Το δὲν παραχρησασθαι τῇ σφύρῃ. Strom. ii. p. 411.

† Strom. iii. p. 436.

required for the elucidation of the historical phenomenon presented to us.*

(g.) *Marcion and his School.*

MARCION forms the most natural close to the series of the Gnostics, because he belongs to the Gnostics only *on one side*, and, on another, rather forms a contrast to them: he stands on the boundary between

* This Simon Magus, to whom properly no place belongs among the founders of the *Christian* sects, has obtained an undeserved importance in the old Church, by being made the father of the Gnostic sects. As the representative of the whole theosophico-goetic character, in opposition to the simple faith in revelation, he has become in the same manner a *mythical* personage, and given rise to many fables; as, for instance, that of his disputation with St. Peter, and his unhappy attempt at the art of flying; and the *Clementine* is the place where the fable is most ingeniously conducted. But it was an extraordinary circumstance that Justin Martyr, in his second apology before the Roman emperor, should appeal to the fact, that there was a statue at Rome to this Simon Magus, on an island in the Tiber, (*ἐν τῷ Τιβερὶ ποταμῷ μετὰ τὴν δύο γέφυρας*) with the inscription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*. Although such Goetæ at that time found much acceptance even with the highest classes, yet one can hardly believe that it could have amounted to the erection of such a statue and to a decree of the senate, by which Simon Magus was received into the number of the *Dii Romani*. We should be obliged to question the correctness of Justin's assertion, even if we were not able to explain the cause of his error. But this seems now to be ascertained, as in the year 1574, at the place designated by Justin Martyr, a stone was dug up, which seemed to have been the pedestal of a statue, and it bore the inscription, "*Semoni Sancto Deo Fidio Sacrum*." Now certainly this statue was not erected by the Roman senate or emperor, but by one Sextus Pompeius; but Justin, full of the histories then current about Simon Magus, overlooked this, and confused the *Semo Sancus* (a Sabine Roman deity, which might have remained unknown to Justin, well acquainted with the Greek, but not with the Roman mythology,) with *Simo Sanctus*, especially as in the surname of that deity *Sancus* was sometimes written instead of *Sancus*. Tertullian, indeed, as better acquainted with the Roman antiquities, might have been able to form a better judgment on the matter, but in such cases he was too prejudiced, and too little inclined to the critical art, to investigate any farther an account which was to his own taste, and came also from a man of reputation. The more critical *Alexandrians* do not mention the circumstance, and Origen, lib. i. contr. Cels. c. 57, by saying that the name of Simon Magus was known beyond Palestine only to the Christians, who knew him from the Acts of the Apostles, seems himself to stamp the story of a statue erected to him at Rome as a fiction. The Samaritan Goetæ and founders of sects, *Dositheus* and *Meumder*, (who is made out to be a disciple of Simon Magus,) are even less deserving still of any particular mention in a history of Christian sects.

the Gnostic turn of mind, where speculation was the prevailing characteristic, and a character of mind thoroughly opposed to speculative Gnosticism. Christian feeling is far more appealed to by him than by other Gnostics, because his whole being was far more deeply rooted in Christianity, because Christian feeling was the keynote of his whole inward life, and his whole religious and theological character, while among the rest of the Gnostics this (although sometimes the prevailing turn of mind,) formed only *one* of the dispositions belonging to them, and was intermixed with much of a different character. It is instructive to mark how an endeavour, which proceeded from the very depths of Christianity, could receive an unchristian turn by means of a gross partiality; it is a warning and a startling circumstance to see a man, whose errors themselves were connected with a spirit of love, only that it was a mistaken spirit, and a man, to whom the Christ who filled his heart was one and all, misunderstood and called a heretic by most of the Christians of his own day, because they were unable to understand *his* mode of conception, and indeed, chiefly by those who might have dwelt in the most intimate communion with him, in virtue of that which they bore within their hearts, if any other mode of communication had existed besides those of words and definite ideas, (*begriff*;) any other mode than that which is only a dim reflection of the inward life,—a source of so many misunderstandings and mutual mistakes among men, which would be removed if one man could read the inward life and conscience of another! What Marcion had in common with the Gnostics, and particularly in common with the Gnostics of this class, was partly the distinction which he made between the God of nature and of the Old Testament, and the God of the Gospel, and the distinction between the Divine and the human generally, as well as many speculative elements, which he connected with his system of religion. And yet he had evidently arrived at that which he had in common with them by an entirely different road. It was in Christ that he first found his God; and that glory of God which had revealed itself to him in Christ, he was never able to find again in nature and in history. The speculative elements, which he borrowed from other Gnostics, were to him only necessary aids to fill up the gaps which his system, being founded on

an entirely different and a *wholly practical* plan, would necessarily have. It was evidently not his intention, like that of other Gnostics, that Christianity should be completed by means of the speculative conclusions of other doctrinal systems; but he wished originally only to restore again to its purity Christianity, which had, in his opinion, been adulterated by admixtures foreign to its nature. The partial point of view; from which he set out with this disposition, was the occasion of most of his errors.

He did not make a secret doctrine the source of the knowledge of this genuine Christianity; but he would not suffer himself to be bound by a *general Church tradition*, because, in his opinion, foreign matter had already mixed itself in such a tradition with pure Apostolic Christianity. As a genuine Protestant (if we may transfer to an ancient day this appellation which arose, indeed, later, but denoted a genuine primitive Christian turn of mind,) he wished to consider the word of Christ and of his genuine disciples [i. e. original apostles, Tr.] the only valid source of a knowledge of the true Gospel. He certainly, instead of recognising the many-sidedness of Christianity from the variety of the instruments selected for its propagation, allowed himself to make an arbitrary division between them, founded on a one-sided view. His endeavour to find the genuine documents of pure original Christianity, led him into historical and critical investigations, which were far removed from the *contemplative* disposition of the other Gnostics. But he gives us here a warning example, how such inquiries, as soon as they are swayed by the preconceived doctrinal opinions, in which the thoughts are fettered, must lead to unhappy results, and how easily an arbitrary hypercriticism is formed in opposition to an uncritical credulity; how easily, in short, man, in struggling against one class of doctrinal prejudices, falls into another.

The other Gnostics united a mystical allegorizing interpretation of Scripture with their theosophic idealism. The single hearted Marcion was a zealous enemy of this artificial mode of interpretation. He was, on the contrary, a warm adherent of the *literal interpretation* which was in vogue among the opponents of the Gnostics; and it was shown in his case, how even this mode of interpretation, if it is not combined with other hermeneutic principles, and if it is carried

to the extreme, must lead to arbitrary results.

The opposition between *πίστις* and *γνῶσις*, between an exoteric and an esoteric Christianity, belonged to the essential attributes of the other Gnostic systems; but it was impossible that such an opposition could be recognised by Marcion, whose attachment was chiefly to the practical St. Paul. With him *πίστις* was the common source of Divine life for *all* Christians; he knew nothing higher than the *illumination which all Christians* ought to have; that which he recognised as true Christianity was to be known and recognised as such by all who were generally capable of receiving Christianity; and the only difference he could make was that between mature Christians, and those who still needed farther instruction in Christianity (i. e. Catechumens.) This characteristic of Marcion's doctrine, so wholly unlike the usual spirit of Gnosticism, leads us to conclude that it received its development also in a wholly different mode. But, alas, we have no authentic accounts of the life of Marcion, so as to enable us to inquire into that point satisfactorily. Many gaps in that life can only be filled up by conjecture.

He was born in Pontus in the first half of the second century. If the account of Epiphanius is founded in fact, his father was bishop of that Church; but even then, if it be true, it is still most probable that he was elected to that office when Marcion was already a youth or arrived at the age of manhood; for it is most probable, if we may judge from the development of his system, that Marcion lived the early part of his life as a Hea-then, and afterwards turned to Christianity from the free impulse of his own heart. Like many others, he felt himself, in the first glow of faith and love, impelled to renounce every thing earthly; he bestowed his goods or a part of them on the Church, and began to live* as a *continens* or *ἀσκητής*† in strict self-denial. His contempt of nature, which was at first only of a *practical* and *ascetic* kind, proceeding from a falsely conceived opposition between the natural

* Pecuniam in primo calore fidei Ecclesiæ contulit. Tertull. adv. Marcion. lib. iv. c. 4. When Epiphanius calls Marcion a *μνηζων*, he is only making a confusion between the circumstances of his own and of earlier times; and by the word *μνηζων* we must understand an *ἀσκητής*. Ephraem Syrus, blames Marcion for acquiring a delusive reputation through his asceticism. Opp. Ed. Lat. Sermo i. p. 438, and seq.

† See above.

and the Divine, might now, under a variety of different influences, lead a man of a soul so impetuous in its apprehensions and so abrupt in its determinations as his, to a theoretically conceived separation between the God of nature and the God of the Gospel. Nature appeared so cold and stiff to his heart, filled and glowing with the image of the God of love and mercy, as he appeared in Christ. He was, doubtless, right in the belief that the contemplation of nature cannot lead to the knowledge of that Father of love and mercy; he was right in his opposition against the *Deist*, who sets the preaching of nature on the same level with that of the Gospel, and who finds in nature alone and by itself a temple of eternal love; but Marcion was always inclined to push matters to the extreme. Even in history, Marcion, full of the glory of the Gospel, thought that he could find no trace of the God who had revealed himself to him there, (i. e. in the Gospel;) he, like many other zealous Christians, would look back into the heathen world only with horror, and it appeared to him nothing *but the kingdom of Satan*; but even in the Old Testament he could not find again his God and his Christ; his fiery and impatient spirit, which was too deficient in calmness and reflection, to be able properly to investigate the relation between the Old and New Testament, was now at once struck with the contrast between the two forms of religion. He had no notion of a gradual (literally pædagogical) development of the Divine revelation, and Judaism appeared to him too carnal to have proceeded from the same source as the spiritual religion of Christianity; and he believed that that same God of love, of mercy, and compassion, whom he knew from the Gospel, was not to be recognised here, (i. e. in the Old Testament.) It is easy to see that (after this notion of the contrast between the Old and the New Testament had once become the prevailing idea in his soul,) if he, standing in this position, considered the Old Testament, he would be able to find many points on which he could rest this opinion. We must add also, that, according to his principles of a thoroughly literal interpretation of the Bible, he believed that all the anthropomorphical and anthropopathical expressions of the Old Testament must be maintained *to the very letter*, without distinguishing the idea from the dress in which it is clothed.

A man of Marcion's character would

naturally be induced by opposition only to develop himself more strikingly in his partial views, and to harden himself in them. In reality he had to contend with such an opposition, and this contention had, no doubt, a remarkable influence on the formation of his religious and doctrinal views. There was, in existence, to say the truth, at that time, particularly in Asia Minor, a false turn of mind, which interpreted the Old Testament without sufficient spirituality, which did not sufficiently distinguish between the different positions taken in the two dispensations, and which in many doctrines (as, for example, the doctrine of Christ's kingdom, the idea of a millenarian kingdom,) mixed up a carnal Judaism with Christianity. This disposition he combated with violent zeal, and blamed, not wholly without foundation, those who were its slaves with adulterating the Gospel, and hence there might easily arise in his mind a suspicion of the genuineness of the whole traditional system of the Church, (*παράδοσις*;) and of the Biblical documents which he had received from that tradition; and hence, also, he may have been induced to endeavour, by his own inquiries, to form for himself a Christianity, purified from all that was foreign to its nature. His contention with this too Jewish disposition then drove him also constantly to conceive the contrast between the Old and the New Testament more and more sharply, and in many things to suppose unjustly that Christianity had been adulterated by Judaism. This enmity of his towards the Old Testament, and many of his opinions connected with it, were, probably, the cause of his being excommunicated at Sinope. On this he travelled to Rome, with a view of seeking whether he could not, in the Church of the metropolis of the world, discover friends to his opinions, which, he was fully persuaded, were the principles of genuine Christianity; and the number of anti-Jewish feelings then prevailing in the Roman Church* might give him hopes of success. If the account of Epiphanius is to be relied on, Marcion must have inquired of the Roman clergy how they explained the passage in Matt. ix. 17, in order to elicit from their own mouth the avowal that the new wine of Christianity cannot be poured into the old bottles of Judaism without destroying them. But in Rome also his Dualism in the

* See in the history of the Cultus, p. 300.

doctrine of the revelation of God could meet with nothing but contradiction, because the acknowledgment of the one same God and of the one same Revelation in the Old and in the New Testament was a portion of the Catholic doctrine of the Church. Rejected here also by the Church, he was driven into forming his anti-Church dispositions into a firm determinate system, and founding an independent community. Up to this time his system had been only founded on practical considerations: the conviction that Christianity had appeared in human nature as something wholly new, unexpected, and unforeseen; that it had communicated to human nature a Divine life, to which there had hitherto been nothing akin in man; that the God, who appeared in Christ, had never before revealed himself, either by nature, by reason, or by the Old Testament, and that nothing bore witness to him, nothing was his work but Christianity;—this was the conviction from which Marcion set out. (It may be a question, whether he had at that time carried out his system farther than this.) But these persuasions, proceeding from his inward Christian life, must have led a thinking man to many inquiries which he could not answer. A Gnostic system would be able to fill up these gaps in his doctrinal views: he might there learn to acknowledge a Demiurgos, different from the perfect God, as the God of nature and of the Old Testament; and a contempt for nature, and a hatred towards matter, as the source of evil, would correspond to his ascetic dispositions. The *Syrian Gnosis*, which, as we have remarked, maintained these points very definitely, would naturally suit him exactly. And thus it happened that he joined himself to one Cerdo, a teacher of this Gnosis, who came from Antiochia, and he borrowed from him the principles needed for the completion of his dogmatical system.

The very nature of Marcion's opinions necessarily implied that he would labour for the propagation of his principles with more zeal and activity than other Gnostics; for, while others believed that they could impart their higher knowledge only to a small portion of Christians, to the *spiritual*, Marcion, on the contrary, was persuaded that his was no other than the original Christian doctrine, which ought to belong to all mankind; and he would, therefore, feel himself impelled to communicate to all Christians the light of

truth which had been imparted to him. He, therefore, made several voyages; he spent his life in many struggles both with Heathens and with Christians; to be hated and to suffer he considered as the destination of Christians. "My fellows in being hated, my fellow-sufferers," (*συμμισημένοι και συνταλαιπύρωι*.) was his usual address to his disciples.* Perhaps, he was at Rome, when Polycarp, the aged bishop of Smyrna, visited Anicetus, bishop of Rome.† Marcion, who, in his youth, apparently had lived on terms of friendly intercourse with the former, and saw him again now after a long lapse of years, went up to him and addressed him thus, "Dost thou remember me, Polycarp?" But this old man, otherwise so full of charity, refused to receive none but the enemies of the Gospel into his kindly affections; and such Marcion appeared to him, for he was unable to recognise in him the Christian character, which was in fact the very foundation of his errors. He answered him, therefore, "Yes; I know the first-born of Satan!" Tertullian† relates that Marcion at length testified his regret at the schism which had arisen in the Church; that he had prayed to be again received into the communion of the Church, and that this prayer had been granted, on the condition that he should bring back to the Church those who had been seduced away by him, a condition which his too early death prevented him from fulfilling. It must be avowed that we cannot implicitly trust this account, nor are we able to say whether there be any foundation for it in truth; nor even in that case, *what foundation* there is. Since with Marcion every thing proceeded from the heart, it might easily happen that while he sighed after Christian communion and perceived the evil consequences of schisms, he should at last be softened as his age increased, and should seek again to attain peace with the majority of Christians.

It still remains for us to consider somewhat more closely the system formed by an union between the *practical* disposition of Marcion, and the Gnostic principles of Cerdo. In its fundamental principles this system harmonized with the other Gnostic systems of this second class, only with the distinction, that it was always made pre-eminently clear, that *he* conceived every thing more from

* Tertullian, c. M. iv. 36. iv. 9.

† See above; ‡ Præscript. c. 30.

a *practical* than from a *speculative* point of view, and that he was not so deeply interested in what was merely speculative. He assumed three fundamental principles :—

1. A *ἐλν*, which had existed from all eternity.

2. The *perfect*, almighty, holy God; the God who is Eternal Love, the Good, ὁ ἀγαθός, who alone is to be called God in any proper sense; who, in virtue of his holy essence, cannot come into any contact whatever with matter; who forms only through communication of himself a life akin to himself, and does not act on that which is without.

3. The Demiurgos, a subordinate Being, of limited power, standing between good and evil, who is named a God only in an improper sense (as the name of God is transferred also to other beings, Ps. lxii.,)* who is in avowed enmity with matter, and endeavours to bring it into subjection to himself, and to form it, but is never able wholly to subdue its opposition.† The ungodly Being of matter, which resists all fashioning and forming, is the source of all evil; and this ungodly Being, concentrated in that power of blind impulse which is associated with matter, is Satan. The distinction he draws between true moral perfection, which consists in holiness and love, whose essence it is only to impart itself, only to bless, to make happy, to redeem—and bare righteousness, justice, or uprightness, which weighs every one according to merit—rewards and punishes, recompenses good with good, and evil with evil, and which brings forth only outward propriety of conduct,—this was the fundamental practical notion, on which all Marcion's other notions rested. Whilst some‡ formed to themselves assuredly too gross anthropathical representations of the retributive justice of God, which could not well be reconciled with the idea of a God, who is Love. Marcion, in combating these representations, (as he was generally, from his impetuous and rugged nature, inclined, in controversy, to carry matters to the utmost extremity,) made out an absolute contradiction between justice and holiness, so that it was impossible, in his opinion, that both attributes should exist side by side in the same being. It must

be confessed, that while he opposed *justice* to *holiness*, and under the former name collected together all the marks which he believed that he could find in the Old Testament (when interpreted and considered in his own prejudiced views,) as characteristic of the Demiurgos, he made to himself a conception of *justice*, which was by no means consistent or tenable; intimate consistency, with him, always depended more on the *heart* than on *abstract conceptions*.

As far as our present means of information extend, the mode in which Marcion considered the relation of the Demiurgos to the perfect God, in reference to the origin of the latter, appears very indefinite. As we find elsewhere, among the Gnostics, nothing but Dualistic systems, and none in which *three* principles, wholly independent on each other as to their origin, were acknowledged, it seems most natural to look on the matter in the following light, viz: that Marcion also deduced the origin of the imperfect Demiurgos, according to a certain line of development, from the perfect God—and certainly it is the notion which comes most readily into the human mind, to deduce that which is imperfect from that which is perfect. There is nothing to contradict this supposition; for, even if we grant that no passage is found in ancient authors, from which it can strictly be proved that Marcion derived the origin of the Demiurgos from the Supreme God,* yet, at any rate, there is no passage, in any writer worthy of credit, on such a point, from which the contrary can be proved. We can only say, that the indefiniteness in the accounts of ancient writers arises from the circumstance that Marcion, interested only in the practical view of these subjects, has not declared himself with sufficient definiteness, in a speculative point of view, on the relation of the Demiurgos to the Supreme God.

The point, then, which Marcion deemed of practical importance, was to maintain the doctrine of a *wholly new creation*, by means of Christianity, and to cut in sunder that thread, by which Christianity might be connected with the world, as it was in its earlier condition. The Demiurgos, therefore, of Marcion, did not act in obedience to more lofty ideas, to which he was subservient, as an instrument,

* Clem. Strom. lib. iii. p. 425. Tertull. c. M. lib. i. c. 7—15.

† Ephr. Syr. Orat. 14, p. 468, D.

‡ See Part I.

* And yet one of the Fathers, Rhodon ap. Euseb. v. 13, says that Marcion acknowledged only *δὸς ἀρχῆς*.

although unconsciously, or even against his own will, but he was an entirely independent, self-existent, Creator of an imperfect world, which corresponded to his own limited nature. On this account Marcion did not assume, with the other Gnostics, that to man, as the image of the Demiurgos, a still higher principle of life was imparted by the Supreme God; but he recognised in the whole nature of man, as a work of the Demiurgos, only such elements as could proceed from such a Creator. The Demiurgos created man, as the highest work of his creation, after his own image, to represent and to reveal it. The body of man he formed out of matter, whence its evil desires; to this body he imparted, out of his being, a soul akin to himself. He gave him a law, in order to prove his obedience, and to reward or to punish him according to his desert. But the limited Demiurgos could never have imparted to man a Divine principle of life, capable of triumphing over evil. Man yielded to the temptations of sensual pleasure, and thereby was subjected, with his whole race, to the dominion of matter, and the evil spirits, which were its offspring. Out of the whole race of degraded man, the Demiurgos chose only one people for his own especial guidance. He revealed himself peculiarly to this people, the Jews, and gave them a religious code, consisting—as it corresponded to his own nature and character—on the one hand of a ceremonial religion, which busied itself only in externals, and on the other of a positive (literally, commanding,) imperfect morality, without an inward Divine life, without any power to produce a true inward sanctification, without the spirit of love. He rewarded those who faithfully observed this law, with a happy condition after death, adapted to their limited nature, in company with their pious forefathers.*

The Demiurgos was not powerful enough to make his people the ruling nation, and to extend his dominion over the whole earth: but he promised to those who were devoted to him, a Redeemer, a Messiah, through whom he would at last obtain this object in a contention with the hostile powers of the *ὕλη*, and through whom he would gather together the scattered Jews, exercise a severe judgment

over the heathen and sinners, and lead his people to an undisturbed enjoyment of all earthly happiness, in a kingdom that should rule over the whole earth. But the perfect God, whose nature is compassion and love, could not allow this severe sentence, upon men who were overcome by their own weakness, to take effect. It is consistent with his character not to look to merit, like the Demiurgos, but out of free love to take care of those who are altogether alien to him, of the lost; and not to begin with proposing a law, on the observance or nonobservance of which the fate of man should depend, but to reveal and impart himself, as the source of all holiness and blessedness, to those who are but willing to receive him. The appearance of Christ was the *self-revelation** of the Supreme God hitherto wholly hidden from this lower creation. Perhaps, before Marcion became a Gnostic, he had, in his own country, embraced that form of the so-called *Patripassianism*† which was current in Asia Minor, which maintained that the same Divine subject was betokened by different names only as spoken of under different relations; as the Father, when spoken of as hidden,—as the Son, or the Logos, when self-revealing; and that it was only this self-revealing God who had united himself with a human body. At all events this view was the most suited to the system and the mind of Marcion. It was a welcome thing to him, to remove the distinction which the Church doctrine acknowledged between Christ and the Supreme Being; he was thoroughly imbued with the conviction, that Christ and Christianity are nothing but a communication of the Supreme God himself to man in his limited condition. (It is well to remark, generally, that among the Patripassians the *practical view* of Christianity was especially the predominant one.) As now Marcion, in the character of a Patripassian, would admit of no perfect human personality in Christ, it was the more easy for *Docetism* to insinuate itself into his views. This Docetism was not only founded in his view of matter, but it was thoroughly suited to the whole nature and spirit of his dogmatic views in every respect. Christianity, according to him, was to appear as a fragmentary thing,

* Tertullian, c. M. lib. i. c. 11.

† Of which we shall speak more at large in our section relative to the formation of the Church doctrines.

* Apud inferos in sinu Abrahami. Tertull. c. M. lib. iii. c. 24. Clem. Strom. lib. v. f. 546. [Sylb. 233. Potter, 645. Klotz, vol. iii. p. 4.]

entirely without preparations for it, and not to be attached to any thing else; as Tertullian excellently said, with Marcion every thing is to be *sudden*. His gospel, therefore, began with the journey of Christ to Capernaum in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius; and his sudden appearance as a teacher.*

According also to the theory of Marcion, Jesus was not the Messiah promised by the *Demiurgos* through the prophets, as many of the tokens of the Messiah contained in them are wanting in him; and, on the contrary, that which is peculiar in his character, and in his operations, is by no means to be found among the Messianic traits delivered to us in the prophets. Marcion endeavoured to go through with the contrast between Christ, as the history of the Gospel represents him, and the Christ of the Old Testament: even in this we see how deeply the image of Christ had stamped itself upon his warm heart; but even that very circumstance rendered him unjust, by leading him to expect that the foretype, which was given to the prophetic view under a veil, which was to be for a time, should fully equal the reality that appeared. It was then to be considered only as an *accommodation*, when Jesus called himself the Messiah, in order to find a point by which the Jews might unite themselves to him; to win their confidence through a form which was familiar to them, and then to insinuate the higher things into this form.† It was natural enough that Christ, who presupposed only a sense of the needfulness of that which had hitherto been wanting to man, a feeling of the need in which man stands of help and redemption, and required only an acceptance, in childlike faith, of the divine source of life which he communicated to man; it was natural, according to these views, that he should find no acceptance with the self-righteous servants of the *Demiurgos*, self-contented in their own limited nature, and should find a more ready entrance into the hearts of the heathen, who had abandoned themselves to the feeling of their misery. The *Demiurgos* would of course necessarily attack him, as one that wished to destroy his kingdom, under the pretence of being the Messiah promised by him. He wished to

bring about his death through the Jews, who were devoted to him, [i. e. the *Demiurgos*, Tr.] but he could effect nothing against the surpassing power of the Supreme God. The passion of Christ would serve only for the fulfilment of his [i. e. *Marcion's*, Tr.] benevolent designs, in respect to human nature: the heart of Marcion must have been interested in a love, that suffered, and obtained the victory through suffering; in him, whom alone he acknowledged as our apostle, he found a great deal about the sufferings of Christ for human nature,—and yet this did not well consist with his Docetism. Marcion appropriated to himself the doctrine which already existed in the tradition of the Church about the descent of Christ into the world below;* but one is inclined to inquire whether he can have taken a doctrine on the mere authority of the tradition of the Church; and it will surely prove to be the case, that he has been willing to overlook that which would not otherwise be satisfactory to him in this authority, for the sake of its value in a dogmatical point of view, because its doctrine suited so well with his whole system. This doctrine is, indeed, distinctly proclaimed in the first epistle of St. Peter; but with the ultra-Pauline Marcion, St. Peter was no genuine apostle. Still, he might think, perhaps, that he found this doctrine in an epistle of St. Paul himself, namely, in Ephes. iv. 9. Other Gnostics gave it a different application, because with them this earth itself was the lower world—[unterwelt, under-world] into which Christ descended, in order to set free the captives. Marcion understood the expression, lower world, in the sense given to it by the Church doctrine, namely, the general abode of departed spirits. Only he did not receive the common opinion, that Christ descended, in order to place the saints of the Old Testament in connection with himself. These were, like the Jews on earth, incapable of enjoying the blessings of a redeeming, eternal love, in consequence of their self-righteousness, and the enjoyment of a happiness which satisfied their limited nature. But Marcion, the friend of the heathen, could never have adopted the notion, that so many heathens who had died previously should be given up to the power of the *Demiurgos*, and be excluded from the benefits of redemption; Christ, therefore, descended below, in order to preach the

* Tertull. iv. 17.

† Ut per solenne apud eos et familiare nomen irreperet in Judæorum fidem, c. iii. 15.

* The Descensus Christi ad inferos.

Gospel to the heathen, who were dead, and to bless them.*

It would seem, although it cannot be decided upon with absolute certainty, that Marcion taught that the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament would still be fulfilled with reference to the believers in the Demiurgos. The Messiah promised by the Demiurgos was to appear, and would execute a severe penal sentence against those who were not freed from his power by faith in the higher Christ, would raise up the dead saints of the Old Testament, and unite all in a millennial reign of earthly happiness. The eternal *heavenly kingdom*, to which Christians belonged, would then form the proper contrast to the transitory *earthly kingdom*. The souls of the Christians would lay aside their gross bodies, as the chicken raises itself out of the egg, as the kernel throws away the shell, or leaves the outer covering in the earth, and raises itself up free into the light of day; as the ripe fruit falls away from the stalk.†

A doctrinal system like that of Marcion, in which the contrast between the Law and the Gospel was thus declared, could be followed only by a holy, moral system; for he made out the difference between the two to consist in this, that the *first* (the law,) could communicate to man no true inward sanctification, no power for victory over evil; but the *second* (the Gospel,) brought man, through faith, into connection with a divine source of life; which connection would necessarily reveal itself through the conquest of evil, and through the sanctification of the life. Even the most zealous opponents of Marcion, who were glad to rake together all the evil they could possibly accuse him of, and who did not recognise the essential difference between the system of Marcion and all other Gnostic systems, could not deny that the Marcionites were entirely distinguished by their conduct from those Gnostic antinomians, who preached up a life of lawlessness after man's own fancies; they could not deny, for instance, that they (the Marcionites,) were on a par with the strictest Christians in their abhorrence of the heathen theatres and public pleasures.‡ While many Gnostics, through their doctrine, that an accommodation to

the predominant errors of the times is allowable, or through the principle that outward things are a matter of no consequence, made it a very easy thing to escape the duty of martyrdom; the Marcionites, on the contrary, certainly believed themselves bound to give their witness to Christianity,* which was deeply engrafted in their hearts. But how all that belongs to our nature is sanctified and ennobled by Christianity, was a truth which Marcion could not acknowledge, because he did not recognise the God in Christ as the God of Nature. In this point of view, the teachers of the Church might justly make this reproach against him, that his Dualism, in union with Christianity, which always pursues the view of an ennoblement of nature through a divine principle of life, is practically illogical; as, for example, in the celebration of the Sacraments. The ascetic turn which Marcion had, even when he was a member of the Catholic Church, and in which, as we have before observed, his system had found a natural point to engraft itself upon, was now again still more furthered and strengthened by his more fully formed views of nature, and of the creation of the Demiurgos. He reckoned a mode of life, such as was led in the Catholic Church only by certain classes of ascetics, to be an essential part of Christianity: Christians were, even here below, to lead a heavenly life, entirely freed from all defilement through matter; he who was incapable of leading such a life, must remain in the class of Catechumens, and could not yet be admitted to Baptism.†

Whether Marcion recognised only St. Paul as a genuine apostle, and condemned, after the fashion of ultra-Paulites, all the rest of the apostles, as Judaizing adulterators of Christianity; or whether he only declared the writings that were published under their names to be spurious documents, counterfeited by Judaizing Christians, cannot be decided with certainty from the unsatisfactory nature of the existing accounts; but the first is the most probable. This supposition suits best with the character of the abrupt and

* See, for example, Euseb. iv. 15; vii. 12. De Martyr. Palestine, c. 10.

† Tertull. c. M. lib. iv. c. 34. Quomodo nuptias dirimis? nec conjungens marem et feminam, nec alibi conjunctos ad sacramentum baptismatis et eucharistiæ admittens, nisi inter se conjuraverint adversus fructum nuptiarum.

* See Irenæus, i. c. 27, § 2, c. i. 24.

† Tertullian, iii. 3, 4, & 24; iv. 29; iii. 29. Eph. Syr. Orat. 52, 6, p. 551-2.

‡ Tertull. c. M. i. 28

violent Marcion, who was more ready to make points of contrast than to look for means of accommodation. It is certain that he acknowledged as the genuine sources of Christian knowledge nothing but the epistles of St. Paul, and an original Gospel, which, by mistaking a passage, he supposed to have been cited by St. Paul. But as he set out from the settled opinion, that these documents were no longer found in their original condition, but had been adulterated by the Judaizers, whose form seems to have haunted him like a spectre, he allowed himself to use criticism *ad libitum*, in order to restore them to their original form. His pretended original Gospel, used (as he fancied,) by St. Paul, had arisen from a mutilation of the Gospel of St. Luke.* Certainly his criticism was by no means logical; for much remained, which nothing but a forced system of exegesis, through ignorance of right hermeneutic principles, could possibly bring into harmony with the system of Marcion.

Marcionite Sects.

While among other Gnostics the caprice and the multifariousness of their speculations and fictions caused the later disciples, in many respects, to depart from the doctrines of their Master; on the contrary, in the system of Marcion, the predominance of a practical turn, and the meagreness of the speculative part in comparison of the other Gnostic systems, were the cause of the changes which his disciples, among whom a practical disposition was not so predominant as with him, made in his doctrines. Many appropriated to themselves the elements of other Gnostic systems, which did not suit that of Marcion, in order to fill up the gaps which they believed they found in it. Many, like the Marcionite Marcus,† received the doctrines of the Syrian Gnosis, relative to the creation of man;‡ namely, that the Supreme God had communicated to man something of his own Divine Life (the *πνευμα*), but that man had lost it by sin,—a view which was re-

pugnant to the whole character of the Marcionitish system; for, according to the ideas of Marcion, until the appearance of Christ, *nothing whatever* that was akin to the Supreme God could have been in existence in this world. While Marcion would not make any further conclusions relative to the ultimate fate of the Demiurgos and of the Psychici; on the contrary, Lucanns the Marcionite determined that all which is Psychical, is perishable, and that nothing but the *πνευματικον*, which has become participative of the divine nature, is immortal.*

Apelles had for a season withdrawn himself from the predominant practical turn of Marcion, and had indulged in many speculations, entirely foreign to the original Marcionite system; but at length the original practical disposition broke forth again, and became prominent in him in a remarkable manner. Tertullian† gives an unfavorable account of the morals of this man; but a teacher of the Catholic Church, at the beginning of the third century, named Rhodon, whose testimony is unsuspecting as being that of an enemy, defends him against this reproach, for he represents him as a man generally respected on account of his conduct.‡ Probably there was no other origin to these accusations, than the entirely innocent intercourse of Apelles with a female philosopher, named *Philumene*, as people were always ready to lay every thing that is evil to the charge of a person who has once been branded as a heretic. Philumene can only be reproached with having forgotten her calling as a woman, and having, in consequence, fallen into a sort of dreamy enthusiasm, and Apelles, with having encouraged her in this, and looking on her fantastic essays, which proceeded from an unhealthy condition, as *revelations*, which he took the trouble to interpret.§ But the notice which Tertullian gives us is of considerable use, viz: that his long sojourn at Alexandria superinduced a change in his *originally Marcionitish* views; for all which we can deduce from the scattered accounts in Tertullian, Origen, Epiphanius, and in the treatise of Ambrose de Paradiso, indicates the remodeling of his system through the influence of the Alexandrian

* An elaborate discussion of Marcion's Canon of the New Testament would be out of place here, but on this subject see more in the learned and acute investigations of my friends Hahn and Olshausen, and in my Genetic Development of the Gnostic systems.

† In the Dialog. de Recta Fide. See the Opp. Origin. T. i.

‡ See p. 280, the account of the Ophites, and Saturninus, p. 284.

* See Tertullian de Resurrect. Carn. c. 2. Orig. c. Cels. lib. iii. c. 27.

† Præscript. Hæret. c. 30

‡ Euseb. v. 13.

§ His book of *φυσικαται*, which is no longer extant.

Gnosis. And hence it arises, that he set the visible and the invisible order of the world, the Demiurgos and the Supreme God, and the Old and New Testaments, in more connection with each other than the system of Marcion permitted. While he set out from the principle, that the Old Testament comes from different origins,—partly from the inspiration of the Soter, partly from that of the Demiurgos, and partly from that of the evil spirit, who has every where troubled and defiled the Revelations of the Divine,*—he was desirous of culling out in all cases that which is good. I use all the writings of the Old Testament, he says, while I gather together that which is useful.† He appealed to that declaration, so often quoted by the ancients, and which is, perhaps, attributed to our Saviour, in the Ευαγγελιον καθ' Ἑβραϊους, “Be ye trusty money-changers, who are able, universally, to distinguish between the genuine and the counterfeit gold, the true and the false.” (Γινεσθε δοκιμοι τραπεζιται.) In age, Apelles, finding no satisfactory conclusion in his speculations upon the incomprehensible, took refuge in the faith which obeys an inward necessity without being able to solve every difficulty to itself, (difficulties which, in his case, met him even in that which he could not choose but to recognise;) he could do no other, he said; he felt himself obliged to *believe* in one eternal God, as the original cause of all existence, but he could not scientifically prove how all existence was necessarily to be traced back to the one original principle. The Church-teacher, Rhodon, to whom he made these communications in confidence, laughed at him as one who pretended to be a teacher, but only *believed* what he taught, and *acknowledged* that he could not prove it; but one is inclined to ask, whether the laughter in this case was wiser than the man whom he laughed at, and whether Rhodon himself, in the strict sense of the word, could prove that which Apelles avowed that he only believed. Apelles appeared to have no more taste for controversy on these subjects. “Every one,” he said, “may keep to his own faith; for every one who places his confidence on him that was crucified, will come to the bliss of

heaven, provided only he shows his faith by good works.”

ADDITIONAL REMARKS.

On the Cultus of the Gnostics.

WE have hitherto considered the Gnostic sects only in reference to their faith and moral systems; it will be instructive, however, just cursorily to compare their different dispositions in regard to their modes of worship, (their *Cultus*.) Even here also we find the differences, which were often repeated in after times. Many Gnostics—as, for example, Ptolemæus—in virtue of their more inward Christianity and their predominantly intellectual character, were able to conceive the relation of all exterior observances of religion to its real essence, more justly than other Church-teachers, who could not separate the *outward* from the *inward*, in religion, with such clearness of conviction and view. There were, besides, some, who, like the Jewish religious idealists* at Alexandria, out of their theosophic idealism rejected all exterior worship, as only fit for the Psychici, who are still imprisoned in the bonds of their senses, and are unable to raise themselves up to the pure spiritual view [anschauung;] and these persons would allow nothing to be availing but a religion of the inward spiritual view [Geistesanschauung.] raised above all that is outward and sensuous. These persons would say, that man cannot represent the overwhelming and divine mysteries by sensuous and transitory things, and that real redemption consists only in knowledge.† But the same theosophic disposition might also bring with it a symbolic *Cultus*, full of mystic pomp, as we see in the case of the *Marcosians*,‡ from whom Irenæus traces those idealists, who threw aside all outward religious observances. In accordance with the distinction between a psychical and pneumatical Christianity, they made a distinction also of a *twofold baptism*.

* See Part I. p. 34.

* In a work which he called Conclusions, (Συλλογισμοί,) he endeavoured to indicate the contradictions to be found in the Old Testament.

† Χρὴς ἀπο πάσης γραφῆς, ἀναλυσαν τα χρησιμα. Epiphani. Hæres. 44. § 2.

‡ Iren. l. c. 24. § 4. Theodoret. Hæret. fab. i. c. 10. If the *Caïans*, against whom Tertullian writes in his book *De Baptismo*, were identical with the Gnostic Cainites, with whom they are sometimes confounded, then we must place these latter in the same class, which well suits their whole character; but the grounds on which those Caïans determined against the necessity of the external rite of baptism, do not look like the wild dreamy spirit of the Cainites; and besides, there is nothing peculiarly *Gnostic* in them, [namely, the Caïans.]

‡ Followers of Mark.

1. The baptism into Jesus, the Messiah of the Psychici, through which the believing Psychici obtained remission of their sins, and the hope of an eternal life in the kingdom of the Demiurgos.

2. The *pneumatical* baptism, a baptism into the heavenly Christ who was united with Jesus, through whom spiritual natures attain to a self-consciousness, and to perfection, and enter into communion with the Pleroma. Their ceremonies, and the formulæ they used in baptism, were probably different, according as a person obtained the *first* or the *second* baptism, and was received into the class of *Psychici* or *Pneumatici*. The latter was apparently accompanied with more pomp than the other. According to the Gnostic idea, (see above,) *viz.*, that the baptized and redeemed pneumatical nature entered into a spiritual marriage (a syzygy) with its other half in the world of spirits, the *angel* which makes one whole with it;—according to this idea they celebrated baptism as a marriage feast, and adorned the chamber where it was to take place as a marriage chamber. One of the formulæ used in the baptism of a Pneumaticus, was this: [You are baptized] “Into the name which is hidden from all the Divinities and Powers (of the Demiurgos,) the name of Truth,* which Jesus of Nazareth hath drawn up into the Light-Zones of Christ, the living Christ through the Holy Spirit, for the angelic redemption,†—that name through which all attains its perfection.” The baptized person then said, “I am *confirmed* and redeemed;‡ I am redeemed in my soul from this world, and from all which proceeds from it, through the name of Jehovah, who has redeemed the soul of Jesus,§ through the living Christ.” Then the assembled throng spoke thus: “Peace (or health) to all, over whom this name rests.” Then also they imparted to the baptized the consecration to the Christian priesthood, which was used also in the Church, by means of anointing; but in this case it was performed with costly

ointment (balsam,) for the widely extending perfume of this was to be a symbol of the overpowering delight of the *Pleroma*, which the redeemed were destined to enjoy. Among these *Marcosians* we find, at first, the use of extreme unction; they anointed the dying man with that ointment mixed with water, and used with it formulæ, to the purport that the souls of the departed must be able to raise themselves up free from the Demiurgos and all his powers, to their mother, the *Sophia*.* The Ophites, also, had these same forms of adjuration for the departed. And that mystical table of the same sect, which contains a symbolical representation of their system (their *διαγραμμα*), is well known.

As Marcion in his whole character and spirit was essentially different from the rest of the Gnostics, so also did he differ from them in respect to his principles about the ordinances of worship. By his simple and practical turn of mind, he was far removed from that mysticism that delighted in outward pomp; but then he was far removed, also, from that proud contemplative idealism. His endeavour was here also to bring back the original Christian simplicity of the service of God; and he combated many new ordinances, as corruptions of that original simplicity.† And thus, with respect to the practice which was then about in its commencement, of dividing divine service into two parts,‡ the one, which the Catechumens were to stay out, and the other, at the commencement of which they were to be dismissed, he appears to have contended against it, as an innovation foreign to the spirit of Christianity. He said, Just as in any other good thing, let the mature Christians suffer those who are yet under instruction, such as the Cate-

* Iren. I. 21. Exorcism in Baptism also, was well suited to the Gnostic theory of the indwelling of manifold πνευματα ὕληα [spirits of a gross and sensuous nature, derived from their connection with matter.—H. J. R.,] till the redemption [of the individual.] *Exorcism* (ὁσας ἐξερκεζόμενον) makes its appearance at first, even earlier than in the North African Church, (see above,) in the Diadaseal. Anatol. p. 800, col. iv. D. But here it may be quoted as being a custom of the Alexandrian Church in general, and not as a custom peculiarly Gnostic.

† Apparently, Tertullian had the *Marcionites* especially in his view, when he says of the heretics, Præscript. c. 41, “*Simplicitatem* volunt esse prostrationem disciplinæ, cujus penes nos curam *lenocinium* vocant.”

‡ Afterwards called the *Missa Catechumenorum*, and the *Missa Fidelium*

* The *ἀλυσμα*, the self-revelation of the Bythos.

† Εἰς λυτρεσθαι ἀγγελοῦ. For the redemption of that, of which this spiritual nature, as well as the angel which belonged to it, must become a partaker, in order that both together might become capable of entering into the Pleroma, which was only possible to them in their mutual union, and not in their state of separation.

‡ Ἐσθηθῆμαι καὶ λυτρωθῆμαι. See above, about *Horus*.

§ I think, that in that formula we must read *τοῦ Ἰησοῦ*, instead of *αὐτοῦ*.

chumens, to take part in prayer also: they must not reserve any thing from them on this account; nor exclude them on it from participation in the prayers of the Church.*

We must, however, limit the praise which has been bestowed upon Marcion, if he was really the original author of the superstitious custom, founded on a misunderstanding of the passage in Scripture, 1 Cor. xv. 29, namely the custom of bestowing baptism on a living person, which was to be availing to a Catechumen who had died without baptism; but it is altogether without foundation, that the introduction of such a mistaken baptism has been laid to the charge of Marcion, to whose simple evangelical spirit such superstition was entirely unsuited. If such a superstition prevailed afterwards among the Marcionites, who had spread themselves among the country people of Syria, in the fifth century, we can only say that it is not fair to charge the founder of the sect with that which is found among men, who are certainly very unlike him.†

II. *Manes‡ and the Manichees.*

THE power of the simple Gospel had by degrees triumphed over Gnosticism, although the remains of Gnostic sects maintained themselves in the East down to later centuries. Gnosticism had produced the effects it was calculated to produce;

* Marcion, according to Jerome, Comment. in Ep. ad Galat., appealed to Galat. vi. 6, while with a thorough disregard of the context in that passage, he understands *καταναλω* in an intransitive sense, and translates the verse: "Let the Catechumen partake of all that is good, together with his instructor." Hence, the notion of the Gnostics was also present to the mind of Tertullian, when he reproached the heretics, l. c. in this manner: "Imprimis quis catechumenus, quis fidelis incertum est. Pariter adeunt (ecclesiam,) pariter audiunt, pariter orant."

† Tertullian, De Resurr. Carnis, c. 48, & Adv. Marcion. lib. v. c. 10, by no means speaks as if, in his time, such a baptism, which violates the passage on which it is founded, had been actually in use in any place; only he supposes the possibility that such a custom may have existed in the time of the apostle, who may have alluded to that; and in the latter passage he considers another explanation of 1 Cor. xv. 29, to be more probable. But what Chrysostom remarks upon this passage can only be applied to many ignorant Marcionites of his time, and not, by any means, to Marcion himself, and the older Gnostics.

‡ [Neander constantly uses the name Mani, but as I believe Manes is the form usually adopted in English, I have changed it.—H. J. R.]

it had, by the struggle that took place, awakened the powers of the soul, and by the contrast it offered, it had brought the meaning of the chief doctrines of Christianity into a clearer consciousness and acknowledgment.* But in the third century a new and remarkable phenomenon, thoroughly akin to Gnosticism, arose out of the intermixture of oriental theosophy with Christianity, namely, Manicheism. No essential difference is to be found between this system and those of the Gnostics, especially of the second class, except that here the Christian element was far more crushed by the intermixture of strange materials than in most of the Gnostic systems, and Christianity was properly used only as a symbolical covering for ideas foreign to it, so that one might often throw away the Christian terms which are used, and find notions, which, in their application here, appear to resemble a mixture of Parsic, Brahminical, and Buddhist religious doctrines, more than Christianity. And further, the oriental element is not at all mixed, as it is in the Gnostic systems, with Jewish theology and Platonic philosophy. The comparison of the Manichean system with the Basilidian, the Saturninian, and the Ophitic, and with the religious system of the Zabians, hardly allows us to escape recognising one common source for all.

As far as relates to the history of Manes, the founder of this sect, we have two kinds of sources of information, which coincide with each other only in a very few circumstances, and in all besides are entirely different; these are the *Greek* and the *Oriental* sources. The accounts of Cyril of Jerusalem, of Epiphanius, and of the ecclesiastical historians of the fourth and fifth centuries, point our attention to one common source.† This source is the Acts of a disputation said to have been held with Manes by Archelaus, bishop of Cascar.‡ But these Acts are preserved to us in at least a very unsatisfactory form, as they have descended to us, with the exception of some frag-

* See Section v. on the development of the Church doctrine.

† Eusebius, who wrote before this document was promulgated, was unable to relate any thing of the personal history of Manes.

‡ Kaskar; if the name be not a corruption. It may, perhaps, (although on the evidence of a very uncertain conjecture,) be a corruption for Charran in Mesopotamia (ܫܪܪܐ).

ments in Greek, only in the Latin translation from a Greek writing, which perhaps, itself is only an unfaithful translation, from a Syriac original.* These Acts plainly contain a narration, which hangs together ill enough, and bears a tolerably fabulous appearance. Even supposing there is some truth as a foundation for these Acts, which may well be as there is much in the mode of bringing forward the doctrines which bears marks of truth, and is confirmed by a comparison with other representations, yet still the Greek writer appears to have mixed with it much that is false, from ignorance of oriental languages and customs, by intermingling and confusion of different narrations, and by exaggeration and a deficiency in critical qualifications.† We are well aware how difficult it was to a Greek to place himself in the condition of a people totally foreign to his own nation, and to conceive it altogether justly.

In some points, even from the scanty means which we have for the unravelling of this historical enigma, we are enabled to detect traces of the mistakes which have formed the foundation of these accounts. The first origin of the Manichean doctrines is derived from a Saracenic merchant, called Scythianus, who is represented, during long travels in Asia, Egypt, and Greece, to have acquired great riches, and procured himself an intimate acquaintance both with Oriental and Grecian philosophy. This Scythianus is represented to have lived near the apostolic age; but this, even according to this narrative itself, appears to be an anachronism, for Manes himself is not made to live till some generations after that age. Still, in this Scythianus we recognise an historical personage really connected

with Manes; we find letters of Manes addressed to a man of this name, who was also probably an oriental Theosophist.* The heir and disciple of this Scythianus appears to have been one Terebinth, who was afterwards called Buddas. The name Buddas† reminds us of the old system of religion, opposed to Brahminism, which took its origin from Eastern India, which is still prevalent in Ceylon, Thibet and the Birman Empire, and has extended its influence even to the tribes of Tartary. The relation of the miraculous birth of Buddas reminds us of the similar accounts given of the birth of the Indian Buddha. The pantheistic portion of Manicheism may be compared, in many respects, with the pantheistic parts of the old Buddhism. Manes is represented, in fact, to have travelled to the East Indies and China, and many of the later Manichees appeal to the circumstance that Manes, Buddhas, Zoroaster, Christ, and the Sun (the higher spirit which animated the Sun,) are the same; that is to say, all these founders of a religion are only different Incarnations of the Sun,‡ and therefore, there is, in these different systems, only one religion under different forms.

In the Oriental accounts there is far more internal connection; but these are found in writers very much later than the Greek documents. The Orientals have, however, without doubt, made use of earlier documents, and in their use of them they were not exposed to the same causes of error, as those which led the Greeks astray.§

* See Fabricii Biblioth. Græc. vol. vii. 316.

† It has been justly remarked, that the Greek *Τερεβινθος*, is perhaps, only a translation of the Chaldee *בֹּטְמָא* by which the Hebrew *אֵלֶּה*

is rendered in the Targum, and which the Alexandrian translators render by *Τερεβινθος*. And besides, Terebinth, or Buddas, like Scythianus, may have been an historical person, to whom much that belongs to the Indian Buddha may have been transferred.

‡ The later offshoots of the Manichees, when they entered into the Catholic Church, were obliged to condemn the doctrines before maintained by them: *την Ζηρηθην και Βουδαν και τον Χριστον και τον Μανιχαειν εν και τον αδελφον ενον.* See Jacob. Tollii *Insignia Italie*. Traject. 1696. p. 134.

§ The Oriental accounts are to be found in Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, sub v. Mani; in the History of the Sassanidæ, by the Persian historian, Mirkhond, ap. Silvestre de Sacy, *Mémoires sur diverses Antiquités de la Perse*: Paris, 1793; in Abulpharage, and Pocock, *Specimen Histor. Arab.*

* Jerome, *De Vir. Illustr.* 72, informs us that these Acts were originally written in Syriac; but among the Orientals, the first Father to whom these Acts were known is Severus, bishop of Asmonina, in Egypt, who wrote about the year A. D. 978. See Renaudot, *Hist. Patriarch. Alexandr.* p. 40. His relation of the matter differs in many respects from the edition of these Acts which has descended to us, and it is far simpler, which seems to indicate that the Acts of which he made use, were not ours, but another document akin to it, and that, perhaps, which furnished the foundation of ours. Heraclian, bishop of Chalcedon, in Photius cod. 95, says that a person named Hegemonius drew up these Greek Acts.

† Beausobre has properly discarded the Western accounts, which he was well persuaded were untenable, and confined himself wholly to the Oriental. There is nothing striking in what Mosheim has advanced against him in this matter.

In order properly to appreciate the phenomenon presented by the appearance of a man like Manes, we must compare together the circumstances and the relations under which he was formed. Manes was born a Persian, but we are led to inquire whether this geographical term is to be used in its strictest limits, or whether we are only to understand by it some one province of the great Persian empire. The latter view is supported by the circumstance that Manes composed his *writings* in the Syriac language, from which we might be led to conclude that he derived his origin from one of those provinces of the Persian empire, where Syriac was the language of the country. But this argument is not entirely demonstrative; for without this supposition it may well be conceived, from the intimate connection between the Persian Christians and the Syrian Church, the Syrian language might already by that time have become the language of theological books among the Persian religious teachers, and that Manes also might, in consequence, have been induced to make use of it, although it was not his mother tongue, more especially as he might thereby hope to further a more general reception of his doctrines in other districts. If these accounts, indeed, are to be relied on, Manes was born in a family of the class of Magi, (the priests of the Persian religion,) was converted to Christianity in the days of manhood, and became the presbyter of a Christian congregation at Ehvaz, or Ahvaz, the chief town of the Persian province Huzitis. At all events, it is most probable that Manes was brought up in the religion of Zoroaster, and afterwards embraced Christianity.

We do not know enough of the progress of his life to be able to decide whether he was at first fairly and thoroughly converted from the religion of his fathers to Christianity, but that afterwards being repulsed by the form in which the latter appeared to him in the doctrines of the Church, he freshened up the fundamental ideas of his earlier religious habits of thought again in his soul, and then believed that the true light could not be given to Christianity till it was united with them; . . . or whether from the very first he had been attracted by the analogy of Christianity to many Persian notions, without remarking the essential difference between similar ideas in Christianity and in the Persian religion according to their peculiar con-

ception and connection in each, so that from the very first he had only formed a peculiar religious system for himself by an amalgamation of the Persian and the Christian. It is easy to explain, in any case, how a man brought up in the Persian religion believed that he could observe a striking connection between the ideas of a kingdom of Ormuzd and Ahriman, and those of a kingdom of Light and Darkness, of God and Satan; between the Persian doctrine which allows man to struggle for the kingdom of Ormuzd against the kingdom of Ahriman, and the Christian doctrine, which would make man struggle in the service of Christ against the kingdom of Satan. In the Persian religion, the centre point of all was the idea of redemption out of the kingdom of Ahriman, and the final triumph of the kingdom of Ormuzd. In Christianity he found the tidings of a triumphant appearance of Ormuzd himself upon the earth, through which the complete triumph of the kingdom of Light, and the complete destruction of the kingdom of Darkness were prepared.

Exactly at the time in which Manes appeared, after the Persians had freed themselves from the Parthian dominion, and re-established their old kingdom under the dynasty of the Sassanidæ, the endeavour was again awakened among them to purify the old religion of Zoroaster from the foreign admixtures which had made their way into it during a foreign rule, and to restore it again to its original purity and glory. But contests had now arisen as to what the pure doctrine of Zoroaster was, especially on those points on which the Zend books contained only hints, (e. g. on the relation of the good and the evil principle to each other.) Councils were held, in order to decide the disputes, at which pretended prophets appeared, who professed to decide every thing according to Divine illumination.* The religion of Zoroaster, thus refreshed with new power, and setting itself up in hostility to all foreign religions, which had hitherto been tolerated, now also entered on a contest with Christianity, which under the Parthian domination had been able to propagate itself without obstruction. Under such circumstances, it was easy for a man of an ardent and bold spirit, like Manes, to

* See Hyde, *Hist. Relig. vet. Pers.* p. 276; *Mémoires sur diverses Antiquités de la Perse*, par S. de Sacy, p. 42.

indulge the thought of establishing the identity of Christianity, purified, as he would think, from all extraneous matter, with the pure doctrine of Zoroaster, and by this means to be the first to make clear the proper meaning of the Christian doctrine, and at the same time to further the extension of Christianity in the Persian empire; he wished to be looked upon as the Reformer, both of Christianity and Parsism, called and enlightened by God. Christianity appeared to Manes to be far more akin to the doctrine of Zoroaster than to Judaism. He derived the adulteration of the doctrine of Christ from the mixture of Christianity with Judaism, which was entirely foreign to its nature. He was shut out from the communion of the Christian Church, and turned himself now to Christians and believers in the religion of Zoroaster, with the desire that they should recognise him as an inspired (*lit.* enlightened,) reformer of religion. He maintained, like Mahomet in later times, that he was the Paraclete* promised by Christ, and under this name he by no means understood the Holy Ghost, but a human person; an inspired teacher promised by Christ, who should carry on further the religion revealed by Christ in his Spirit (i. e. the Spirit of Christ,) should purify it from the mixture made in it by Ahriman, especially from those corruptions which proceeded from its amalgamation with Judaism, and should make known those truths which mankind in earlier times had not been in a condition to understand. Through him Christianity was to be set free from all connection with Judaism which had proceeded from Ahriman; and that which the evil spirit, in order to adulterate Divine truth, had intermingled with the New Testament, which by no means contained the uncorrupted doctrine of Christ, was to be separated from it. Through him that *perfect* knowledge was to be given, of which St. Paul had spoken as of something reserved against a future season, (1 Cor. xiii. 10.)† Thus Manes might name the promised Paraclete and the apostle of Christ at the same time, as he began the letter in which he wished to develop the fundamental doctrines of his religion (the *Epistola Fundamenti*, so

celebrated among the Manichees), with these words:—Manes, chosen to be an apostle of Jesus Christ, through the choice of God the Father. These are the words of salvation out of the living and eternal source.*

It was in the latter part of the reign of the Persian king Shapur I. (Sapores,) about the year 270, that he first came forward with these pretensions. With an ardent and profound spirit, and with a lively imagination, he united varied knowledge and talents for the pursuits of art and science, which he used for the propagation of his doctrines. He is represented as having been distinguished among his contemporaries and countrymen as a mathematician and astronomer;‡ the same of his skill in painting was long remembered in Persia. At first he succeeded in obtaining the favour of that prince; but when his doctrines which, in the opinion of the magi, were heretical, became known, he was obliged to seek safety from persecution, by flight. He now made long journeys to the East Indies, as far as China, and probably used these journeys towards the enriching of his religious eclecticism. He remained for a time in the province of Turkistan, and prepared there a series of beautiful pictures, which contained a symbolical representation of his doctrine,—the book which was named by the Persians *Ertenki-Mani*. It may, probably, have happened that he withdrew into solitude in order to receive the revelations of God, as he declared that he devised these images (which represented his conceptions) amidst calm reflection in a cavern, and maintained that he received them in his mind§ from heaven. Whether it be true, as the Orientals relate, that in order to deceive the credulous populace, he gave out that he raised himself in the body up to heaven, and thence brought down those emblems with him,§ we must

* Augustin. c. *Epistol. Fundamenti*, c. 5.

† It must, however, be acknowledged that they possessed no great knowledge in these subjects. It is in the highest degree probable that much in his system, even if we cast away the mythical dress in which it is enveloped, was closely connected with an imperfect knowledge of these sciences.

‡ [In seinem Sinne . . This may be explained, as meaning impressions on the sensorium. I have used the word *mind*, taken in a lax sense.—H. J. R.]

§ He must secretly have caused himself to be supplied with provisions in the cavern, where he remained, according to some, *four* years, according to others, *one* year.

* See Mirkhond ap. Sacy, p. 294. Tit. Bost. c. Manich. lib. iii. in Canisii *Lectio. antiq.* ed. Basnage, and Bibl. Patr. Galiand, t. v. p. 326.

† See the *Acta cum Felice Manichæo*, lib. i. 9. opp. Augustin. t. viii.

at least leave undecided. After the death of Sapor, in the year 272, he returned to Persia, and found a good reception for himself and his pictures at the hands of his successor, Hormuz (Hormisdas.) This prince assigned him as a secure residence, a castle called Deskereth, at Khuzistan, in Susiana. But after this prince had reigned two years not quite complete, Behram succeeded him (Baranes.) This prince showed himself favourable to him at first, but perhaps, only out of dissimulation, in order to give him and his adherents a feeling of security. He caused a disputation to be held between him and the magi, of which the result was that Manes was declared a heretic. As he would not retract, he was* flayed alive in the year 277,† and his skin stuffed and hung up before the gates of the town Djondischapur, in order to intimidate his followers.

The main point of dispute among the Persian theologians which was treated of at the restoration of the original religion by the founders of the dynasty of the Sassanidæ, was one which is most obscurely expressed in the documents of the Zoroastrian creed, (the Zend-avesta,) namely, the inquiry, whether we are to believe in an absolute Dualism, and consider Ormuzd and Ahriman as two self-existing beings from all eternity opposed to each other, or whether one original being is to be supposed,‡ from whom Ormuzd and Ahriman received their existence, and that Ahriman is an originally-good being, but a fallen one. The former doctrine was that of the Magusaic sect,§ among the Persians, which Manes joined; for it was his object to represent the opposition of light and darkness as absolute and irreconcilable, although either consciously or unconsciously, a pantheism, which was enveloped in a mystical dress, might be at the bottom of this Dualism, in which the idea of evil was conceived more in a physical than in an ethical light.|| He imagined, therefore, two principles absolutely opposed to each other, together with their creations of an opposite character also: on the one hand, God, the

original good, from whom nothing but good can proceed, from whom every idea of destroying, of punishing, and of corruption is far removed, the original Light, from which pure light flows; . . . on the other hand, the original evil, which can only destroy and undo, and whose very being is wild confusion that fights against itself,—matter, darkness, from which powers strictly corresponding to itself proceed, a world full of smoke and vapour, and at the same time full of fire, which only burns and cannot give light.* These two kingdoms originally existed entirely separate from each other. The Supreme God, the King of the kingdom of Light, existed as the original source of the world of emanations akin to himself, and those Æons, the channels through which light was propagated from the original source of light, were most closely connected with him; and to these, as representatives of the Supreme God, his very name was transferred, which were thence called Divinities, without prejudice to the honour due only to the first of Beings.† In the epistle in which Manes brought forward the fundamental doctrines of his religion,‡ he thus portrays this Supreme God at the head of his kingdom of Light:§

“Over the kingdom of Light ruled God the Father, eternal in his holy nature, (*geschlechter*, lit. *generation*, or *race*, or *kind*, *species*, *genus*,) glorious in his power, the TRUE, by the very nature of his being, always holy in his own eternal existence, who carries within himself wisdom and the consciousness of his life, with which he comprehends the twelve members of his Light, that is to say, the overflowing riches of his own kingdom. In every one of these members there are hidden thousands of innumerable and immeasurable treasures. But the Father himself, who is splendid in his glory and incomprehensible in his greatness, has connected with him holy and glorious Æons, whose number and greatness cannot be reckoned, with whom this holy

* A cruel mode of putting criminals to death, common in the East.

† The chronology is, it must be confessed, very uncertain here.

‡ Zervan Akarene, the time that has neither beginning nor end, answering to the αἰών Βούδος.

§ Schahristan. ap. Hyde, p. 205.

|| See p. 238, the Introduction to the History of the Gnostic Sects.

* The emblems under which Manes represented the kingdom of evil bear the most striking resemblance to those which we meet with in the religious system of the Sabians. It was said, and not badly, by Alexander of Lycopolis, in his treatise, πρὸς τὰς Μανιχαίου δόξας, c. ii., that Manes, under the word ὕλη, understood τὴν ἐν ἑκάστῳ τῶν ὕψων ὁρατὴν κίνησιν.

† As the Amshaspands Ized, of the Religion of the Parsees.

‡ The Epistola Fundamenti.

§ Augustin, contra Epist. Fundamenti, c. 13.

all-glorious Father lives, for in his lofty kingdom none dwells subject either to want or to weakness. His resplendent kingdoms, however, are founded on the blessed earth of light in such a manner, that they can neither be rendered weak, nor shaken at all.* The powers of darkness fell together in wild confusion, until in their blind career of strife they came so close to the kingdom of light, that at length a gleam out of this kingdom, which had hitherto been entirely unknown to them, streamed upon them. They now left off their contention against one another, and, involuntarily attracted by the shining of the Light, they united together to force their way into the kingdom of Light, and to appropriate to themselves some portion of this light.† It appears here somewhat inconsistent in Manes, who ascribes an imperturbable firmness to the kingdom of Light, to say, "But when the Father of the most blessed Light saw a great devastation arise from the darkness, and threaten his holy Æons, had he not sent a special Divine power‡ to conquer and annihilate the race of darkness at once, in order that after its annihilation peace might be the portion of the dwellers in the light."§ Simplicius and Euodius have reproached him here with a contradiction to himself; but this accusation relates rather to the *mythical* or *symbolical mode of representation*, than to the train of thought which it envelops. The fundamental notion of Manes, as of the Gnostics, was this, that the blind power of nature which opposed the Divine Being, being tamed and conquered by mixture with it, would be rendered utterly powerless.

* This earth of light Manes did not conceive as any thing distinct from the original Supreme Being, but all was only a different modification of the one Divine Being of Light.

† We recognise the idea which is the foundation of this, namely, that Evil is at enmity with itself, and unites only when it engages in a contest with Good, which is the attractive power with which Good acts upon Evil itself; a thing which certainly is a contradiction to the Dualistic dogma of an Absolute Evil.

‡ Aliquod nimium ac præclarum et virtute potens numen. In the system of Zoroaster also the Amshaspands is represented as an armed champion for the kingdom of light.

§ The *Epistola Fundamenti* in the Book *de fide contra Manichæos*, c. 11, which, perhaps, proceeded from the pen of Euodius, bishop of Uzala, in Numidia. (This is to be found in the Appendix to the viiiith tome of the Benedictine edition of Augustine.)

The King of the kingdom of Light caused the Æon, *the Mother of Life*,* to emanate from him to protect its borders. The very name of this Genius shows that it represents "*the supreme soul of the world*," that the Divine light giving up the unity of the kingdom of light, was now to divide itself into a multitude, and develope itself in the struggle against the ungodly into separate beings, each with a peculiar existence. The *Mother of Light*, like the *ἀνω σοφία* of the Valentinian system, may not have been affected as yet by the kingdom of darkness . . . and herein would also lie the difference between the higher soul of the world, belonging to the kingdom of light, and a *reflection* of it, which had mingled itself with the kingdom of darkness.† This *Mother of Light* produced the First-man (original-man,) in order to set him in opposition to the kingdom of darkness . . . and here is the idea of the dignity of human nature, which we observed among the Gnostics.‡ The *First man* sets out upon the contest with the five pure elements, fire, light, air, water, and earth.§ We here also recognise the character of Parsism, the veneration of an originally pure nature, which was troubled only by being intermixed with Ahriman; and according to the Parsic doctrines, a life streaming forth from the kingdom of light is acknowledged among the original elements, and they are called forth through its fruitful and enlivening power, as fellow-champions against the destroying influence of Ahriman.

But that *First Man* was conquered in the contest, and became in danger of falling into the kingdom of Ahriman; he prays to the King of the kingdom of

* *μητὴρ τῆς ζωῆς.*

† Simplicius in Epictet. p. 187. ed. Salmas. gives an excellent portraiture of the Manichæan doctrine in this respect; οὐτε το πρῶτον ἀρχὸν κακισθῆναι λεγούσιν, οὐτε τὰ ἄλλα ἀρχὰ τὰ προσίχας αὐτὰ συνόντα, τὴν μητέρα τῆς ζωῆς, καὶ τὸν δημιουργόν (the *ζῶν πνεῦμα*) καὶ τοὺς ἐκὼ αἰῶνας.

‡ The *πρῶτος ἀνθρώπος* of Manes is to be compared with the *πρῶν ἀνθρώπος* of the Valentinians, the Adam Kadmon, and especially the Cajomorts of the Zend-avesta, about whom there are many points of resemblance. It is most highly probable that Manes received this Parsic idea into his system.

§ According to the notion of Manes, every thing which exists in the kingdom of Light has its counterpart in the kingdom of Darkness. The dark earth stands opposed to the *earth of light*, and the five elements of darkness are opposed to the five pure elements.

Light, who causes the *Living Spirit* to emanate in order to assist him.* This lifts him up again into the kingdom of Light; but the powers of darkness had already succeeded in destroying a portion of the armour of the First Man, and swallowing up a portion of his existence as a being of light; and thus we arrive at the notion of the *Soul of the World* mixed with matter.† Here we find also an affinity with the Gnostic notions, according to which the *κατω σοφία* was saved out of the kingdom of Hyle by means of the Soter sent to her assistance; but still it was, nevertheless, a seed of the Divine Life, fallen down into the matter, which (i. e. the seed,) must be purified and developed.‡ This must necessarily happen; through the magical power of the Divine Life, of the Light of the Soul, the wild stormy kingdom of darkness is to become involuntarily softened, and at last rendered powerless. The taming of that stormy, blind power of Nature is just the very object of the formation of the world. Manes is said to have attempted to make his doctrine intelligible by the following parable: A good shepherd sees a lion fall upon his flock, he digs a pit, and throws a he-goat into it; the lion runs up eagerly in order to devour the goat; but he falls into the pit and cannot get out of it again. The shepherd, however, succeeds in drawing up the goat again, while he leaves the lion shut up in the pit, and thereby renders him harmless to his flock;§—just as the kingdom of Darkness becomes harmless, and the souls swallowed up by it are at last saved, and brought back again to their kindred habitation. But now after the *Living Spirit* had raised man again to the kingdom of Light, he began preparations for the process of purifying the soul that is intermingled with the kingdom of Darkness, and this is the cause of the whole creation of the world, and the object of all the whole course of the world.|| That portion of the soul which

had not been affected by connection with matter, or with the Being of Darkness, he raised up above the earth, so that it should have its place in the sun and in the moon, and thence should spread forth its influence, in order to free the souls which were akin to it, and which were held captive by the kingdom of Darkness, and spread abroad over all nature, through the purifying process of the development of the vegetative and animal life, and thus to attract them to itself again.

Manes also, in a manner similar to the Parsic conception of the universe, beheld the same struggle between Ormuzd and Ahriman, and the same process of purification in the physical as well as in the moral world. In contradiction to the spirit of Christianity, he mixed the physical with the religious and ethic, founded doctrines of belief and morals on speculative cosmogonies, and a natural philosophy, which being deduced more from inward conceptions than from experimental knowledge, must often have been unintelligible. Such a mixture was alike prejudicial to religion, which became flooded by a multitude of things wholly foreign to it and to knowledge, which thus is compelled to lose that soberness of understanding which is necessary to her.* Just as in the Parsic system of religion, in the struggle between Ormuzd and Ahriman in the physical and the spiritual world, the sun and the moon perform an important part in the conduct of the general system of development and purifica-

* How little Manicheism understood the interests of religion and the nature of Christianity; how little it understood the one thing needful for man, is shown by the remarkable words in which Felix, the Manichee, endeavoured to prove that Manes was the reformer of religion (the Paraclete,) promised by Christ. * "Et quia venit Manichæus et per suam predicationem docuit nos initium, medium et finem; docuit nos de fabrica mundi, quare facta est et unde facta est, et qui fecerunt; docuit nos quare dies et quare nox; docuit nos de cursu solis et lunæ; quia hoc in Paulo nec in cæterorum apostolorum Scripturis, hoc credimus, quia (dass, that) ipse est Paracletus." Augustin. Acta. c. Felice Manichæo, lib. i. c. 9. In Alexander of Lycopolis, in Egypt, the opponent of Manicheism in the beginning of the fourth century, we find the opposite error to this of a dilution of Christianity, which, mistaking its peculiar and essential features, refers it only to certain general religious and moral truths, torn away from that with which they are connected in Christianity. With him the chief matter of Christianity is the doctrine of an eternal God, as Creator, and good morality for the people. See the beginning of his treatise against the Manichees.

* The ζων πνευμα in the Gnostic Acta Thomæ, which contain much that resembles Manicheism.

† The ψυχή πάντων.

‡ Titus of Bostra, lib. i. c. Manich. c. 12, thus excellently portrays the Manichean doctrine: ὁ ἀρχὴς δινημὴν ἀποστέλλει τινα, φυλάξουσιν μὲν διὸν τοὺς ἔθους, τοὺς δ' ἀλλοὺς δεικνύειν ὅτι ἐκαστὸν τῆ ὕλης σαφροσύνην, ὅθεν τρεπὸν τινα ὥσπερ βυθίον.

§ Disputat. cum Archelao, c. 25. This parable bears altogether the stamp of genuineness, at least it is in the spirit of Manicheism.

|| Just as in the Valentinian scheme, the Soter operates after he has first raised the Sophia.

tion, so also was it in the system of Manes. Almost what the Zoroastrian system taught of Mithras as the Genius (Ized,) of the Sun, was attributed by Manes to his Christ, the pure soul, whose operations proceeded from out of the sun and the moon. As he derived this soul from the *original man*, he made this the explanation of the Bible-name, *the Son of Man*, (*υἱος ἀνθρώπου*), and as he distinguished the *pure, free* soul, whose throne is in the sun, from the soul which is akin to it, and extended throughout all nature, but defiled and imprisoned by its mixture with matter; he also made a distinction between a Son of Man elevated above all connection with matter, and subject to no suffering, and a Son of Man crucified, as it were, in matter, and subject to suffering.* Where the seed sown burst forth out of the dark bosom of the earth, and developed itself into plants, blossoms, and fruit, there Manes saw the victorious development of the principle of Light freeing itself by degrees from the fetters of matter; and he saw here that the living soul, as it were, which is kept bound in the limbs of the *Princes of Darkness*, being released from them, soars up aloft in freedom, and mingles in the *pure atmosphere*,† where the souls, which are perfectly purified, ascend the *Ships of Light* (of the sun and of the moon,) which are prepared to conduct them to their native place. But that which bears upon it multifarious stains is by degrees and in small quantities distilled from them‡ by the power of heat, and mingles itself with all trees, plants, and vegetables.

These were samples of his mystical philosophy of nature, which were brought forward sometimes in singular myths, which, although occasionally indecent, were nothing very remarkable to the imagination of Oriental people, and sometimes under the covering of Christian expressions. Thus the Manichees could speak of a suffering Son of Man who hangs on every tree, of a Christ crucified in every soul and in the whole world, and they could explain the symbols of the suffering Son of Man in the Last Sup-

per according to their own sense. Just as well, also, or rather with greater justice—for this intermixture of religion with the knowledge of nature was more heathen than Christian—the Manichees might use heathen myths as a covering for their ideas; and thus the boy, Dionysos, torn to pieces by the Titans, as celebrated in the Bacchic mysteries, is nothing but the soul swallowed up by the powers of darkness, the Divine life divided into pieces by matter.*

The Powers of Darkness were now threatened by the danger, that by means of the operation of the Spirit of the Sun upon the purifying process of Nature, all the Light and Life kept prisoners in their members would be by degrees withdrawn from them, namely, the soul which had been seized upon by them, which struggles after a release, and which is always attracted by the kindred spirit of the Sun, constantly frees itself more and more and flees away, so that at last the kingdom of

* See Alexand. Lycopol. c. 6. The following are a few peculiarly characteristic Manichean passages, as proofs of the exposé given above. In the Thesaurus of Manes the following passage occurs: "Viva anima, quæ earundem (adversarum potestatum) membris tenebatur, hac occasione lunata evadit, et suo purissimo aeri miscetur: ubi penitus ablutæ animæ adscendunt ad lucidas naves, quæ sibi ad evectonem atque ad suæ patriæ transfectionem sunt preparatæ. Id vero quod adhuc adversi generis maculas portat, per æstum atque calores particulatim descendit atque arboribus, cæterisque plantationibus ac satis omnibus miscetur." Euodius de Fide, c. 14. From the Letter of Manes to the maiden Menoch, we have this passage: "agnoscendo ex quo genere animarum emanaveris, quod est confusum omnibus corporibus, et saporibus et speciebus variis coheret." Augustin. opus imperfectum contra Julian, lib. iii. § 172. There is also a passage of Faustus, the Manichee, who lived in the first half of the fifth century, in which the Holy Ghost is represented as the enlivening and sanctifying power of God, working through the air towards the purifying process of Nature; and the doctrine of the birth of Christ from the Virgin (which the Manichees, being Docetæ, cannot agree to in its proper sense,) is represented as a symbol of the birth of that patibilis Jesus from the virgin bosom of the earth through the operation of the power of the Holy Ghost: "Spiritus sancti, qui est majestas tertia, aeris hunc omnem ambitum sedem fatemur ac diversorium, ejus ex viribus ac spiritali profusione terram quoque concipientem gignere patibilem Jesum, qui est vita ac salus hominum, omni suspensus ex ligno. Quapropter et nobis circa universam (i.e. all productions of Nature, considered as revelations of the same Divine principle of life, suffering under the imprisonment of matter, revelations of the same Jesus Patibilis,) et vobis similiter erga panem et calicem par religio est." August. c. Faust. c. xx.

* The *υἱος ἀνθρώπου ἐμπάντης* and the *υἱος ἀνθρώπου ὅλης*.

† The pure holy air, which is exactly in accordance with the Parsic Worship of Nature, and a common term in the Zend-avesta.

‡ [I have some doubt as to the construction of the original sentence. But I conceive the 'ihnen,' 'from them,' to refer to the purified souls,—that these stains are separated from them.—H. J. R.]

Darkness, robbed of all its stolen Light, should be wholly abandoned to its own inward hatefulness and to its death. What then was to be done? A Being was to be produced, into which the Soul of Nature, that struggles to free itself, should be driven and fast bound, in which all the scattered Light and Life of Nature, all which the Powers of Darkness kept imprisoned in their members, and which was constantly more and more enticed away from them by the power of the Sun, is concentrated; this is The Man, the image of the Original Man, and therefore, already destined through his form to rule over nature.* The matter stands thus. The Lofty Light-Form of the original Man (which was also apparently peculiar to the Son of Man dwelling in the Sun)† sends down light from the Sun into the kingdom of Darkness, or the Material World; the Powers of Darkness are seized with desire after the Light-Form, but with confusion also. Their Prince now speaks to them: "What think ye that great Light to be which rises up yonder? Behold! how it shakes the pole, how it strikes to earth many of our Powers! Therefore, is it fitting, that ye should rather bestow on me whatsoever ye have of Light in your powers; and then I will make an image of that Great One, which appears full of glory, through which we may rule, and may hereafter free ourselves from our abode in Darkness." Thus human nature is the image, in this dark world, of higher existence, through which the higher (every thing of a higher nature) may be attracted hither and held fast. After they had heard this, and had consulted together for a long time, they thought it best to fulfil his desire, *for they did not believe that this Light could long maintain itself among them*,‡ and therefore, they considered it best to offer it to their Prince, because they did not doubt that by this means they should obtain the predominance. The Powers of Darkness now paired themselves, and begat children, in whom their common natures and powers were again represented, and in whom every thing which they had of the essence of Light and Darkness in them reproduced itself. All these children of theirs the Prince of Darkness devours, and by this

means concentrates in himself all the Light-Existence which was spread abroad among the individual Powers of Darkness, and he produced Man, in whom all the powers of the kingdoms of Darkness and of Light, which had here intermingled with each other, assembled together. Hence Man is considered as a microcosm,—a reflection of the whole world of Light and of Darkness, a mirror of all the Powers of the Heaven and of the Earth.*

* Manes, Ep. Fundamenti; Augustin. de Natura Boni, c. 46. Construebantur et continebantur omnium imagines, cœlestium ac terrenarum virtutum: ut pleni videlicet orbis, id quod formabatur, similitudinem obtineret. We must not here suppress the fact, that in respect to the main matter of the formation of man a *somewhat different* construction of the Manichean system is possible; which Mosheim, with his peculiar acuteness, has thoroughly worked out, and for which certainly something of weight may be advanced. Unfortunately, the gaps which have been left in the extant fragments of Manes, which are the most secure foundation for any account of his system, are too great to allow us to decide the inquiry by his own words. We have followed that *mode of construction* by which man was supposed to be created later than the rest of Nature, in order to keep fast in Nature the soul whose tendency was to escape. The last quoted words of Manes appear to support this representation. So also does the Disputat. Archelai, § 7, as well as the words of Alexander of Lycopolis, about the form of man shedding down light from the sun. It would then be the same Spirit of the Sun, who, after the first separation of Light from Darkness, operating upon the purifying process of Nature, had put the Powers of Darkness (who feared to be thereby robbed of all their spiritual being which constantly escaped from them) into confusion, and which afterwards appeared in Christ as the Redeemer. To this the passage of Alexand. Lycop. appears to point, c. 4, *τον δὲ Χριστον εἶναι νουν, ὃν δὴ καὶ ἀφικόμενοι ποτε*, (then, when the Powers of Darkness endeavoured, by the formation of man, to retain the soul which threatened to escape from them, and thus to frustrate the work of the Spirit of the Sun,) *πλεστον τι της δυναμεως ταυτης, προς τον Θεον λευκωναι και δὴ το τελευταειν*, &c. The fragments also of a Manichee in the preface to the Third Division of Titus of Bostra, may be conveniently explained in the same manner.

But we might also, with Mosheim, set the formation of Man in the system of Manes *before the whole creation of the world*. The Powers of Darkness were disturbed at the appearance of the *ζων πνευμα*, which threatened to tear away from them all the souls they had seized upon. Hence they now united themselves in order to form Man, after the image of that original Man, whom they saw shining from afar (this was that *‘ille magnus qui gloriosus apparuit,’*) in order that they might through him enchant and hold fast the souls which the Living Spirit threatened to rob them of. It was, then, after the intention of the Living

* Compare the parallel doctrines of the Ophites.

† Alexand. Lycopolit. c. 4, *εἰκονα δὲ ἐν ἡλίου ἱερὰσθαι ταυτην, εἶναι ἐστὶ τοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἶδος*.

‡ This is the most important matter.

*That which is here described, is repeated constantly in the course of Nature, when at the birth of a man, the wild powers of Matter, the Powers of Darkness, pairing themselves together, produce a human Nature, in which they mingle together whatsoever they have both of the higher and of the lower Life, and in which they endeavour to fetter the Soul of Nature, which, while it struggles after freedom, is held prisoner by them.**

Also, according to the Manichean scheme, the Powers of Darkness are involuntarily subservient to a higher law, and by their machinations against the kingdom of Light, prepare destruction for themselves. The Light, (*lit.* Light Nature, or particles partaking of the essential attributes of Light) or the Soul, concentrated in man's nature, thereby only arrives the sooner at a consciousness of itself, and at the development of its own peculiar nature. As the common Soul of the World endeavours to subject to itself all existing Matter, i. e. the great Body of the World, so must this Soul, derived as it is from the same origin as that, govern this miniature material world. "The first soul," says Manes,† "which flowed forth from the God of Light, received this form of the body, in order that it might govern the body by its restraints, (*lit.* bridle.)" The soul of the First Man,‡ as standing nearer to the Original Source of the kingdom of Light,

Spirit, to free at once the imprisoned souls, had been frustrated by these machinations, that he for the first time thought of the creation of the world, in order to effect by degrees, what he had been prevented from accomplishing at once. The words of Alexander of Lycopolis, who, however, did not find himself quite at home in the train of thought belonging to the Manichean system, appear to support this view, when he accuses the Manichean system of inconsistency, (*Inconsequenz*;) c. 23, *ἐν ἡλίῳ δὲ τὴν εἰκόνα (τοῦ ἀνθρώπου) ἰαχασθαι λεγούσιν, ὅς ἔμελλε κατ' αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς τὴν ὕλην ὑστερον διακρίσεως*, for, according to these words, (if Alexander has understood Manes properly, or the Manichee whose works he read, has properly represented the doctrines of his master,) Manes must have imagined the separation of the soul unaffected by Matter, or of the Spirit of the Sun, to have taken place before the rest and after the formation of man.

* The words of Manes, l. c., are these, "sicuti etiam nunc fieri videmus, corporum formatricem naturam mali inde vires sumentem figurare." These words seem important as a hint, which indicates the symbolical meaning of the whole narration.

† In the letter quoted above.

‡ "Quasi de primæ factæ flore substantiæ," says Manes, l. c.

was, therefore, endued with pre-eminent powers. But yet, in consequence of its double descent, the Nature of the First Man consisted of two opposite parts; the one a soul akin to the kingdom of Light, already in possession of the fulness of its power, and the other a body akin to the kingdom of Darkness, together with a blind matter-born capability of desire, which it derived from the same kingdom.*

Under these circumstances, all depended, with the Powers of Darkness, on their being able to oppress the Light-Nature which had been superinduced on man, and to retain it in a condition of unconsciousness. They invited man to eat of all the trees of Paradise, that is, to enjoy all earthly desires, while they only wished to restrain him from eating of the tree of the knowledge of Good and Evil, that is, from attaining to a consciousness of the opposition between Light and Darkness, or between the Divine and the Ungodly in his own nature, and in the whole world.† But an angel of Light, or rather the Spirit of the Sun himself, persuaded man to transgress the commandment, that is, he led him to that consciousness which the Powers of Darkness wished to withhold from him, and thereby secured him the victory over them. This is the truth, which is the foundation of that narrative of Genesis, only we must change the persons engaged in the transaction, and instead of God we must put the *Prince of Darkness*, and instead of the *Serpent* we must put the *Spirit of the Sun*.‡

As now the kingdom of Light had triumphed over the Powers of Darkness, the latter made use of a new means, in order to take prisoner the Light-Nature, which had now attained to self-conscious-

* The *ψυχή ἀλογη*.

† See *Disputat. Archelai*, c. 10.

‡ This would be the explanation of the doctrine of Manes, if the representation given by the Manichee in Titus of Bostra, (at the end of the preface to Section III.,) be the original one; and it may be said that it suits the Manichean system extremely well, and dovetails in with the account given of it in the *Disputation of Archelaus*. It may, perhaps, surprise us, that Manes, who was brought up in the Parsic religion, should have made *the serpent*, which among the Parsees is the symbol of Ahriman, into the symbol of the Good Spirit; but according to the view given above this consideration forms no difficulty. As he saw in the religious documents of the Jews so many corruptions derived from the Spirit of Darkness, he saw his corruptions and falsifying influence exerted also in a wilful corruption of this narrative, by changing the places of those engaged in the transaction.

ness, and to detach it from its connection with its original Source. They seduced the First Man, by means of the Eva bestowed upon him as a companion, into giving himself up to fleshly desires, and thereby, becoming untrue to his nature as a Being of Light, to make himself the servant of a foreign domination.* The consequence which flowed thence was, that the Soul, which by its original power ought to raise itself into the kingdom of Light, divided itself by propagation, and became enclosed anew in material bodies, so that the Powers of Darkness could forever repeat what they had done at the production of the First Man.

Every man also has now the same destination as the first, namely, to rule by means of the power of the Spirit over matter. Every one consists of the same two parts, of which the nature of the first man consisted, and therefore, all depends upon this, that man remembering his origin, should know how to separate these two parts properly from each other. He who thinks that he has received his sensuous nature, (*sinnlichkeit*,) together with its appetites, from God,—he who does not know from the very first origin of human nature, that it (*viz.* this *sinnlichkeit*, or his corporeal and sensuous endowments,) proceeds from the kingdom of Darkness, will easily allow himself to be seduced into serving his senses, and thereby lose his higher Light-Nature, and become unfaithful to the kingdom of Light. Therefore, does Manes say in his Letter of Principles, (*Epistola Fundamenti*), “If it had been given to man to know clearly the whole condition of Adam’s and Eve’s origin, they would never have been subjected to decay and death.” And hence, also, he writes to the virgin Menoch† thus: “May our God himself enlighten thy soul, and reveal to thee thy righteousness, because thou art the fruit of a godly stem.‡ Thou also

hast become Light, by recognising what thou wast before, and from what race of Souls thou art sprung, which being intermingled with all bodies is connected with various forms; for as souls are engendered by souls, so is the form of the body composed of the nature of the body. That also, which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the spirit is spirit. But know that the spirit is the soul, soul of soul, flesh of flesh.”* He then appealed to the *custom of infant baptism, which was even then prevalent in the Parsic Church*, as a proof that Christians themselves, by their mode of proceeding, took for granted such an original defilement of man’s nature. “I inquire,” he says, in the Letter† we have quoted, “whether all evil is *actual* evil? Wherefore, then, does any one receive purification by means of water, before he has done any evil, as he cannot possibly have been obnoxious to evil *in his own person*? But inasmuch as he has been the subject of no evil, and yet must be purified, they point out *ipso facto*, a descent from an evil race; even they themselves, whose fancy will not allow them to understand what they say, nor what they assume.”

The particle of Light (*literally*, the Light-Nature,) which from its removal from the source of that concentrated Existence-of-Light (*literally*, Light-Being) in the person of Adam, from which all souls emanated, was constantly becoming more and more defiled through its continued connection with matter,—so that it now remained no longer in possession of the original power which it had, when it first flowed forth fresh from the original source of the kingdom of Light. The Law, however, presupposes the original power of the Light-Nature, to be still in existence, in order that it (the Law) may be put in practice. “The Law is holy,” says Manes, “but it is holy for *holy souls*, the commandment is upright and good, but for *upright and good souls*.”† He says in another passage, § “If we do good, it is not the work of the flesh, for the works of the flesh are manifest, (*Gal. v. 19*;) or if we do evil, then it is not the work of the soul, for the fruit of the Spirit is

* As we have no accounts of the arrangement of these events in the Manicheean system as to the time of their occurrence, we may also place their relations to each other in a different manner. It may be supposed that Adam first allowed himself to be seduced into sin, but afterwards being brought by the influence of the Sun-Spirit to a consciousness of the opposition between the flesh and the Spirit, and Light and Darkness, that he began a more holy life. See Augustin. *de Moribus Manichæorum*, lib. ii. 19.

† Augustin. *op. imperfect*, c. Julian, lib. iii. § 172.

‡ The Revelation consists in man’s being brought to a consciousness of his Light-Nature.

* According to the Light-Emanation System adopted by Manes, he could not make any difference between the Spirit of God and the spirit of man, between *spirit* and *soul*.

† Augustin. *op. c. Julian. imperfect*, lib. iii. § 187.

‡ L. c. c. Julian. iii. 186.

§ L. c. 177.

peace, joy. And the apostle exclaims, in the epistle to the Romans, "The good which I would, I do not, but the evil which I would not, that I do." Ye perceive, therefore, the voice of the contending soul, which defends its freedom against lust, for it was distressed, because Sin, that is, Satan, had worked all lust in it. The reverence for the Law discovers all its evil, because the Law blames all its practices, which the flesh admires and esteems; for all bitterness in the renunciation of lust is sweet for the soul, which is nourished thereby and thereby attains to strength. At last the Soul of him who withdraws himself from every gratification of lust, is awake, it becomes mature, and increases; but the gratification of lust is usually the means of loss to the soul.* And now, in order at last to free the souls which are akin to him from the power of Darkness, to animate them anew, to give them a perfect victory over it, and to attract them to himself, the same spirit of the Sun, who has hitherto conducted the whole process of purification for Nature and for the spiritual world (which two, according to the principles of Manes here laid down, make up only one whole) must reveal himself in human nature.†

But between Light and Darkness no communion is possible. "The Light shines in Darkness," said Manes, using the words of St. John, after *his own interpretation*, "but the Darkness cannot comprehend it." The Son of the Original Light, the Spirit of the Sun, could not ally himself with any material body; he could only envelope himself in a phantomic form, perceptible by the senses, in order that he might be perceived by man as a creature of sense. "While the Supreme Light," Manes writes,‡ "put himself on a footing with his own people as to his nature, he assumed a body among material bodies, although he himself is every thing, and only one whole nature." By an arbitrary mode of interpretation, he appealed for a proof of his Docetism, to the circumstance, that Christ once, (John

viii. 59,) when the Jews wished to stone him, escaped through the midst of them without their being able to lay hold on him, and also that Christ at his transfiguration appeared to his disciples in his true Light-Form* He assumed improperly the name Christ or Messias, in accommodating himself to the notions of the Jews.† The Prince of Darkness endeavoured to effect the crucifixion of Jesus, because he did not know him as the being elevated above all suffering; and this crucifixion was, of course, nothing but an apparent one. This appearance represented the crucifixion of the Soul overwhelmed with matter, which the Spirit of the Sun desired to elevate to himself. As the crucifixion of that soul which was spread over all matter only served to facilitate the annihilation of the Kingdom of Darkness, so also still more did that *apparent crucifixion of the Supreme Soul*. Therefore, Manes said, "The adversary, who hoped that he had crucified the Saviour, the Father of the righteous, was crucified himself; that *which happened*, and that which seemed to happen in this case, were two different things."‡ The Manichean view, which made the doctrine of Christ crucified merely symbolical, is clearly displayed in an apocryphal *writing about the travels of the apostles*.|| While John is in anxiety during the passion of Christ, the latter appears to him and tells him, that all this happens only for the lower multitude in Jerusalem.§ The human person of Christ now disappears, and instead of him there appears a cross of pure light, surrounded by various other forms, which, nevertheless, represented only *one form* and *one image*, (as a symbol of the various forms under which the *one Soul* appears.) From above the cross there proceeded a divine and cheering voice, which said to him, "The Cross of Light will, for your sake, be called, sometimes the Logos, sometimes Christ, some-

* See the Fragment from the Epistles of Manes, l. c.

† ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ προσήγορία ὄνομα ἐστὶ κατὰ χριστικὴν. l. c.

‡ From the Epistola Fundamenti, Euod. de fid. c. 28. τὴν δύναμιν τὴν θεϊκὴν ἐνθεμελιῶσαι ἐνσταυρωθῆαι τῇ ὕλῃ. Alex. Lycopolit. c. 4. Christus in omni mundo et omni anima crucifixus. Secundin. Ep. ad Augustin. The words of Faustus the Manichee are these: Augustin. c. Faustum, lib. xxxii. Crucis ejus mystica fixio, qua nostræ animæ passionis monstrantur vulnera.

|| περὶ τῆς ἀποστολῆς. Concil. Nic. II. actio v. ed. Mansi, t. xiii. p. 167.

§ τὸ κατὰ ὅλα.

* On the Incarnations of the Sun in the old Oriental religions, see Kreuzer's Symbolik, (New edition, 2d Part, 53, 207.) It was quite consistent, according to the Manichean System, for the Manichees to say, (ap. Alexander of Lycopolis, c. 24,) that Christ, as the *γῆς* was *τὰ ὅλα πάντα*. So also in the Acts of Thomas, p. 10, *κυριε, ὁ ἐν πατρὶ ὦν καὶ διερχόμενος διαπαντὸν καὶ ἐρχόμενος πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν σου καὶ διὰ τῆς πάντων ἡμετέρας φανερωμένος*.

† In the Letter to one Adas or Addas. Fabricii Biblioth. Græca, ed. nov. vol. vii. p. 316.

times the Door, sometimes the Way, sometimes Jesus, sometimes the Father, sometimes the Spirit, sometimes Life, sometimes the Truth, sometimes Faith, and sometimes Grace."

As Manes joined those among the Parsees who maintained an absolute dualism, he did not propose as the object of the whole course of the world a reconciliation between the good and the evil principle, which would not have suited his theory, but an entire separation of Light from Darkness, and an utter annihilation of the power of the latter. After matter had been deprived of all Light and Life, which did not belong to her, she was to be burnt up into a dead mass.* All souls might become partakers of redemption in virtue of their Light-Nature; but if they voluntarily gave themselves up to the service of evil or of Darkness, by way of punishment, after the general separation of the two kingdoms, they were to be driven into the dead mass of matter, and set to keep watch over it. Manes in his *Epistola Fundamenti* expressed himself thus on this point: those souls which have allowed themselves to be seduced from their original Light-Nature through love of the World, and have become enemies of the Holy Light, that is, which have armed themselves openly for the destruction of the Holy Element, which serve the fiery Spirit, and have oppressed by hostile persecution the Holy Church† and the elect to be found in it,‡ that is, the observers of the commandments of heaven—these souls will be detained far from the blessedness and the glory of the Holy Earth. And because they have suffered themselves to be conquered by evil, they will remain in company with this family of evil, so that that *Earth* of peace and those regions of immortality are closed against them. That will happen to them for this reason, that, because they gave themselves up to evil works, they became estranged from the Life and Freedom of the Holy Light. Thus, they cannot be received into that kingdom of peace, but are chained down into that terrible mass (of matter left to itself, or Darkness,) for which a guard is necessary. These Souls will thus remain entangled among those things, which they

have loved, for they did not separate themselves from them, while they had the opportunity.*

In regard to the Manicheean view of the *sources of knowledge* of religion, the revelations of the *Paraclete* or *Manes*, were the highest, the only *infallible* sources, by which all others must be judged. They set out from the principle that the doctrines of Manes include the absolute truths, which are evident to our reason; whatever does not accord with them, is contrary to reason, and false, wherever it may be found. But they now accepted also the writings of the New Testament in part; but, while they judged of them according to the paramount principle stated above, they allowed themselves a very arbitrary line of criticism in respect to their dogmatical and ethical use.† Partly, they maintained that the original documents of religion had been adulterated by various interpolations of the Prince of Darkness,‡ (the tares amidst the good wheat;) partly, Jesus and the apostles were supposed to accommodate themselves to the opinions prevalent among the Jews, in order, gradually, to render men capable of receiving truth in its purity; and partly, the apostles themselves were supposed on their first entrance upon the office of teachers, to have been under the influence of many Jewish errors. Thence they gathered that it was only by the instruction of the Paraclete, that men could learn to separate the true from the false in the New Testament. Faustus, the Manichee, thus brings forward the principles of Manicheism in this respect:§ "We only receive that part of the New Testament, which was spoken to the honour of the Son of Glory, either by himself or by the apostles, and even then, only that which was spoken when they were already *perfect* or *believers*. We will take no account of the rest, neither what was spoken by the apostles in simplicity and ignorance, while they were as yet unacquainted with the truth, nor of that which was attributed to them with evil intentions by their enemies, nor of that which was imprudently maintained by their writers,|| and

* Tit. Bostr. l. c. 30. Alex. Lycopol. c. 5.

† That is, the Manicheean sect.

‡ A persecution of the *Brahmins* of the Manichees, or the Electi, which was a special crime; all this was in full accordance with the oriental ideas of the priesthood.

* De Fide. c. 4.

† Titus of Bostra says this of them in the very beginning of his third book.

‡ See above, the similar principles used in the Clementine in regard to the Old Testament.

§ Ap. Augustin, lib. 32.

|| Namely the Evangelists, who were not apostles.

handed down to their successors. I think, however, that HE was born of a woman in sin, was circumcised as a Jew, that he sacrificed as an Heathen, that he was baptized in an inferior manner, and was carried about the wilderness by the Devil, and exposed to the most painful trials." The same Manichees who were content that their reason should be fettered by all the decisions of Manes as divine revelations, were zealous for the rights of reason, and wished to be looked upon as the *only reasonable* men, when they employed themselves in separating what is conformable to reason in the New Testament from that which contradicts it. Faustus, the Manichee, speaks to one, who believes without critical discrimination in *all* which is contained in the New Testament, "*Thou, that believest all blindly; thou, that dost banish reason, the gift of nature, out of mankind; thou, that makest it a scruple to thyself to judge between truth and falsehood! and thou, that art not less afraid to separate good from its contrary, than children are afraid of ghosts!*"*

The Manichees had a *composition of their religious society*, entirely peculiar to themselves, in which the character of Oriental Mysticism may be recognised. Manes separated himself wholly, as it follows from what is said above, from the greater number of the Gnostic founders of sects, as these latter wished to change nothing in the existing Christian Church, but only to introduce a secret doctrine of the πνευματικοί to run parallel with the Church belief of the ψυχικοί. Manes, on the contrary, wished to be looked upon as a Reformer of the whole Church, sent from God, and endued with divine authority; he wished to give a new form to the Church, which he thought entirely dislocated by the intermixture of Judaism and Christianity; † there was to be only *one true Christian Church*, which was to be moulded after the doctrines and principles of Manes. In this, only two orders were to exist, according to the distinction between an *exoteric* and an *esoteric* doctrine, which was a fundamental feature of the Oriental systems of religion. The *auditores* were to form the great mass of the exoterics; the writings of Manes were read to these, and the doctrines laid before them in their symbolical and mystical

clothing, but they received no explanation as to their interior and hidden meaning.* We can easily imagine how the expectation of the *auditores* was put to the stretch, when they heard these enigmatical and mysterious high-sounding things laid before them, and, as it often happens, hoped that they should find lofty wisdom in what was enigmatical and unintelligible! The *esoterics* were the *Electi*, or *Perfecti*,† the *Caste of Priests*,—the *Brahmins* of the Manichees.‡ They were to lead, in celibacy, a strictly ascetic and wholly contemplative life; they were to refrain from all strong liquors, and from all animal food; they were to be distinguished by a holy innocence, which injures no living creature, and a religious veneration for the Divine Life which is spread abroad throughout all nature; and, hence, they were not only neither to kill nor wound any animal, but not even to pull any vegetable, nor to pluck any fruit or flower. They were to be provided with all that was needful for their subsistence by the *auditores*, by whom they were to be honoured as beings of a superior kind. From this caste of priests the leaders of the whole religious society were chosen. As Manes wished to be looked upon as the Paraclete, promised by Christ, he chose twelve apostles also after the example of Christ. And this arrangement was to be constantly maintained, that twelve such persons, under the name of *Magistri*, should lead the whole sect. Above these twelve stood a thirteenth, who, as the head of the whole sect, represented Manes. Under these stood seventy-two bishops, who were to answer to the seventy or seventy-two disciples of Jesus, and then below these, presbyters and deacons, and lastly, roving missionaries of the faith.||

There is considerable obscurity about the question, what the Manichees held as to the *celebration of the sacraments*. This arises from the circumstance, that naturally enough, no authentic account could be known of that which took place in the assemblies of the *Electi*, which were held

* It certainly follows from this, that the writings of Manes must contain a certain interior meaning, understood only by the *electi*.

† τελειοί, according to Theodoret, an appellation which re-appeared again among the Gnostic Manichean sects of the middle ages.

‡ Faustus, as quoted by Augustine, calls them the "Sacerdotale Genus."

§ According to the well known *varia lectio*.

|| Augustin. de Hærea c. 46.

* Augustin. c. Faust. lib. xviii. and also lib. xi.

† Hence he called other Christians, not Christians, but Galileans. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. vol. vii. p. 316.

very secretly; and as the *auditores* might be supposed to answer to the catechumens, and the *Electi* to the *Fideles* of the general Church, it may at once be imagined that the sacrament could only be celebrated among the *Electi*. The belief, that we are justified, in consequence of the inference, which has been quoted, as made by Manes from the prevailing custom of infant baptism, in supposing that infant baptism prevailed among the Manichees, is unsound, as Mosheim has already shown; in that passage, Manes intended to controvert his adversaries out of their own conduct in respect to principles, which that conduct necessarily presupposed, without intending to convey any approbation of that conduct. And besides, the use of baptism might appear to the Manichees, according to their own theory of the pure and holy Elements, as a suitable ceremony for initiation into the interior of the sect, or for reception into the number of the *electi*. And yet it may also be thought that they were not favourable to this symbol, as being a Jewish one, which came from John the Baptist; perhaps, from the very beginning no other kind of initiation was practised among them, than that which we find afterwards among the offsets of the Manichees in the middle ages; and perhaps, the use of baptism had only proceeded in certain parts of the sect from an adherence to the prevailing custom of the Church.* The celebration

* From the words of Felix the Manichee, lib. i. c. 19, ut quid baptizati sumus? we cannot prove that the Manichees considered baptism as a necessary initiatory ceremony, for here also the Manichee is rather using an argumentum *ad hominem*, and he may have received baptism before his conversion to Manicheism. From the passages in the Commonitorium, quo modo sit agendum cum Manichæis (to be found in the Appendix to the 8th. vol. of the Benedictine edition of St Augustine,) where a distinction is made between those Manichees, who had been received, at their conversion to the Catholic Church among the *Catechumens*, and those who were received, as being already baptized, into the number of the *Pœnitentes*, it is also entirely impossible to draw the conclusion, that baptism was in use among the Manichees; and still less does it follow, because such a distinction is made between baptized and unbaptized among the *electi* themselves, who transgressed, that baptism was voluntarily received only by a certain part of the *electi*; for here also the author may be speaking only of such persons as had received baptism in the Catholic Church before their conversion to the Manicheean sect. The passage in Augustin. de Moribus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, c. 35, where he makes the Manichees offer it as a reproach to Catholic Christians, that even fideles et jam baptizati lived in marriage and

of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper might be perfectly well interpreted according to the mystical natural philosophy* of the Manichees. Augustine, as one of the *auditores* among the Manichees, had heard that the *electi* celebrated the Lord's Supper; but he knew nothing of the mode in which it was done.† It is only certain, that the *electi* could drink no wine, but whether they used water, like the Encratites, the so-called ἰδρωπαγισταί, or what other measures they took, we have no means of determining. The sign of recognition among the Manichees was the giving of the right hand to each other when they met, as a symbol of their common redemption from the kingdom of Darkness through the freeing power of the Spirit of the Sun; while that was repeated in them, which had taken place in their Heavenly Father the Original Man, when he was in danger of sinking down into the kingdom of Darkness, and was again lifted up through the right hand of the Living Spirit.‡

In regard to the festivals of the Manichees, we may observe that they celebrated Sunday, not as commemorating the resurrection of Christ, which did not suit their Docetism, but as the day consecrated to the Sun,|| who was in fact their Christ. In contradiction to the prevailing usage of the Church, they fasted on this day. The festivals in honour of Christ, of course, did not suit the Docetism of the Manichees. While, indeed, according to the account of Augustine, they sometimes celebrated the festival of Easter in accordance with the prevailing usage of the Church, yet the lukewarmness with which this celebration took place, may

in the various relations of family life, and possessed and administered earthly property, by no means proves that among the *electi* there was a class of persons, who, having voluntarily submitted to baptism, were the only persons who, through an inviolable engagement were bound to a strict ascetic life; for the *FIDELES* and the *BAPTIZATI*, two exactly equivalent expressions, here have a general correspondence with the *electi* of the Manichees. Mosheim's distinction, therefore, between baptized and unbaptized *electi*, however natural it may appear when abstractedly considered, seems altogether arbitrary.

* In accordance with the notion that the fruits of nature represented the Son of Man crucified in nature.

† Augustin. contra Fortunatum, lib. i, in the addendum.

‡ Disputat. Archelai, c. 7.

|| Besides many other passages, see Augustin. c. Faustum, lib. xviii. c. 5, "Vos in die, quem dicunt solis, solem colitis."

be explained from the circumstance that they could not be touched by any of those feelings, which gave so much holiness to this festival in the eyes of other Christians. On this account they celebrated the more solemnly the martyrdom of their founder, Manes, which took place in the month of March. It was called *Βημα*, (suggestus, Cathedra,) the festival of the Chair of the Teacher, the festival dedicated to the memory of the teacher illuminated by God. A teacher's chair gaily ornamented and enveloped in costly cloths, was placed in the room where their assemblies were held, and five steps, apparently as a symbol of the five pure Elements, led the way to this chair. All the Manichees testified their reverence for this chair, by falling down before it to the earth, after the Oriental fashion.*

As far as the *moral character* of the Manichean sect is concerned, since it is necessary on this point accurately to distinguish between the different periods in the history of a sect, we have too scanty notices of the *first adherents* to it, to allow us to pronounce any definite opinion on the point. Thus much only may be asserted, that Manes intended to maintain a severity of morals in his doctrine; but it must be acknowledged, that the mystical language in which it was conveyed, which was occasionally indecent, might introduce among uneducated and unrefined men the intermixture of a sensuous extravagance, likely to prove dangerous to purity of morals.

Almost immediately that the Manichees began to spread in the Roman empire, a violent *persecution broke out against them*. They were peculiarly obnoxious to the Roman government as a sect, which drew its origin from the Persian empire, then at war with the Roman, and which was connected with the religion of the Parsees.

The Emperor Diocletian (A. D. 296,) issued a law (which has been quoted, see p. 84,) against this sect, by which the leaders of it were condemned to be burnt, and their other associates, if they were of an ordinary rank of life, were to be beheaded and suffer a forfeiture of their estates.*

* In regard to the train of thought and the language, in which the edict is composed, it contains all the internal marks of genuineness. It is difficult to conjecture by whom and with what intention such an edict could have been invented *in this form*. A Christian, who might have been inclined to palm such an edict upon the world, in order to drive the emperors to a persecution of the Manichean sect, would not exactly have chosen Diocletian, and still less have attributed such language to him. Although the later Christians, in their notions of a dominant religion, transmitted traditionally to them through the Fathers, had much that was analogous to the thoughts of the Heathen, yet a Christian would never have expressed himself *altogether in this fashion*.

Why should not the Manichean sect *already* have been able *by that time* to extend itself towards Proconsular Africa; for the Gnostics had been preparing the way there, the Manichees certainly were *at an early period* spread abroad in these districts, and the chronological data relative to the first history of this sect are so uncertain? It is said in the law, "*si qui sane etiam honorati aut e juslibet dignitatis vel majoris personæ ad hanc sectam se transtulerunt,*" but it does not necessarily follow from this, that the emperor had any certain account of the propagation of this sect among the *first* classes, and it would not be surprising in the then attachment of persons of distinction, (who are always glad enough, besides, to have something that implies distinction in religion,) to Theurgical studies, and to endeavours after sublime determination relative to the World of Spirits, if a mysterious religion of this kind, with such lofty pretensions, found a ready acceptance with them. Besides the *argumentum e silentio*, in historical criticism, is very uncertain; if no particular circumstances conspire to give it greater weight, and the fact that the ancient Fathers of the Church did not quote a decree of Diocletian against the Manichees, easily admits of a satisfactory explanation. And yet this decree is quoted as early as Hilarius, who wrote a commentary on the epistles of St. Paul, in the comment on 2 Tim. iii. 7.

* Augustin. contra Epist. Fundamenti, c. 8, c. Faustum, lib. xviii. c. 5

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE

TO THE THIRD PART.*

I HERE publish the conclusion of the first volume of my History of the Church. I must at the same time acknowledge in some degree the justice of the remark made by excellent men, viz. that the representation of the Apostolic period ought properly to have preceded the whole of the work. There were, however, many reasons which were certainly more of a subjective than an objective character, which induced me still to delay the history of this period. At the same time, after I had once followed this plan, I found also, upon close consideration, that it might prove convenient to attach this representation [of the Apostolic period] as an appendage to the completion of the whole; and therefore, I have thought it best to complete this volume, according to the plan on which I had begun, and according to the decision I had previously announced, to reserve the representation of the Apostolic period for a separate treatise.† The more I believe myself to have come to this undertaking by an inward calling [durch einen innern Beruf,] the more full of importance the idea of it appears, as it forms itself out of the whole of my life and study, the more I acknowledge on that account how much the realization falls below the ideal conception, by so much the more welcome will it be to me, if other unprejudiced friends of truth, who are men of sound knowledge, will point out to me any deficiencies in it as a whole, or in its several parts; and certainly, as far as I can do it without prejudice to the fundamental views maintained throughout the whole work, I shall use such remarks, in order to bring the work in a future edition nearer to its proper object. And, in this feeling, I must first express at once my most hearty thanks to the excellent man, who, with an unprejudiced love of truth, with an earnestness of mind, and with profound knowledge, and in a friendly spirit, wrote a notice upon the work in the *Literatur-Zeitung* of Halle, for March, 1827, (p. 60—62.) As I do not agree in my doctrinal opinions with the critic, and as he has himself brought forward this difference in our dogmatical views, I must on that account the more prize and acknowledge with gratitude the calm love of justice, and the kind-hearted moderation of the writer; and I do this the more also, because it is so rare amidst the party passions of our present theological and ecclesiastical criticism, to find this spirit of genuine toleration, which, in the decision of one's own opinions, is ready to acknowledge the rights of another, and is mindful of the necessity *ἀλλήλων ἐν ἀγάπῃ*. And yet I might find fault with the author, for having accused me of an inclination to a pietistic character, if he had used the name pietism in as indistinct a manner, as is usual among certain parties at present, and as has been the case always in the application of those names, by which the predominant spirit of the times stamps the character of heresy on all which is opposed to its own views. But as the author expressly states

* This part contains Section V.

† This has since been published, and is now announced as in the course of translation by Mr. Hamilton.

what he understands by it, and as I really acknowledge as my dogmatical persuasion what he designates by this name, viz. "the view of Christianity, as healing the corruption implanted in human nature, and as destined to represent the Divine in the form of a servant, with which [view] the supra-naturalistic principle is connected, that it communicates a knowledge [Erkenntniss] which lies beyond the range of human nature." As, I say, I acknowledge this as my belief, I can find no fault with the reviewer, either on the ground of injustice or unfairness. Only I might contend with him about the use of the name pietism, according to a just development of its meaning both etymologically and historically; but this would not be the proper place for it. I will make, besides, only the following remark, that when we speak here of a knowledge lying beyond the reason of man, I mean thereby such a knowledge as is necessary for the curing of that corruption which lies in human nature, and not the revelation of a speculative dogmatical system; and yet my belief in regard to this, [viz. the revelation of a speculative system,] may be recognised in the third part, which I now publish, as far as it can be done in such a historical representation as this. I will only add that what the critic represents as the object of Christianity, "that man should attain to a *free moral change of mind*, and to a *childlike reliance* on a God of love," according to my doctrinal belief, is by no means in contradiction to those principles, which appear to the critic to denote an inclination to a pietistic character of mind; but are far rather founded upon it. Where certain differences in philosophical or dogmatical views exist, misunderstandings are hardly to be avoided, even where there is the most candid love of truth and the most perfect good will, and I think, without meaning to impugn in any way the reviewer's love of truth, that still some of these mistakes have crept into this review, which is a sound one, when considered from the position which its author takes. When, for example, the reviewer opposes to my statement of the heathen religions, the Hellenic *καλον κίχρνον*, and thinks, that, reversing my sentence, men might deny to Christianity the idea of Beauty [the Beautiful,] with the same justice that I deny to Heathenism the idea of Holiness, I must reply, that when I say that in the religions of antiquity the idea of the Beautiful, and not the idea of Holiness, was the animating principle (as every one must acknowledge who sees in antiquity the position of the development of religion in an æsthetical direction,) it by no means follows that the idea of Holiness was *altogether* wanting; which I freely confess can never be the case, where the God-consciousness implanted in man beams through the surrounding corruption, and therefore, any one might justly say, conversely, [*literally* reversing the proposition,] that the animating principle of Christianity is the idea of Holiness, not that of the Beautiful, from which it by no means follows that the idea of the Beautiful is altogether wanting; only with this difference, that Christianity does not stand in opposition to the one-sided heathenism, as itself a one-sided modification of religious materials; but that it is the highest element, which receives into itself all inferior elements for the fashioning of man, and is destined to set forth the harmony in human nature from the highest position, so that here also the Beautiful, which in heathenism appeared oftentimes at variance with Holiness, must become ennobled into a form under which Holiness is revealed. When, further, the critic accuses me of maintaining that myths are synonymous with lies, I must beg leave to observe that in the passages alluded to by the reviewer, (i. p. 6—9,) I have represented, not my own view of the origin and existence of the heathen religion, but the view of the old legislators and statesmen, who were accustomed to consider religion only in the light of a handmaid of the state. To suppose an absolute lie, which—existing as a lie—could maintain a dominion over the hearts of men throughout centuries, is truly something unintelligible. There exists as the foundation of all religious phenomena, somewhat of that revelation which beams through and reveals the undeniable connection of the human spirit with the God in whom we live and move and have our being. But the lie which exists at first unconsciously, or the error, engrafts itself upon the Original and the Divine. Universally there is, in the lie, which exists involuntarily, a misunderstanding and a

falsification of what is true, and I think that I have spoken plainly on this point in p. 12, and in other passages. I am from my very heart an enemy to the harsh one-sided mode of considering history, so unsuited to the spirit of the Gospel, so as to see in all that is antichristian, exclusive of Judaism, nothing but the works of Satan, and so as not to trace throughout the whole history of human nature, as through every individual human life, the progress onward from father to son—and I hold this mode to be as unchristian as it is unintelligible.

It would carry me too far to offer explanations on other points, and I must reserve this in individual cases for any future new editions, where I shall with pleasure make use of all the observations of this excellent man, whether they suggest corrections, or by being opposed to my views, they excite me to further inquiry.

From my heart I coincide with the declaration of the reviewer against those “who seek to banish the life-giving spirit by formulæ, and to deaden the force of faith by a new-stamped orthodoxy.” Certainly, as the consideration of Christianity, human nature and history teaches us, formulæ and symbolical books cannot bring into the hearts of men vital Christianity, from which alone the cure of man’s nature can proceed—but they far rather introduce in its stead a dead, delusive and limiting substitute. It is only where truth wins the heart and spirit of man through her own inward power, utterly unsupported by outward means, that the power of faith, and the true right faith, can be established. As far as regards the anxiety expressed by the reviewer, (for which I heartily thank him,) lest I should be determined by outward circumstances to spare space to the injury of the work, the excellent arrangements made by our esteemed friend, the publisher, have put me in a condition to meet the wishes expressed, and at the same time a cheaper edition, with smaller type, will lighten the expense of the work to those who are in indifferent circumstances.

As far as the judgment of those is concerned, who recognise nothing which does not come under a certain definite form, adapted to their own particular school, and who arrange *à priori* first a dogmatical system, and then an interpretation and a history, after the formulæ of certain schools, which must suit every thing, and which can only impede freedom of thought, studies and life; I can do nothing but despise the judgments that proceed from such a quarter, whether expressed or implied in silence;—and, indeed, all this arrogant and pretended knowledge of certain parties of our times is my detestation. I willingly stand on the position of a *general* history; and may God preserve me from such a plan as can be deduced from a few miserable formulæ, without study and without life! a true pest both for the spirit and the heart! It would be well if we would learn from general history, that there is nothing new under the sun, and if we would hear how John of Salisbury characterizes this disposition in the twelfth century:

“Itaque recentes magistri e scholis et pulli volucrum e nidis sicut pari tempore morabantur, sic pariter avolabant. Sed quid docebant novi doctores et qui plus somniorum quam vigiliarum in scrutinio philosophiæ consumpserant? Numquid rude aliquid aut incultum, numquid aliquid vetustum aut obsoletum? Ecce nova fiebant omnia, innovabatur grammatica, immutabatur dialectica, contemnebatur rhetorica, et novas totius quadrivii vias, evacuatis priorum regulis, de ipsis philosophiæ adytis proferebant. *Solem rationem* loquebantur, argumentum sonabat in ore omnium et asinum nominare vel hominem aut aliquid operum naturæ aut ineptum nimis aut rude, et a philosopho alineum.”

Let this work, therefore, be dedicated to all those who, with an humble heart, and in freedom from the service of man, seek the truth which is with God alone, and comes from God.

Deo soli gloria, omnia hominum idola pereant!

A. NEANDER.

Berlin, 1827.

SECTION V.

THE HISTORY OF THE FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIANITY AS
A SYSTEM OF DOCTRINES IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, WHICH FORMED
ITSELF IN OPPOSITION TO THE SECTS.

- (1) *The genetic development of Church Theology in general, and the characteristic of the individual religious and dogmatical dispositions which have peculiarly influenced it.*

LIFE in religion, as elsewhere, precedes understanding, and this latter forms itself out of the former. Christianity had at first taken root in the inward life, and had here become the ruling principle; but then the full import of the doctrines of that faith, into which man had been at first led through a new life within, and the power of which he had first experienced in his spiritual life, was necessarily to be brought out into a full and clear consciousness, by means of a form of thought corresponding to this inward life, and expressed in definite ideas, with constantly increasing clearness and distinctness. As we have before observed, this end was peculiarly furthered by the struggle against those tendencies of the religious spirit, which, although they were in some degree touched by the influence of Christianity, yet constantly adulterated real Christianity on one side or the other; and which, therefore, by means of their opposition, still more called forth the endeavour to set this (i. e. pure Christianity,) in a clear light, and to hold it steady.

The opposition against Judaism and Heathenism, from the very nature of things, could influence only the *most general* development of Christian knowledge; but the opposition against those Judaizing, Orientalizing, and Hellenizing tendencies, which laid hold even of the inward life of the Church, and threatened to corrupt it, had this effect, that the import of the peculiarly Christian doctrines was unfolded and brought before the mind of man with more clear and distinct consciousness. But yet, as Christianity was constantly limiting its propagation more and more to the territory of heathenism, and passing out of the circle of Judaism, the connection of the Catholic Church, as it formed itself with Judaism, must have become less and less, while its connection with Gnosticism, the more Christianity was spread among the educated heathens, to whose views the more

free Gnostic conception of it would be most consonant, would become constantly more predominant, and of itself, the influence of the deep and comprehensive Gnosticism, would be more important, more prolific, and more lasting, than that of the meagre and dry Judaism. No phenomenon of this age had so general an influence on the development of the Christian Faith and Theology, as Gnosticism had, by means of the opposition which it excited.

As far as regards this influence in general, without reference, however, to the most important doctrines, (of which we shall hereafter speak more at large,) men were necessarily induced, through their opposition to the Gnostics, to give an account to themselves of the sources from which a knowledge of the Christian faith was to be obtained, for the Gnostics denied the authenticity, or at least the sufficiency of the documents, which alone had hitherto been silently received in the Catholic Church, namely, the received body of Scripture, as well as of the traditions of the Church, and in opposition to these they set up a different source of knowledge in a pretended secret doctrine, transmitted down from Christ and his apostles, or from a chosen number among the apostles. And since, besides, the Gnostics, by means of a capricious and allegorizing mode of interpretation, or by a literal one, which was just as capricious, and which did not regard the context in ascertaining the sense of words, and which set at nought all laws of thought and speech, made it easy for themselves by these means to introduce all their unbiblical meanings into the Holy Scriptures, and to deceive the unwary who heard them adduce so many passages of Holy Writ; so their adversaries were obliged to oppose this capricious mode of interpretation, by establishing the objective grounds of a logical and grammatical interpretation, and thus the first seeds

of a biblical hermeneutic proceeded from these controversies. When the Gnostics transferred to the Christian religion that contrast between a religion of the people and a religion of the initiated,* which had been removed by Christianity, and which was contrary to its very nature, the opposition to this error was the first cause that an essential religious faith, independent of philosophy, and not interwoven into any mythology, but clear in itself and self-sufficient, was brought before the light as the foundation of a higher life for all mankind, and more distinctly defined. While the Gnostics were here applying the position of the earlier religions to Christianity, their opponents were obliged on that very account to bring the peculiar religious position of the latter more clearly before their own minds.

And yet, while on the *one* side an opposition to Gnosticism would naturally arise here, yet on the other, this struggle, which was right in itself, and quite in union with the spirit of Christianity, would present a point on which Gnosis might engraft itself. This was a struggle after a deeper knowledge of the inward connection of the doctrines of the Christian faith, a struggle to proceed forth from the position which Christianity takes up and thence attain to a mode of viewing human and divine things, which should form one systematic whole.—Gnosis of itself was not necessarily false, but that false pride of Gnosis was so, which, instead of going forth from the foundation of faith, and unfolding thus the import and the connection of that which had been acquired in a lively manner through faith, thought to be able to raise itself above a life in faith; and considering this life in faith as valid only for a subordinate position, thought that it could bestow something of a higher kind. Abrupt contradiction can never persuade the erring, and never effectually stem the progress of any false views which happen to exist in any particular age. Abrupt contradiction, which condemns the true together with the false, is more likely to provoke more fiercely an erroneous opposition party which is conscious of having some grounds founded in truth; and therefore, such a contradiction furthers the propagation of these errors, inasmuch as it lends them an appearance of justice, and a point on which to attach themselves in the real wants of human nature; and this

was also shown then in the propagation of the Gnostic sects. The best means of successfully combating errors, which arise from a fundamental disposition of human nature which has only been led astray, is always to recognise this disposition with its just rights, and to satisfy its demands in the mode that nature dictates. This would have happened in regard to the Gnostics; if men, while they maintained the dignity and the independence of faith, had yet acknowledged the just and right feeling on which that struggle after a Gnosis was founded, and if they had endeavoured to set forth such a Gnosis as proceeded from faith, and was only the natural production of faith in human reason enlightened by that faith. Thus the germ of a Christian Dogmatic (system of doctrines) systematically hanging together, and of a Christian philosophy, would be formed; and these two, like many other dissimilar elements of the new spiritual world of Christianity, which was first conceived in its chaotic stage of development, might by and by be separated from each other.

The establishment of a faith independent of speculation, of the practical nature and the practical tendency of Christianity, on one hand, and on the other, the development of a Gnosis built on the foundation of faith, these were the two cornerstones from which the formation of the Churchly theology proceeded, and here its two proper chief divisions may be recognised. Here also the progress of the development of human nature brought this consequence with it, that these two dispositions did not immediately work together harmoniously, and did not immediately fall into the just and natural relations which ought to exist between them, but that by mutual departure from the just harmonious mean, and by a partial love of dominion in both of them, those two tendencies of the Christian spirit, the one, a predominantly realistic, the other, a predominantly idealistic turn, fell into collision with each other; as well in the development of the Church doctrine, as in opposition to it; only with this difference, that here both dispositions set out from the selfsame foundation of Christianity, and were united together by the one spirit of that Christianity. Thus was Christianity to prepare the way for its own development in the midst of the contradictions of human nature, which find in it their reconciliation.

* [Literally, "the perfect." H. J. R.]

The *first* of these was originally the

prevailing tendency in the development of Churchly theology, for this theology originally formed itself from a realistic and practically Christian spirit, the desire of defending the unchangeable groundwork of the Christian faith against the caprice of Gnostic speculation. We find this disposition among the first Fathers of Asia Minor, in Polycarp of Smyrna, Papias of Hierapolis in Phrygia, Melito of Sardis, and in Irenæus, who was formed in the school of Asia Minor, and having transferred the sphere of his activity to Lyons and the western Church in the latter half of his life, transplanted that disposition thither also. These Fathers of Asia Minor acted as pastors of these Churches, in which they endeavoured to maintain the pure and simple apostolic doctrine, and to defend it against corruption. They were, hence, compelled to enter into controversy with the Gnostic sects which were spreading around them in Asia Minor. A truly Christian consciousness animated them in their struggle against the idealism of Gnosticism; but yet they often opposed to it only a grossly sensuous, anthropomorphic, anthropopatheal apprehension of spiritual matters, which arose from a deficient and ignorant cast of mind, not sufficiently penetrated and illuminated by the Spirit of Christianity. Although there were among them men of a variety of isolated literary acquirements, yet they were deficient in the essentials of a learned and systematic training of the mind. We further find this disposition in the Western or Romish Church, under which we reckon all those countries in which the Latin language prevailed. Although the peculiar character of the Romish people received a different modification under the influence of different climates, and according to the nature of the original inhabitants on which it was engrafted,* as, for instance, among the Carthaginian people in the hot part of Africa; yet we may look upon the peculiar character of the Romans as the generally prevailing character here, and in the influence it had upon the conception of Christian doctrine, we cannot but recognise the prevailing realism of the less variable Romish spirit, which stiffly holds fast what it has once received.

We may consider Irenæus as a repre-

sentative of that first practical Christian disposition which opposed itself to Gnosticism. He is distinguished as a partaker in all the ecclesiastical events of his days, and, as a dogmatic writer, by his sobriety and his moderation in holding fast the essential foundations of the Christian faith, as well as by maintaining what is practically important in his treatment of all individual Christian doctrines. In his chief work against the Gnostics, he says of the one unchangeable essential fundamental doctrine of Christianity, to which the agreement of all Churches gives witness, and which every unprejudiced person could himself adduce from Scripture,* "Although scattered over the whole world, the Church as carefully maintains this faith as if it inhabited only one house. It believes these things as if it had one soul and the same heart, and it preaches† them as harmoniously as if it had only one mouth. . . . As the Sun, the creature of God, is one and the same over all the world, so also the preaching of the truth shines every where, and illuminates all men who are willing to come to the knowledge of the truth. He among the presidents of the Churches, who is mighty in eloquence, can preach nothing else but this (for no one is above the teacher;) nor does he that is weak in preaching diminish the doctrine delivered to him; for as the faith is one and the same, he who is able to speak much concerning it, can add nothing to it, and he who is able to say but little, cannot diminish it."‡ He thus opposes the speculative sophistry of this principle:§ "Sound,|| unsuspecting, pious reason, that loves the truth, will with joy meditate on what God has given into the power of man, and subjected to our knowledge, and he will advance in it, rendering the learning of it easy to himself by daily exercise. Now this consists of those things that fall under our own eyes, and those things that are expressly

* Although we must take far less account of these circumstances in the case of Christian Churches in large towns, because in them fewer traces of the old inhabitants remained.

* Lib. i. 3. [I. c. x. § 2, Ed. Massuet. p. 49. The previous section, which contains this universal creed, is one of very great value, as it sets forth one of the most ancient confessions of faith in language very closely resembling the Apostles' Creed.—H. J. R.]

† ["It preaches, it teaches, and it hands down," is the exact translation of the Greek phrase.—H. J. R.]

‡ [This is evidently an allusion to the manna, Exod. xvi. 18. See Massuet's note.—H. J. R.]

§ Lib. ii. c. 45. [c. xxvii. Ed. Massuet.]

|| [*bedenkt, sicher ihres Weges gehende.*]

said in the Holy Scriptures openly and unambiguously.” “It is better and more advantageous,” says the same writer,* “to be ignorant and to come near to God by love, than for a man, who seems to be a man of great learning and knowledge, to be found blaspheming against his own Master. Therefore did Paul exclaim, ‘knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth.’ Not as if he had blamed the real knowledge that comes from God, for then he would have accused himself the first; but because he knew that many, elated by the pretence of knowledge, departed from the love of God. . . . It is better, therefore, that a man should know nothing, should not know the cause of any one of created things, why it was created, but believe in God and persevere in love of him, than† that being puffed up by this kind of knowledge, he should fall away from the love that makes man living; it is better to wish to know nothing else than Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who was crucified for us, than‡ to fall into impiety by subtle questions and petty cavilings at words.” “It is no wonder,” says Irenæus,§ “if we find many difficulties which we cannot remove, in spiritual and heavenly things, in those which are known to us only by revelation, when in that which lies before our feet, I mean in that which we perceive by the senses, much escapes our knowledge, and these things we leave to God, who must be elevated above every thing. But if in the things of the creation, something is within the reach of our knowledge, and other things are reserved for the knowledge of God, how can we think it a difficulty, that out of those things that are sought in the Holy Scripture, the whole of which is spiritual, we should be able to unravel some by the grace of God, while others are still reserved to the knowledge of God, and that too, not only in the present world, but in that which is to come; in order that God may always teach, and man may always learn from God.” “They complain,” says Irenæus of the Gnostics, “of the ignorance of the holy presbyters,|| because they do not consider

of how much greater value a pious common man is, than a blaspheming and impudent sophist.”*

We may consider Montanism as one of the forms of error which this anti-Gnostic religious realism assumed, because, where it was carried to the extreme, it opposed the predominance of extravagant speculation, by the predominance of extravagant feelings. It was a system, which, while it professed to have a source of illumination besides the Holy Scripture, and the reason, as enlightened by those Scriptures, became, in a different way, a prey to the self-deceptions of a caprice which confused what belongs to man with what belongs to God.

With regard to Montanus himself, from whom it arose, we have, alas, too slender documents to allow us satisfactorily to explain psychologically the course of his religious development, and the origin of his peculiar religious opinions. But the personal history of this man cannot be here of the same importance, as the scandal which he brought upon a habit of mind then prevalent, in consequence of the effects which it produced. The idea proclaimed by Montanus was no new idea; it was one, which had in many persons arisen from a one-sided turn of mind in regard to Christianity, and had become to them the centre point of their inward life, without their being aware of it. It was only by means of Montanus that this idea became the centre of a compact and separate set of opinions, and the point of union for a Church party which formed itself upon that set of opinions. What had probably been brought forward by Montanus only in a fragmentary manner in the language of feeling, was conceived by the spirit of a Tertullian with a more clear consciousness, and was worked up into a systematic whole. We must, therefore, in order to characterize the opinions of Montanus, use also the writings of Tertullian, although we should not be justified in attributing to the less formed and cultivated mind of Montanus all the thoughts expressed by one like Tertullian, whose more advanced development of mind renders his views more definite and of more importance.

sense in which the New Testament applies it to all true Christians.

* Lib. v. c. 20. [Neander has translated “Idiota” by Idiot, which may answer in German, but would lead to a wrong notion in English.—H. J. R.]

* Lib. ii. c. 45. [c. 26, Ed. Massuet, p. 151.]

† This part has unfortunately only come down to us in a Latin translation, where the translator has evidently rendered *in* by *aut* instead of *quam*. Neander has very properly translated it as if it were *quam*.—H. J. R.]

‡ See last note.

§ Lib. ii. c. 47. [c. 28, Ed. Massuet, p. 156.]

|| Irenæus uses the word “holy” here in the

The one side of Christianity, the idea of a communication of a Divine life to human nature as a means of reforming it; the idea of a new Divine creation, which should reform every thing, and of an overpowering dominion of the Divinity in man's nature; this idea, which forms a keynote to Christianity, was predominant in Montanism, and made its centre point; but the other side of Christianity, the idea of the harmonious amalgamation of the Divine and the human* in man's nature when renewed by the Divine principle of life, the idea of the free and independent development of the ennobled faculties of man's nature as a necessary consequence of this amalgamation, this idea and the other keynote of Christianity which flows from it, were thrown into the back ground. In this system (Montanism) the influence of the Divine power appears as a magical power, taking an irresistible hold on man, and overwhelming all his human qualities; while that which is human appears to be only a blind instrument involuntarily borne on. Montanism, when carried to the extreme, would necessarily lead men to set Christianity in hostile array against all knowledge and art, as if either were an adulteration of that which is Divine by man's intermingling his own activity with it.

Montanus was a new convert in a village of Mysia, called Ardaban (Ardabau) on the confines of Phrygia. What happens to individual men, happened here with provinces in a body, that their way of conceiving Christianity bears the stamp of their previous national peculiarities, just as with individual peculiarities, whether it be that these subordinate themselves to the spirit of Christianity and rise up again in it in an ennobled form, or whether they mingle themselves in a disturbing manner with the energies of Christianity, and that the former iniquities break out again, only covered with a Christian garb. Of the latter process many traces are to be found in regard to the Phrygian national peculiarities. In the old national religion of the Phrygians we recognise the character of this mountain people, inclined to fanaticism and superstition, and easily induced to believe in magic and enchantment, nor can we wonder if in the ecstasies and somnambulism of the Montanists we find again the Phrygian spirit, which showed itself in

the ecstasies of the priests of Cybele and Bacchus.

As many in the first ardent zeal of conversion gave up all their earthly goods, and devoted themselves to a strict ascetic life, such an ascetic zeal also seized Montanus as a new convert. We must remember, that he was living in a country, where there was a widely extended expectation, that the Church, on the scene of its sufferings, and on earth itself before the end of all earthly things, would enjoy a thousand years of triumphant empire—the expectation of a final reign of Christ upon the earth for a thousand years (*chiliasm* as it was called)—and where many images of an enthusiastic imagination about the nature of this expected kingdom, were then current.* The time at which he lived—either during those calamitous natural events of which we have spoken above, (see p. 60,) and the persecutions of the Christians which followed upon them, or during the bloody persecutions of Marcus Aurelius,† was altogether calculated peculiarly to promote such an excitement of feeling, and such a turn of the imagination. There was just at that season a violent contest in Asia Minor, between the speculative Gnostics,

* Papias of Hierapolis, having lived in Phrygia, had already been active there, and many passages of the Pseudo-Sibylline point to Phrygia also. There are certainly no grounds for supposing, with Longuerue and Blondel, that these passages came from Montanus or the Montanists, for there are no ideas whatever peculiar to Montanism in those Pseudo-Sibylline oracles. We should rather here recognise that selfsame peculiar Phrygian spirit, which is also reflected in Montanism. If Mount Ararat be supposed transplanted to Phrygia, we should recognise here the same prejudice among the Phrygians in favour of their native land, for which they claimed the credit of being the oldest country on earth, as when Montanus makes the village *Pepuza* in Phrygia the seat of the Millenarian empire.

† We are without sufficient and trustworthy data, to determine with precision, any thing certain with regard to the time, in which Montanus first appeared; but from the very nature of the thing, the beginning of a matter like this is always difficult to be determined. Eusebius, in his *Chronicon*, places the first appearance of Montanus in the year 171. But if we suppose that the Roman Bishop, whom Praxeas induced to excommunicate Montanus, was not *Victor*, but *Eleutheros*, (for which opinion I have stated the reasons in my work on Tertullian, p. 486,) it would follow, that Montanus had appeared in the time of the Roman Bishop Anicetus, who died in the year 161. Apollonius (ap. Euseb. v. 18,) and Epiphanius, who place the appearance of Montanus in the year 157, are both in favour of the earlier date.

* [Durchdringung. Literally penetration—in-terpenetration.—H. J. R.]

and the defenders of the old simple doctrines, and men were speaking much of impending corruptions of Christianity. All this might work upon the mind of the newly converted Phrygian, inclined as he was to fantastic excitement of the feelings. The transition was then just taking place from the time of the first preternatural influences of the Divine Spirit on the nature of man, to the season in which the new Divine principle of life was to be developed by the natural channels and in a quiet harmonious manner, in man's nature sanctified by that very principle of life as an instrument affecting it; and it was natural that this transition should be accompanied by many disturbing circumstances, and that a disposition should arise, which, opposing the development of Christianity in man's nature in a manner consonant to its usual course, should wish to keep that first season of the appearance of Christianity as an abiding condition of things, and then to the genuine working of the Divine Spirit there would be joined an overheated excitement of the mind, which imitated that working, but was in fact a violent excitement of the imagination. All this must be taken into the account in order to explain the rise of a character like Montanus.

We do not desire to deny, that Montanus had experienced something of the more spiritual (literally, *higher*) life of Christianity; that mixture of truth and error could hardly have existed without this in the soul of Montanus, but in individuals as well as in whole masses the old proverb is sure to be found true; 'where God builds himself a temple, the Devil builds himself a chapel near it.' The old *Phrygian* nature crept in unperceived so as to trouble the pure Christian feelings, and Montanus took for an inspiration of the Spirit, what really was from the flesh: while no one of sound judgment with a Christian care for his soul warned him against the mixture of light and darkness, and brought him back to sobriety; or, perhaps, if they did, the admiration of the multitude, who revered him as a Prophet, made a greater impression upon him; and thus apparently the most dangerous source of all self-deception and all enthusiasm, *vanity*, was added to these disadvantages. He used to fall into a kind of transport, during which, without consciousness, but as the passive instrument, as he thought, of a higher power, he announced new

persecutions in enigmatical and mystical expressions;* he exhorted Christians to a more strict ascetic life, and to an undaunted confession of their faith; he praised the blessedness of martyrdom, and incited Christians to use their utmost endeavours to obtain it; and during these transports he also announced the near approach of God's judicial punishment of the persecutors of the Church, as well as of the second coming of Christ, and the establishment of the Millenarian kingdom, the blessedness of which he painted in attractive colours. At last he desired to be looked upon as a prophet sent from God for the whole Church, as an enlightened reformer of the whole religious life of the Church—the Christian Church was through him to be raised to a higher degree of perfection in conduct, and a higher moral doctrine was to be revealed through him for the manhood of the Church in its state of maturity—and he referred to himself the promise of Christ, that through the Holy Ghost he would reveal things, which the men of that time were unable to comprehend. He also believed himself called to communicate new decisions with respect to doctrinal points, in order to clear up the doctrinal controversies then particularly common in those regions, and to preserve the doctrines of the Faith against the attacks of Heretics.

It is likely enough that Montanus did not aspire to all this *at once*, but that his views with regard to his own person and calling, and his claims in regard to what he was to be to the Church, were gradually formed and extended under the influence of circumstances, in consequence of the acceptance which his pretended oracles obtained; but the information we have is not sufficient to enable us to deduce from it a genetic development of the history of Montanus. Two women, Prisca or Priscilla, and Maximilla, who also desired to be looked upon as prophetesses, joined themselves to Montanus.†

Montanism maintained the doctrine of

* *ἔνθουσιαν* is the expression of a temporary, ap. Euseb. v. 16. *λατταν*. See Plutarch on the ancient oracular responses, de Pyth. Orac. c. 24. [I find only the verb *ἐνθουσιαν*, not the word *ἐνθουσιαν* applied here to Montanus. The word *Entzückungen*, which I have translated *transports*, expresses any kind of ecstasy, transport, or trance, the Greek phrase in Euseb. v. 16; *παρεστασις* is used here for a state of excitement, in which a person is beside himself. See Valesius in loc.—H. J. R.]

† All the doctrines which the Montanistic party

a gradual advance of the Church according to a general law of the development of the kingdom of God. In the works of grace, say the Montanists, as well as in the works of nature, both of which come from the same Creator, every thing develops itself according to a certain gradation: from the seed first comes a shrub, which gradually increases to a tree; the tree first obtains leaves, then follows the bloom, and out of this comes the fruit, which also attains to ripeness only by degrees. Thus also the kingdom of righteousness develops itself by certain degrees; first came the fear of God in accordance with the voice of nature without a revealed law (the Patriarchal Religion;) then came its infancy under the Law and the Prophets, then its youth under the Gospel, then its development to the maturity of manhood through the new outpouring of the Holy Ghost, together with the appearance of Montanus, and through the new teaching of the promised Paraclete.* How could the work of God stand still, and not develop itself progressively, when the kingdom of the wicked one was always extending itself in all directions, and always acquiring new powers? They maintained, therefore, a progressively advancing action of the Holy Ghost in redeemed man; the progressive revelation of the Divine, opposed to the progressive revelation of the Evil one. They opposed those who would place arbitrary limits to the operation of the Holy Ghost, as if his extraordinary operations had been confined entirely to the time of the apostles, as it is said in a Montanistic writing,† “lest any weakness or want of faith should lead us to believe that the grace of God was efficacious only among the ancients, for God always works what he has promised, as a sign to the unbelieving, and as a mercy to believers.” They appealed to the promise made by Christ himself, that He would give to the faithful the Re-

velations through the Paraclete, as the perfecter of his Church, through whom He would reveal what men at that time were unable to comprehend. They did not, however, by any means, wish to maintain, that this promise did not refer to the case of the apostles, to whom all others referred it; but merely that it did not refer to the case of the apostles *alone*, in whom it was not fulfilled in its whole extent, and that it had reference also to the new revelations through the prophets, who were now raised up, and that these last were necessary, in order to the completion and advancement of the first revelation.* They declared expressly that the new prophets must distinguish themselves from false teachers, and certify their Divine calling by their agreement with the doctrines preached by the apostles, as they had been disseminated in all Churches. The essential fundamental doctrines recognised in the whole Church, they recognised also as unalterable foundations of the development of the Church; but the whole system of Christian morality, and the whole religious life connected with the Church system, was to be farther advanced by these new revelations; for men who were just converted from heathenism, and only just emerging from an entirely carnal state, were unable to receive the whole demands of Christian perfection. And farther also, the Christian doctrines which were attacked by the heretics, who were now extending themselves in every direction, were to be firmly established by these new revelations. While these heretics, by means of arbitrary and false explanations, made the Holy Scriptures, out of which they might have been best confuted, speak their language, these new revelations were to offer the means of opposing them with settled authority. Lastly, these new revelations were to communicate decisions and determinations respecting those matters of doctrine and practice which were then made the subject of controversy.† The Montanist Tertullian, therefore, at the conclusion of his treatise, concerning the Resurrection, calls thus to those who desire to draw from the well of these new revelations, “ye shall not thirst after any instruction; no inquiries shall torment you.”

This notion of a progressive develop-

brought forward, were not altogether peculiar to it; they were often only ideas which had been in existence for a long time, and were current in the Church just at that time, and which, being carried to the extreme by the Montanists, called forth also an opposition to them.

* Tertullian de Virg. Velandis, c. I.

† Acta Perpetuæ et Felicitatis, Præf.

[Ruinart, in his preliminary observations, endeavours to show that this is not a Montanistic writing, and to explain this passage, as merely comparing the then workings of God with former ones, not with those recorded in Scripture. —H. J. R.]

* Tertullian de Pudicit, c. 12.

† Tertullian de Virg. Velandis, as the administratio Paracleti, quod disciplina dirigitur, quod Scripturæ revelantur, quod intellectus reformatur,

ment of the Church led the Montanists, *on the one hand,** to a genuine *evangelical opposition against a narrow-hearted and stiff Church view, which clung only to outward things*; a view which was unable to distinguish between what is changeable and what is unchangeable in the Church, (*churchly life, literally,*) and which looked upon those of its forms, its outward ordinances and usages, which might properly change with time and circumstances, as grounded upon apostolical tradition, and settled irrevocably for all ages. The Montanists, on the contrary, were better able to distinguish between the changeable and the unchangeable in the development of the Church, because they would allow of nothing but the *immutability of the dogmatic tradition*; they maintained, that the *arrangements and ordinances of the Church* might be changed and improved, *according to the necessities of the times, by means of the progressive instruction of the Paraclete.*† And farther, while the ecclesiastical view considered the bishops as the only organs for the shedding abroad of the Holy Spirit in the Church, as the successors of the apostles, and the heirs of their spiritual power, Montanism, on the contrary, although, upon the whole, it acknowledged the existing order in the Church as one founded by God, yet maintained that there are still higher organs to conduct the development of the Church than these ordinary ones, namely, the extraordinary organs, *the prophets inspired by the Holy Ghost.* These alone, according to the Montanistic view, were the successors of the apostles in the highest sense, the heirs of their perfect spiritual power. Tertullian, therefore, sets the *Church of the Spirit, which reveals itself by means of men enlightened by the Holy Spirit, in opposition to the Church, which consists in its number of bishops.*‡ Thus those who followed the voice of the Holy Ghost, speaking through the new prophets, as being the spiritually-minded, the genuine Christians, were considered to make up the Church; while, on the contrary, they called the opponents of the new revelations, the carnally-minded (*Psychici.*) Montanism, therefore, which made the inward fact of the operation of

the Holy Ghost the mark of the true Church, when contrasted with Catholicism,* whose characters are too external, leads to a more spiritual conception of the notion of the Church, and one whose view was more directed to inward things. Tertullian says,† “The Church, in the peculiar and the most excellent sense, is the Holy Ghost, in which the Three are One, and therefore, the whole union of those who agree in this belief (*viz. that God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are one,*) is named the Church, after its founder and sanctifier (the Holy Ghost.)”

As farther, according to the Montanistic theory, prophets might be raised up out of *every* class of Christians,—as the Montanists looked upon it expressly as something characteristic of this last epoch of the development of the kingdom of God, that, according to the prophecies of Joel, ch. iii. [ch. ii.] then in course of fulfilment,‡ the gifts of the Spirit should indifferently be shed abroad over all classes of Christians of both sexes,—and as those requirements, with respect to Christian conduct, which had till then been limited to the clergy, were extended by these new revelations to all Christians as such, they were induced by these circumstances to bring forward the idea of the “dignity of the Christian calling in general, and of the dignity of the priesthood as belonging to all Christians.”§

But although, on *one side*, the idea of the Church was conceived here in a more free and spiritual manner, although Montanism opposed the idea of a progressive development of the Church to that form-bound system, which was more Jewish

* [Literally, “*contrasted with the too outward Catholicism.*”—H. J. R.]

† [Nam et Ecclesia proprie et principaliter ipse est Spiritus in quo est trinitas unius divinitatis Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus. Illam Ecclesiam congregat, quam Dominus in tribus posuit. Atque ita exinde etiam numerus omnis qui in hanc fidem conspiraverint, Ecclesia ab auctore et consecratore censetur. Test. de Pudicit. § xxi. Comp. also de Baptismo, vi.; where, after mentioning the Church, Tertullian adds, “*quoniam ubi tres, id est, Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, ibi Ecclesia, quæ trium corpus est.*” Tertullian himself, in another passage, supplies an excellent antidote to the heretical notion of an appeal to any inward gifts being of themselves sufficient marks of the true Church. His rule, though directed against other heresies, applies to this notion also. See the well known passage de Præscript. Hæret. “*Edant origines suas,*” &c.—H. J. R.]

‡ Præfat. act. Felicis.

§ As. e. g. Tertullian de Monogamia.

* [See the counterbalancing error a page or two farther on.—H. J. R.]

† Tertull. de Corona Mil. c. 3.

‡ De Pudicit, c. 21. Ecclesia spiritus per spiritalem hominem, non ecclesia numerus episcoporum.

than Evangelical, yet, *on another side, this idea fell even still more than the Catholicism of the Church, into a confusion between the theocratic views of the Old and New Testaments*; for, according to the Montanistic notions, that progressive development was not, as the nature of the Gospel would require, to proceed from within outwards, by the development of the self-sufficient principle of Christianity in the nature of man, in virtue of the Divine power indwelling in it, but they (i. e. the Montanists) maintained that this progressive development of the Church must be promoted by new outward additional and extraordinary communications of God; they maintained that *the Church must be farther fashioned and completed by means of a completion of the apostolical instruction, through prophets, who would be excited and enlightened in an extraordinary manner by the Holy Ghost*, and they ascribed to the declarations of these prophets a positive authority, which bound men to obey them. In fact, they transferred the prophetic government of the Old Testament to the Christian Church. And it is worthy of observation, that by the Catholic Church, which afterwards in a general way received much which it had at first justly and on right evangelical principles blained in the Montanists, much of what the Montanists maintained, about the relations of the new revelations through their prophets to the foundation of scriptural tradition and scriptural doctrine, was applied to the relation of the doctrinal decrees of General Councils to both these particulars (i. e. tradition and Scripture.)

The Montanistic view of this new prophetic gift [Prophetenthum,] and of the mode of the operation of the Holy Ghost in it, was also peculiar. It was in accordance with this whole cast of thought, that the Montanists should altogether exclude from the true prophetic gift [Prophetenthum] the co-operation of any human faculty, endowed with self-consciousness, and serving as a free instrument for a Divine communication, and that they should assume an operation of the Holy Ghost, which entirely destroyed all individual agency on the part of man; the condition of a complete ecstasy was reckoned by them as an indispensable mark of a true prophet. Therefore, in the Montanistic oracles, it is not man speaking in the name of God, but God speaking through the voice of man. Thus,

the Holy Ghost says through Montanus,* "Behold! man is like a lyre, and I flutter over him like the instrument which sets the lyre in motion. The man sleeps, but I awake. See, it is the Lord who sets the hearts of men out of themselves, and gives the heart to man;" and in another oracle he says, "No angel comes, no messenger, but I the Lord, God the Father, am come."† This idea of inspiration was certainly nothing new in the Church, it was the oldest conception of the idea of inspiration which existed in the theological schools of the Jews, and which we find in Philo, in the legend of the origin of the Septuagint version, and it passed from the Jews to the Christian fathers (teachers,) just as they received with the Old Testament the idea of inspiration also first from the Jews. But this whole view of the matter came under suspicion, in consequence of the manner in which the Montanists pushed their notion of ecstatic possession (*lit.* ecstasy) to extremes. The controversies with them introduced more accurate investigations, concerning the idea of Divine inspiration, and concerning the difference between a genuine and a counterfeit inspiration (or, as it was then called, an inspiration by evil spirits.) Unhappily, none of the writings, in which these controversies were handled, have come down to us. The Montanists might justly be accused of having prized beyond their value these unusual conditions of the mind during an extraordinary inward excitement, in which the common consciousness of man is set aside, the same accusation which St. Paul makes against the Corinthians, in 1 Cor. xii., where he speaks against overprizing the πνευματι or γλωσση λαλειν (the speaking in the spirit, or with tongues;) it might justly be said, that these conditions of mind belonged more to the economy of the Old Testament, in which the influence of the Divine Spirit on the mind was rather of a transient and a fragmentary nature, than to that of the New Testament, in which the Divine life enters as an enlivening, and leavening (*lit.* penetrating) spirit into the natural development of man's nature; or it might be said

* Epiphan. Hæres. 48. § 4.

† The definition of such an ecstasy in the Montanistic spirit is to be found in Tertullian c. Marcion. IV. 22. "In spiritu homo constitutus, præsertim cum gloriam Dei conspicit, vel cum per ipsum Deus loquitur, necesse est excidat sensu, obumbratus scilicet virtute divina."

that such conditions of mind belonged peculiarly to those epochs of the Christian Church, in which the new life, which Christianity brings with it, is *for the first time* communicated to an entirely unprepared (lit. *rough*) portion of mankind; or when a new era of the outpouring of the Holy Ghost follows upon a long reign of ungodliness and worldliness. But the violent opponents of the Montanists* appear to have fallen just into the opposite extreme, by condemning altogether every thing, which bore the appearance of an ecstasy in the Montanistic sense, and by wishing to limit to one form all the operations of the Holy Ghost. They rejected at once the whole Montanistic idea of a prophet, and on the contrary, they afterwards maintained with regard to the prophets of the Old Testament, that they had already possessed a clear knowledge of the Christian economy predicted by them.†

It appears also to have been the doctrine of the Montanists, that *the season of the last and richest outpouring of the Holy Ghost would form the last age of the Church, and precede the second coming of Christ*, and be the fulfilment of the prophecy of Joel, ch. iii.‡ [ch. ii.]; the only doubtful point is, whether according to the Montanistic doctrine, this last outpouring of the Holy Ghost was to be closed by the appearance of Montanus, and his prophetesses, or whether other prophets were to succeed after him. Maximilla, indeed, as quoted in Epiphanius, says, "that no other prophetess would follow after her, but that the end of the world would immediately take place;" but a question arises, as to whether the Montanistic oracles were always exactly in harmony with themselves, and with one another, unless, perhaps, Montanus and his two prophetesses were looked upon pre-eminently as *oracles for the whole Church*. It is besides certain from the writings of Tertullian, as we may also infer from the use made by the Montanists of the prophetic passage quoted above, that they supposed that all Christians would be partakers in those extraor-

dinary spiritual gifts. In the Montanistic congregations, it was chiefly among females, a circumstance easily explained, that people expected to find in these preternatural communications, such a knowledge of Divine things, as no sound practical Christian feeling would ever induce men to expect at all, or at least to look for any where else than in Scripture, or in the Reason, enlightened by Scripture. It was a punishment for despising the just limits of that-which-naturally-belongs-to-man; (lit. the Naturally-Human,) which will assert its own rights and be recognised and cultivated in its own place,—it was a punishment for such contempt, that this latter (the Naturally-Human) should thrust itself into a higher region and trouble it, and that the symptoms of a morbidly excited nature should be promoted, and should be honoured, as the inspiration of the Spirit.* In this manner the heathen system of oracles and auguries might be introduced under a Christian garb into the Christian Church.

As the *attainment of perfection* in Christian conduct, of which Montanism was inclined to lay the foundation, was not deduced from the nature of Christianity, working outwardly from a principle within, but was to repose on new commands, which were added to Christianity through a pretended Divine authority, and were first delivered outwardly; so this pretended perfecting of the moral doctrine of Christianity might in fact be only an error, deduced from *the essential nature of Christianity itself*, according to which all is contained in Love, and Love is the fulfilling of the Law; it might become only a counterfeit of that, by means of a new legal *opus operatum*. Even on this side, Montanism joined itself to an already existing tendency of Christianity, which it only carried to the extreme. That ascetic tendency, which attributed a merit to certain outward works of abstinence, and which would make the essence of humility, whose foundations are *within*, consist in certain outward gestures, by which humility would easily be feigned (was also

* As Miltiades in the book *πρὸς τὴν μηδὲν προφῆτην ἐν ἐκστάσει λαλῶν*.

† E. g. Origen. in Joh. T. VI. § 2. *προβλεπας ἀποφρασσαί περὶ προφητῶν, ὥς οὐ σέφον, εἰ μὴ νενουκάσαι τὰ ἴσα ἰδὲν στοματός*.

‡ Præfat. in acta Perpetuæ: *majora reputanda, nobiliora quaque ut novissimiora, secundum exuberationem gratiæ in ultima sæculi spatia decretam*.

* Thus in a Montanistic congregation at Carthage in the case of a Christian female, who during the service had fallen into an ecstasy, which resembled those described as the effect of Magnetic Somnambulism, they expected to obtain from her not only the healing of diseases, as the Heathen did in their incubations in the Temple of Esculapius, but also information concerning the invisible world. See Tertullian de Anima, c. 9.

taken up by Montanism.*) The Montanistic prophets, wished to prescribe as binding on all Christians, the fasting on the *dies Stationum*, which up to that time (see above,) had been considered as left to their free choice, and they commanded this fast to be extended to three o'clock in the afternoon. For two weeks in the year they prescribed for all Christians, as a compulsory ordinance, such a spare diet as the *continentes*, or ἀσκηται observed from free inclination.† Against these Montanistic positions the spirit of evangelical freedom expressly and becomingly remonstrated; but in later times, in this respect also the spirit, which then gave utterance to its sentiments in Montanism, passed over into the Catholic Church.

That enthusiastic tendency, which induced many Christians to give themselves up to martyrdom was carried by Montanism to its farthest height. The Montanists condemned flight in seasons of persecution, and other innocent means of saving life, while they laid down a principle, which, if consistently carried out, would have overwhelmed every social constitution, and destroyed all activity on the part of man, viz., that man giving himself up wholly to the will of God, must use no means in order to avoid the persecutions which the will of God has permitted to impend over Christians, for the trial of their faith.‡ The Montanistic prophetic spirit incited men to strive to win the martyr's crown for themselves. We recognise that morbidly excited, over wrought state of feeling, which was altogether deficient in Christian reverence for all that is pure in human nature, and in

Christian tenderness of feeling, in this expression of Montanus: "Desire not to die upon your beds, or in childbirth, or in the debility of a fever, but desire to die as martyrs, that he may be glorified who died for you." Thus Montanism went to the very farthest point in an abrupt rejection of all customs, which, though they were to be looked upon as mere civil institutions, could in no wise be deduced from a heathen origin, and in a neglect of all the prudential measures by which the jealousy of heathen rulers might be obviated.* It appears to have been objected, among other things, to the Montanists, that, by their frequent assemblies for prayer, combined with their fasts, they violated the law of the state against secret assemblies.†

Although the ascetic spirit of Montanism promoted a false over estimate of celibacy,‡ we must still acknowledge that Montanism expressly brought prominently forward the Christian view of marriage as a spiritual union, sanctified by Christ. The Montanists considered it essential to a genuine Christian marriage, that it should be accompanied by a religious sanction, and that it should be celebrated in the Church in the name of Christ: a marriage celebrated in any other manner they looked upon as an unpermitted union.§ From

* [We may observe from the History of St. Paul, that he did not sanction this disregard of prudence, as on more than one occasion he asserted his privileges as a Roman citizen: see e. g. Acts xxii. 25; xxv. 11, yet no man can accuse him of shrinking from persecution, or fearing martyrdom.—H. J. R.]

† De Jejuniis, c. 13.

‡ Priscilla expressly declares in an oracular response, (which is to be found in Tertullian de Exhortatione Castitatis, c. 11, but only in the edition of Rigault,) that the genuine servant of the Temple, who is an instrument of the Holy Ghost, must live in celibacy. In this also Montanism led the way for the Catholic Church. [I have searched this treatise in Rigault's edition of 1695, but am unable to verify the quotation.—H. J. R.]

§ Tertullian de Pudicitia, c. 4. Penes nos occultæ quoque conjunctiones, id est non prius apud ecclesiam professæ, juxta mœchiam et fornicationem judicari periclitantur, nec inde consortia obtentu matrimonii crimen eludant. According to the principles of Montanism, the essence of a true marriage in a Christian sense would consist in this, (Tertullian de Monogamia, c. 20:) "Cum Deus jungit duos in unam carnem aut junctos deprehendens in eadem carne conjunctionem signavit." (Where to a marriage concluded between two parties while they were yet heathens, the sanctifying consecration of Christianity was added.) Montanism prepared the way for the notion of considering matrimony as a sacrament.

* [The words in a parenthesis have been added to the original, in which the sense is left quite incomplete. The sentence stands thus: "Jene ascetische Richtung, welche gewissen auserlichen Werken der Enthaltung ein Verdienst beilegte, welche das Wesen der im Innern begründeten Demuth an gewisse auserliche Geberden, wodurch leicht die Demuth erheuchelt werden konnte, binden wollte."—H. J. R.]

† The Xerophagia, as they were called, Sunday and Saturday, were exempted from this fast. The Montanists were also in controversy (see above,) with the Romish Church, about not fasting on the Saturday. In the time of Jerome, in which, however, the Montanists appear to have departed considerably from their original views, (e. g. in the matter of the constitution of the Church,) they had three weeks of Xerophagiæ. These may be compared with the Quadragesimal Fasts of the later Church, a name, indeed, which Jerome applies to them. Ep. 27, ad Marcellum, "illi tres in anno faciunt quadragesimas."

‡ See Tertullian de Fuga in Persecutione.

this view of marriage it would follow also, that *Montanism would admit of no second marriage after the death of the first husband or wife*; for marriage, as an *indissoluble* union in the spirit, and not in the flesh only, was to endure beyond the grave.* Here also the Montanists only carried a view to which others were inclined, to the extreme, in consequence of their legal spirit,† [i. e. their inclination to bind down every thing by compulsory rules.] The Montanists also belonged to the *zealots for the strict principles of penance*, as were afterwards the Novatianists, (see above,) and there was here shown by the Montanistic teachers an ardent zeal for sanctification, and an honest apprehension, lest men should make themselves secure in their sins by a false reliance on priestly absolution; but it must be confessed that the Montanists might easily have come to an explanation with their opponents‡ by means of candid discussions on what is objective in the forgiveness of sin, and on the relation of absolution to that (see above.) The zeal for sanctification, as opposed to a false reliance on the forgiveness of sins, without any entrance into an inward Spiritual communion [*literally*, Life-communion, or communion of the Life] with Christ, is beautifully expressed in those words with which the Montanist Tertullian opposes those who appealed to 1 John i. 7, in their opposition to the severer doctrines of penance. John says, "if we walk in the Light, as he is in the Light; so have we communion one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ, his Son, makes us free from all sin. But do we sin also, while we walk in the Light, and shall we be purified, if we sin in the Light? By no means. For he who sins, is not in the Light, but in darkness. He shows also, how we may become purified from all sin, if we walk in the *Light*, in which no sin can take place . . . for *such is the efficacy of the blood of Christ*, that those whom it has purified from sin, and thus raised to the Light, it thenceforth preserves from sin, if they continue to

walk in the Light."* It is true, that Montanism, as we observed above, promoted a wild enthusiasm for martyrdom, and honoured the over estimate of martyrdom as an *opus operatum*, for, according to the Montanistic doctrines, martyrs were to have the advantage of attaining immediately after death to a higher state of blessedness,† to which other believers had no access; but nevertheless, the struggle for the severity of penitential discipline led the Montanist Tertullian to contend against an exaggerated reverence for the martyrs. For while many, to whom Montanism refused absolution, could obtain it in the Catholic Church by the interposition of the confessors, Tertullian thus expressed himself against a false reliance on the sentence pronounced in their favour by these confessors, and against their spiritual presumption. "Let it be sufficient for the martyrs to have cleansed themselves from their own sins. It is unthankfulness or pride, to lavish upon others also what a man must think it a great thing to have obtained for himself. Who has atoned for the death of another by his own, except the Son of God alone? . . . For it was for this purpose that He came, that He himself being pure from sin, and perfectly holy, might die for sinners. Thou, therefore, who endeavourest to rival Him in the forgiveness of sins, suffer for me, if thou hast never sinned thyself! But, if thou art a sinner thyself, how can the oil of thy little lamp be sufficient for me and for thyself too?"‡

If the Montanists laid especial stress upon the doctrine of an approaching Millenarian reign of Christ upon the earth, in this part of their faith they agreed with a large portion of the rest of the Christian world.

What promoted the spread of Montanism, was partly this circumstance, that it only carried to extremes such dispositions and views as had already long been in existence with multitudes, and partly that impulse of enthusiasm, which carries every thing along with it, and the manner in which it nourished spiritual pride, because all those who acknowledged the new prophets seemed entitled to look upon themselves as really regenerated, and as members of the elect assembly of

* See Tertullian de Monogamia, and his Exhortat. Castitatis.

† Athenagoras Legat. pro Christian. p. 37, ed. Colon. calls *ἡμῶς δευτέρως εὐπρεπὲς μοιχεύειν*. Origen, Hom. in Matt. fol. 363, says that Paul had given the permission for a second marriage after the death of the first husband, or the first wife, *πρὸς τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν ἢ δόσθηναν*.

‡ The book of Tertullian de Pudicitia treats of this controversy.

* De Pudicitia, c. 19.

† That is to Paradise. See Tertullian de Anima, c. 56.

‡ De Pudicitia, c. 22.

the spiritually minded, and to despise all other Christians, as carnally minded, and not yet regenerated. Montanistic congregations were at first formed in Asia Minor, but there arose up violent opponents to it among the Church-teachers of weight, authority, and influence, who placed the Montanistic prophets in the same class with the *Energumēni*, (or possessed,) and called attention to the danger which threatened pure Christianity and the order of the Church, if this unclean spirit should gain ground. It must be confessed that these teachers, by their blind condemnation of Montanism altogether, as a possession of the Evil Spirit, without separating what is false from what is true in it, contributed exactly to this result, that the enthusiastic spirit should harden itself more and more, and spread still further. Synods were held for the investigation of these matters, in which many declared themselves against Montanism: the transactions of these synods were transmitted to more distant Churches, and thus these latter were also implicated in the controversy. But, unhappily, from the want of sufficient information, great obscurity prevails with respect to these transactions, and thence also with respect to the gradual formation of the Montanistic party in the Church, and its relation to the rest of the Church. Although the Montanists looked upon themselves alone as the genuine Christians, and their adversaries only as imperfect ones, who occupied a lower grade, and believed themselves raised up above the rest of the Church, yet it does not appear that they directly separated themselves from these latter, and renounced communion with them; they only desired to be the *ecclesia spiritus*, the *spiritalis ecclesia* in the *carnalis*. But it must be acknowledged, certainly, that they could not be permitted to remain in this relation to the rest of the Church, in which they were continually endeavouring to extend themselves farther, without great danger to the Churchly life, for they claimed only toleration at the first, in order to attain afterwards gradually to domination.

As the Church at Lyons (see above,) when it was visited by the sanguinary persecution under Marcus Aurelius, had at that season many members of the Churches in Asia Minor, among which the Montanistic movements had chiefly taken place, they were induced thereby to take a lively sympathy in these cir-

cumstances. It wrote a letter to Rome to the Bishop Eleutherus, and the Presbyter Irenæus was the bearer of the letter. Much light would be thrown on the transaction, if we had a more distinct account of the contents of this letter, but Eusebius* says merely, that their judgment in this matter was very pious and orthodox. Now, as Eusebius decidedly looked upon the Montanistic views as heretical, we may conclude, from this expression, that the judgment delivered in the letter was against the Montanists. But in this case the letter could not have had the object which Eusebius attributes to it, of adjusting the controversies. It suits this object better, to suppose that in this letter the prevalent sentiment was a spirit of Christian moderation, which endeavoured to lower the importance of the differences, to rebut many exaggerated accusations against the Montanistic Churches, and also to maintain Christian unity while they differed in their estimation of the value of the new prophetic gifts. If we suppose this, it can easily be explained how Eusebius came to pass so favourable a judgment on the contents of the letter, which could not have happened, if the letter had spoken a *decidedly* Montanistic language. This coincides best also with the character of Irenæus, which we know to have been peaceful and moderate, as well as with his habits of thought, which, though by no means decidedly Montanistic, were not so entirely opposed to the Montanists. Eleutherus was probably induced by this embassy to conclude on terms of peace with those Churches, but afterwards there came from Asia Minor to Rome a violent opponent of Montanism, named Praxeas, and he induced the Roman bishop, partly by representing to him the opposite conduct of his two predecessors, Anicetus and Soter, and partly by prejudicial representations of the condition of the Montanistic Churches, to revoke all that he had done. The Montanists now propagated themselves as a schismatical party (*literally*, a separated Church party :) they were called *Cataphrygians*, from the country of their origin, and also *Pepuzians*, because Montanus taught that a place called *Pepuza*, in Phrygia, which was, perhaps, the first locality of a Montanistic Church, was selected as the spot from which the Millenarian kingdom of Christ was to proceed.

* Lib. v. c. 3.

We must distinguish between the moderate and the violent opponents of Montanism, who carried their opposition against it to the very highest pitch. There were some who, in their opposition to it, not only condemned all Chiliasm as something altogether unchristian, and as one of the unchristian doctrines which proceeded from the detested Cerinthus, but also maintained that the gifts of prophecy, to which the Montanists attached so great importance, were altogether foreign to the Christian economy, inasmuch as the line of the prophets had necessarily been closed by John the Baptist, after whom, the end and aim of all prophecy had appeared. The words, that the Law and the Prophets should only last till John, (Matt. xi. 13.)* were for ever in their mouths; and certainly they were thus far in the right, that prophecy in the economy of the New Testament cannot be looked upon as something essential and necessarily belonging to the development of the whole, and that by the prophetic office of Christ every other prophetic office is altogether done away with as a necessary means for the formation and maintenance of the Church. They, therefore, declared the Apocalypse, with which the Montanists occupied themselves a great deal, and from which they endeavoured to demonstrate the truth of their Chiliasm, to be a spurious book, forged by Cerinthus, which was at variance with the very nature of the Christian economy. They also considered the first season of the foundation of the Church, the time of the apostles, as the limit of those especial and extraordinary operations of the Holy Ghost in the gifts of grace. To the one-sided state of feeling predominant among the Montanists, these overwrought opponents of Montanism opposed a predominant one-sided and cold state of mind, deficient in warmth of inward Christian feelings; and in virtue of this they rejected much which was of a genuine Christian character, from too great fear of falling into something mystical.† But this last disposition was too strange to the prevailing spirit of the

Christian Church, in its youthful life, to allow of its finding much acceptance.

The *second principal direction of the theological spirit* proceeded from the school of Alexandria. The peculiar spiritual life in this city, then of so great importance as a middle point of union between the East and the West, communicated then, as it had done formerly to the Jewish, a peculiar character to the Christian theology, which formed itself there. The Christian theology which proceeded from Alexandria, bore the same relation to the different directions of the Christian religious and theological spirit, that the Jewish-Alexandrian theology had borne to the different directions of the Jewish religious and theological spirit.* But a peculiar institution of the Alexandrian Church had an especial influence on the formation of this Christian-Alexandrian theology, I mean the *Alexandrian Catechetical School*, about the early rise of which, however, and its gradual completion, we are without authentic information. It is natural to inquire, whether the original destination of this school was *merely* to give instruction to those heathens who were converted to Christianity, or who desired to become better acquainted with it, or whether a sort of school for the education of Christian ministers, a kind of spiritual theological seminary, existed there from the very first. The accounts of Eusebius† and Jerome‡ are too indefinite to decide this inquiry; and, indeed, both these fathers were scarcely in a condition to be able to distinguish accurately between the state of this school in *their own days* and that

* See p. 29.

† Lib. vi. c. 10. It appears that from ancient times there had existed there a *διδασκαλικὴν ἑκκλησίαν*, which would, according to the ecclesiastical usage of terms, most naturally be explained as "a School for the interpretation of Scripture," and this is certainly insufficient to determine the nature and kind of the Alexandrian School; but when once one is acquainted with the nature and character of that school, these words may be made to contain all that belongs to its theological studies. For its *Gnosis* was intended to give the key to the proper understanding of Scripture, and would be deduced out of Scripture by allegorical interpretation. We cannot, in this age of the Church, which as yet jumbled every thing together in a chaotic fashion, expect to find any division of theological discipline into various classes, such as *Exegesis, dogmatics, &c.*, as Professor Hasselbach of Stettin has justly observed, in the explanation of these words in his treatise, "*de Schola, quæ Alexandriæ floruit, Catechetica, Particul. i. p. 15.*"

‡ De Viris Illustr. c. 36.

* Tertullian makes frequent allusion to this watchword of the antimontanistic party; but we must confess that it would not be used by all in the same sense: many would intend by it only in a general way to oppose that intermixture of Law and Gospel, of that which belongs to the Old with that which belongs to the New Testament, which they found in Montanism.

† See the account of the *Alogi*, given hereafter.

which it had *originally*. We must, therefore, confine ourselves to the consideration of that which is known of the operations of individual catechists, as presidents of this school, in order thence to gather some conclusions as to the general circumstances of the school itself. We find, then, originally at Alexandria only one person appointed as a catechist by the bishop, whose business it was to communicate religious instruction to the heathens, as well as to instruct the children of the Christians of the place in their religion also.* Origen was the first who, as catechist, divided with another person the duties of his calling, which had become too much for him, while he was desirous of prosecuting at the same time his learned labours in theology; and on that account he formed his catechumens into two classes. But although in other places the catechist might not need to possess very high spiritual qualities and peculiar knowledge, the case was different in Alexandria, where they often had to instruct men of a literary and philosophical cast of mind, who had already investigated a variety of systems, in order to find out a system of religious truth adapted to their wants, and where they were often obliged to converse with such men on religious subjects, and philosophical matters which are connected with them.

In that place men were required who possessed a learned acquaintance with the Hellenic religion, and the philosophical systems then peculiarly in vogue in the educated classes, among which the Platonic-eclectic was chiefly predominant, and who would thence be in a condition to set forth the insufficiency of these things to meet the religious requirements of the heathens; to counteract the prejudices against Christianity which arose out of their philosophical habits of thought, in a manner suitable to them; to compare Christianity with the prevalent religious and philosophical systems; to seek and to point out the part of their philosophically-developed religious knowledge,† on which Christianity might be engrafted; and generally to set before them the Christian doctrines in a manner suited to their learning and cultivation of mind. It was not sufficient here, as it was in other Churches, to bring forward the main doctrines of Christianity, accord-

ing to the so-called *παράδοσις*, but it was necessary with the better informed catechumens to trace things up to the original source of religion in Scripture itself, and to endeavour to lead them to the understanding of Scripture; they desired a creed which would bear a learned and enlightened investigation. One of these very catechists, Clement gives a hint of what is required for the successful discharge of the duties of the catechist office, when he says:‡ “He who desires generally to select that which is useful for the advantage of the catechumens, and more especially when there are Hellenists,† (but the earth is the Lord’s and all that therein is,) he must not, like the beasts devoid of reason, refuse to learn much; but he must seek to gather together as many aids as possible for his hearers.” He shortly afterwards adds:§ “All cultivation is useful, and especially the study of the Holy Scriptures is necessary, in order to be able to prove that which we bring forward, and also, where the auditors are persons of Hellenic education.”§ It was, therefore, necessary that great care should be used in the choice of these Alexandrian catechists, and the office was assigned to men of literary and philosophical attainments, who had themselves come over to Christianity after a learned investigation of it, such as Pantænus (*Πανταίνος*) who is the first Alexandrian catechist, who is known to us; and such also his disciple Clement.

Now, as these men formed the successors to their office out of the circle of their scholars among the converted Heathens, and as many of their scholars, incited by their lectures and conversation, devoted their learning, as well as all they had besides, only to the service of Christianity, and became afterwards zealous ministers of the Church, and as many young Christians also joined them and endeavoured to attain a learned well grounded Christian knowledge, as well as an aptitude to instil the same into others, it happened of itself without en-

* Stromat. lib. vi. 659 B [Pott. 785. Sylb. 279. Klotz, iii. 152.]

† We may thus supply what is requisite to complete the sense: he need not fear to seek even in Heathen literature the traces of truth, and appropriate to himself what is useful there, for all comes from God, and as such is pure.

‡ Strom. vi. 660 C.

§ We must here compare together generally, what Clement says of those with whom the faith must receive a demonstration after the Hellenistic fashion.

* Eusebius says, lib. vi. c. 5, that Origen, when a boy, had been the scholar of Clement.

† *Bewusstseyn consciousness or knowledge*; is the word in the German.—H. J. R.]

deavours for that object, that their sphere of exertion enlarged itself, and a kind of theological school, a learned seminary for ministers of the Church, was formed around them.

In order properly to understand the development of the peculiar theological spirit of this school, we must fully enter into its relations with regard to the three different parties, in connection with which, and in opposition to which, it was formed, and the different spiritual dispositions of which, it hoped to be able to reconcile and to unite together by means of a higher principle, which would smoothe down the contradictions between them.

These relations were,

1. Their relation to the *Greeks*, who sought after wisdom, who despised Christianity as a blind, reason-hating belief, and who were only strengthened in their contempt of it, by the sensuous conceptions of the uninformed and abruptly repulsive Christians by which they were met.

2. Their relation to the Gnostics, then very common in Alexandria, who at the same time spoke with contempt of the blind belief of the sensuous multitude, and by the promise of a higher exoteric religious creed, attracted to themselves the Heathens who were inquiring after wisdom, and the Christians who were unsatisfied with the common instruction in religion.

3. Their relation to that first class of pastors of the Church, whose views were of a *Practical-realistic nature*, and particularly those among them who were very *zealous*, to whom from the speculative pride and presumption of the Gnostics, all speculation and philosophizing, and every attempt at any thing like a Gnosis, were objects of suspicion, and were always fearful of the intermixture of foreign philosophical elements with Christianity.

By means of a Gnosis,* proceeding from faith, and engrafting itself on that faith in harmony with it, the Alexandrians expected to avoid the one-sided and false views of these three dispositions, and to appropriate to themselves whatever there was of truth in each of them, nay, even to be able to reconcile them to each other.

In their theory of the relation of γνῶσις to πίστις they differed from the Gnostics in this respect, that they recognised πίστις as the foundation of the higher life for *all* Christians, as the common bond, by which

all, however they might differ from each other in intellectual culture, might be united into one Divine community. They even also opposed the unity of the Catholic Church, founded on this faith, to the discrepancies of the Gnostic schools (διατρίβαι,) the one with the other, and they did not assume different sources of knowledge for πίστις and γνῶσις, but the same for both; namely, the tradition of the main doctrines of Christianity, existing in all Churches, and Holy Scripture; they ascribed to Gnosis only the work, of bringing into full consciousness, that which was first acquired by faith and received into the inward life, of developing it according to its full extent and its internal connection, of grounding it upon knowledge, and presenting it to others with knowledge, of proving that this is the genuine doctrine, which came from Christ, of giving a reason for it, and of defending it against the reproaches of its adversaries among the heathen philosophers and heretics. They used here for their motto the *passage of Isaiah*, which appears already to have been used as a motto in more ancient days, and which afterwards was the motto to designate the relation between faith and knowledge from the days of Augustine to those of the scholastic theology formed upon Augustine—the passage found in Isaiah vii. 9. This passage, indeed, if taken only in the Alexandrian version, and without reference to the context, may bear this meaning: * ἵαν μὴ πιστεύσῃτε, οὐδὲ μὴ συνῆτε, if ye believe not, neither will you attain to knowledge—which words they first took in this sense: whosoever does not believe in the Gospel, cannot attain to an insight into the spirit of the nature of the Old Testament; and *then* in the sense which is akin to it: without faith in Christianity man cannot penetrate into the deeper knowledge of the nature of the Christian doctrines.† Thus Clement says,

* Just as in later times, many passages of the translation of the Bible by Luther have become current, as proofs, for some proposition which had reference to Christian faith, or Christian life, although this application of them was not in conformity with the meaning of the original.

[How often *e. g.* have the words, "Search the Scriptures," been cited as a *command*, by persons who did not dream that the original would bear a very different sense, 'Ye search the Scriptures;' and that some distinguished critics have maintained that the latter sense is the more appropriate. See Bp. Jebb's Sermon on this text.—H. J. R.]

† Stromat. lib. ii. 362 A; lib. i. 273 A; lib. iv.

* γνῶσις ἀληθινὴ opposed to the ψευδογνῶσις.

"Faith is as necessary for the spiritual life of the Gnostic, as breath is for the animal life."* They endeavoured to make good the substantial nature, the dignity and power of Faith against the heathen and heretics. Clement combats the notion, that Faith is a mere arbitrary opinion. Faith with him is a free apprehension of the Divine, preceding all demonstration,† a practical assent, in virtue of the feeling of truth implanted in the nature of man, and in virtue of the natural disposition to a belief in the truth that reveals itself to man; unbelief is, therefore, in his opinion, a *deficiency* on the part of man;‡ and he says in another passage, "He who believes on the Son, has eternal life. Since then, the believers have life, what higher thing remains for them, than the possession of eternal life? But nothing is deficient in Faith, which is perfect and self-sufficient in itself."§ Clement here sets forth as the characteristic of Faith, that it brings with it the pledge of the future, that it takes beforehand the future as a present possession.|| How a deeper knowledge of that which is believed proceeds, by means of the enlightenment of the reason, from a Faith, which passes into the interior life, while that which is believed is enacted in life (lit. *becomes lived*), is beautifully explained by Origen in the passage quoted above,¶ where he says, after quoting a narrative from the Gospel, "He who believes and understands what is written in Isaiah vii. 9, will have received understanding, from his faith, according to the measure of his faith; and when he has received this, let him say what he has a right to say after the foundation of his faith, in the spirit of his faith, in the spirit of these words: *I believe, and therefore, I speak*, Ps. cxvi. 10; Rom. x. 10.*" Let such an one believe

not merely in Jesus, and on that which is written in this place, but let him recognise the sense that is included in it; for he who remains in the truth of faith, and lives in the word by works corresponding to the word, learns the truth, as Jesus promised, and is made free by the truth." What Clement also says about the new powers of perception for Divine things proceeding from this inward life of faith, is beautiful: "See, says the Logos, (Isaiah xliii. 9,) I will make a new thing, which no eye hath seen, and no ear hath heard, and hath not entered into the heart of any man, 1 Cor. ii. 9. Which may be beheld, received, and comprehended with a new eye, with a new ear, with a new heart, by faith and understanding, in as much as the disciples of the Lord speak, understand, and act spiritually."*

This is exactly the peculiar Christian feature in this Alexandrian theory, that they do not conceive Gnosis to be a matter of mere speculation, but as something proceeding from a new inward living power, produced by faith, and shown in conduct, as a *habitus practicus animi*; and thus Clement says:‡ "As the doctrines, so must the conduct also be, for the tree is known by the fruits, not by the blossoms and leaves, and Gnosis comes also from the fruits and the conduct, not from the doctrine and the blossoms; for we say that Gnosis is not only doctrine, but a Divine knowledge, that light, which arises in the soul out of obedience to the commandment, which makes all things clear, and teaches man to know what there is in creation and himself, and how he can stand in communion with God, for what the eye is to the body, that Gnosis is in the soul." No knowledge of Divine things can exist, without a life in them, which comes from faith; *here knowledge and life become one*."†

528 B; and Origenes in Matt. Ed. Huet. p. 424.]

[The passages of Clements are in Pott. p. 432. 320, 625; in Sylb. 156, 117, 226.]

* Stromat. lib. ii. 373.

† Προληψίς ἐννοήσεως προκαταλήψις.—Stromat. lib. ii. 371. [Pott. 444. Sylb. 159.]

‡ Stromat. lib. ii. 384. [Pott. 459. Sylb. 165.]

§ Pædagog. lib. i. c. 6.

|| ἵκανοὶ δὲ τοῦ (τοῦ) πιστῶσαι ἰδὴ περιηλθοῦσι ἱστορίαν, μετὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀπαραμεινόμενοι ζήτωντες.

¶ Compare also Stromat. vii. 731. [Pott. 864. Sylb. 310.] Faith is a good indwelling in the soul (ἐνδύεται τι [τι] ἀγαθόν,) while it acknowledges God, and values Him, without an effort, and therefore, must man, proceeding from this faith, and increasing in it by the grace of God attain as far as possible the kingdom of him (God.)

** These words also are not used properly, ac-

cording to the Alexandrian version, and in conformity with the context; but the sense which Origen attaches to them, and the theory built upon them, are clear; all deeper development of the sense of Holy Scripture, or of the doctrines of the faith, must proceed from a life in faith.

* Clem. Stromat. lib. ii. 365 B. [Pott. 436. Sylb. 156.]

† Stromat. lib. iii. 444. [Pott. 531. Sylb. 191.]

‡ Clem. Stromat. lib. iv. 490: ὡς μνηστί ἐπιστήμην ἔχον καὶ γνώσιν κατὰσθαι (τὴν γνώστην) ἐπιστήμην δὲ εἶναι καὶ γνώσιν. [Pott. 581. Sylb. 210.]

He might certainly have obtained this idea from what the Neo-Platonic philosophy which is older than Plotinus, taught, concerning the identity of *subject* and *object* in the case of the highest con-

This is, therefore, in the Alexandrian theory, the *subjective* condition and the *subjective* nature of Gnosis; as far as regards the *objective* sources of knowledge, from which the 'Gnostikos' was to endeavour constantly to learn with greater clearness and depth the truths received through faith by him into his inward life: these were, according to Clement—the *Holy Scriptures*. Although many who were deficient in the education requisite for the purpose of investigating Scripture for themselves, only held fast the essential fundamental truths, which had been communicated to them at their first instruction, in accordance with tradition; the Gnostikos was to distinguish himself from the common race of believers, by proving these truths by a comparison of Scripture with itself, and supplying all that was needful to them, by knowing how to combat from the same Scriptures the errors which opposed them, and thus a faith grounded on much Biblical knowledge, was in his case to take the place of a belief on the authority of the Church. Clement uses the following language: * "Faith is, then, the shortly-expressed knowledge of that which is essential, but *Gnosis* is the strong and firm demonstration of the things received by faith, grounded on faith by means of the teaching of our Lord, by which faith is raised to an enlightened belief not to be shaken."† And, in opposing the proofs grounded on the undeviating touchstone of Scripture to the reproach of the Heathens and Jews, that it is impossible, from the many sects among the Christians to know where truth may be found; the same writer says, "We do not confide on men, who only proclaim their own judgment, to whom

we might, in like manner, oppose our own judgment. But since it is not enough, merely to express our own opinion, but we must support what we say, we do not wait for the witness of men, but we support what we say, by the word of the Lord, which is the most worthy of confidence of all modes of proof, or rather which is the only one, by the knowledge of which, those who have only just tasted the Scriptures, are *Believers*—those who have gone farther and are more accurately acquainted with the truth, are '*Gnostics*!'"*

Hence Clement calls the *Gnosis*, which proceeds from a comparison of different passages of Scripture with one another, and developes the consequences which flow from the recognised doctrines of faith, a faith according to knowledge (*literally*, a knowing faith.)† With him, therefore, the *Gnostic* is one, who has grown gray in the study of the Holy Scriptures, and whose life is nothing else than works and words, which correspond to the Divine truths received traditionally.‡ But it is only to the *Gnostic* that the Holy Scripture brings such a knowledge of Divine things, because it is he only, who brings to it a believing sense (or capacity)—a sense capable of receiving that which is Divine. Where a man wants this sense, Scripture appears unfruitful.§ This inward sense is, nevertheless, not sufficient to deduce out of the Scriptures the truths contained in them, to develope their whole extent, and to unite them into a systematized whole, so as to defend them against Heathens and Heretics, and to apply them to all which had hitherto been objects of human knowledge. For this there was needed a previous learned preparation, and such could not have been created anew at once by Christianity; but Christianity was obliged to engraft itself here on the class of learning and cultivation of mind here in vogue, just as it had grown up into existence and was ready for it, in order that Christianity, as the leaven for all mankind,|| might by degrees penetrate it,

dition of intuitive perception; but he might have drawn *the thing* itself from his inward Christian experience and conceptions, without our assuming any other hypothesis to explain the circumstance, and he need not be supposed to have borrowed any thing from the Neo-Platonic philosophy, except the *form* in which he represented his notions. And besides, since the influence of spiritual phenomena, which lay hold deeply of the life of their age, extends far wider than is immediately perceptible, and cannot be mechanically reckoned, who can determine how far Christianity had already influenced the spiritual atmosphere, in which certain ideas became current?

* Stromat. vii. 732. [Pott. 865-6. Syll. 311.]

† Ἡ μὲν οὖν πίστις συντομος ἐστίν, ὥς ἱππὸς εἶπεν, τὰν κατεπευγμένων γνώσις, ἡ γνώσις δὲ ἀπὸ διδασκείων τῶν διὰ πίστεως παρελημμένων ἰσχυρὰ καὶ βέβαιος, διὰ τῆς κυρίως διδασκαλίας ἐπακιδέμευμένη τῇ πίστει, εἰς τὸ ἀμεταπτώτως καὶ μετ' ἐπιστήμης καταλήπτειν παρὰ τὴν πύρρον.

* Stromat. vii. 757. [Pott. 891. Syll. 322.]

† ἐπιστημονικὴ πίστις. Stromat. ii. 381. [Pott. 454. Syll. 164.]

‡ Stromat. vii. 762-3. [Pott. 896. Syll. 323.]

§ Stromat. vii. 756. τὰς γνώσεις κεκρυμμένων αἰ γράφει.

|| Clement has beautifully alluded to this parable of the leaven. "The power of the word, given to us, which does much with small means, which attracts every one, who receives it unto him, to itself in a secret and invisible manner,

and give its own peculiar turn to this cultivation of mind.

The Alexandrian Gnosis by this, now attracted to itself a multitude of reproaches from the other party, which compelled it thoroughly to justify its method of proceeding. This contest, which has often been repeated in history, is an interesting one. It was objected to the Alexandrian party, that the prophets and apostles had no philosophical education and attainments. Clement answered, "The apostles and prophets spoke certainly as disciples of the Spirit, what it inspired them to say; but we cannot reckon on a guidance of the Holy Spirit that stands in the place of all human means of information, in order to unravel the hidden sense of their words. The training of the mind by learning, must make us capable of developing the whole intention of the sense communicated to them by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. He who wishes to become enlightened in his thought by the power of God, must already be accustomed to philosophize on spiritual matters; he must already have attained for himself the proper frame of thought, which may be then illuminated by a higher Spirit. He needs a dialectic education of the mind, in order to be able sufficiently to distinguish the ambiguous and synonymous terms of Holy Scripture.*" Against those who maintain that man ought to content himself with faith, and who cast away all the knowledge, which men wish to use in the service of faith, he says—"As if, without even using any care towards the culture of the vine, they expected at once to obtain the grapes. The Lord is represented to us under the image of a vine, from whom we must harvest fruit with the reasonable carefulness and the skill of the husbandman. He must cut, dig, bind up, and do every thing of that kind, he needs the hook, the axe, and other tools of husbandry for the care of the Vine, in order that it may preserve fruit that we may enjoy.†" He had to defend the Alexandrian Gnosis

against the reproach, that Divine revelation is not allowed to be the self-sufficing source of truth; that it is made to need completion and support from foreign sources; and that those who are not well informed and highly educated, are excluded from a knowledge of it. He says in reply*—"If we are to make a distinction of those, who are always ready to complain, we should call philosophy something, which co-operates towards the knowledge of truth: an endeavour after truth—a preparatory training of the Gnostic, and we do not make the co-operating principle the original cause, nor the chief. Not as if that last could not exist without philosophy, for certainly *all of us*, without a general and encyclopædical instruction,† and without the Hellenic philosophy, but many also, even without being able to read and write, being laid hold of by the Divine philosophy, which comes from the barbarians, have received by the power of God through faith, the doctrine concerning the being and attributes of God, (*literally*, the doctrine about God.) The doctrine also of our Saviour is perfect in itself and self-sufficing, as the power and wisdom of God; but the Hellenic philosophy which is added to it, does not make the truth more powerful, it only renders ineffectual the sophistical attacks against it; and as it wards off delusive machinations against the truth, it is called the proper ward and fence of the vineyard.‡ The truth of the faith is as it were the bread necessary for life; the form under which it is represented to us, is to be compared with that which is eaten with the bread, and is like the dessert."

While, on the whole, Clement is distinguished by the mildness and moderation with which he opposed the adversaries of the Alexandrian Gnosis, he himself was well aware how much their anxiety was awakened by the adulterations of simple Christianity among so many sects, who mixed with the Gospel, elements the most uncongenial to its nature; and he well knew, also, how natural it is for men to confound the abuse and the right use of the same thing with each other. The zeal, however, of his adversaries,

and conducts his whole nature to an unity (*literally*, a oneness.") ἡ ἰσχύς τοῦ λόγου, ἡ δοθεῖσα ἡμῖν, συντομὸς οὕσα καὶ δυνατὰ πάντα τοῖς διζήμενοι καὶ ἑνὸς ἑαυτοῦ κηταμενὸν αὐτὴν, ἐτικετοῦμεν: τί καὶ ἄφρωνος πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἔλκευ καὶ τὸ πᾶν αὐτοῦ σύστημα ὡς ἑνότητα συναχῇ. Stromat. lib. v. p. 587. [Pott. 694. Sylb. 249.]

* Stromat. i. 292. [Pott. 342. Sylb. 126. N. B. This passage is not exactly translated from Clement, but paraphrased and a little altered.—H. J. R.]

† L. c. p. 291.

* Stromat. i. 318. [Pott. 376. Sylb. 138.]

† ἀνεῖ της ἐγκυκλίου παιδείας.

‡ What the ancients said generally of Dialectics in relation to philosophy, that they were its fence, was applied by the Alexandrians to the relation of philosophy itself to the Christian Gnosis.

which was certainly often a blind zeal, and the persuasion that this too sensuous, and one-sided disposition stood much in the way of the Spirit of Christianity, which endeavoured to ennoble all human things, and that many were thereby deterred from Christianity, led him to speak somewhat too sharply against their opponents, and did not suffer him to do becoming justice to their pious zeal, as when he says,* "It is not unknown to me, what many ignorant and clamorous persons† constantly say, that our faith must confine itself to the most necessary and essential points, and must let go all foreign and superfluous matters, whereby we are detained with things that do not contribute towards our object." And in another passage‡ where he says: "The multitude in their anxiety lest they should be carried away by the Hellenic philosophy,§ dread it, as children dread masks. But if their faith is of such a kind (for I cannot call that knowledge) as to be overturned by plausible discourses, then it may just as well be overturned, in regard to these people, for they themselves confess, that they have not the truth; for the truth cannot be overturned, false opinions may." Now this is dealing out a hard and unjust sentence, if we refer it to persons; for all worth was not to be denied to the faith of these persons, although they did not feel confidence in their own ability, to enter into a contest with a spirit of understanding prejudiced against the faith, and although they were afraid of being constantly disquieted in the enjoyment of that, which was to them their dearest possession. But if we look at it objectively it is a great and an instructive truth for all ages, which the free spirit of Clement here proclaimed; that Christianity need fear nothing from any opposition, but that the truth, when placed in opposition to that which is false, only shines forth the brighter. In conformity with that declaration, which is ascribed to our Saviour in the Apocryphal Gospels *γινωσκε δοκιμος τραπέζιταις* (be ye skilful money-

changers,) the Gnosticos, according to Clement, ought to be able universally to distinguish mere appearances from the truth, as he would false money from genuine; and hence, to fear no might of false appearances. He needed an acquaintance with the Grecian philosophy, just to be able to point out to the philosophically educated heathens, its errors and unsatisfactoriness, to battle with them on their own ground, and thence to lead them to the knowledge of the truth. Clement says*—"Thus much I say to those who are desirous of finding fault, that even if philosophy be useless, yet the study of it is useful, because it is useful fully to prove that it (philosophy) is useless. For we cannot condemn the Heathens by a mere prejudice against their doctrines, unless we go into the development of particulars with them, until we compel them to accede to our sentence: for a refutation combined with a knowledge of the matter before us, is the most likely mode of obtaining their confidence." And in another passage he says†—"For we must give to the Greeks who ask for that wisdom, which is in esteem among them, such things as they are accustomed to, in order that they may be brought to a belief in the truth by the most easy way, through their own proper method. 'For I became,' says the apostle, 'all things to all men, that I might win all.'"

The most eager antagonists of this free spirit, in order wholly to condemn the occupying ourselves with the Grecian philosophy, appealed to the Jewish tale related in the Apocryphal Book of Enoch, that all the higher branches of knowledge had come to the Heathens in an unlawful manner, through the communications of fallen spirits, and they looked upon all heathen philosophers without distinction, as instruments of the evil Spirit. They either considered the whole antichristian world only in stern opposition to Christianity; they confounded that which is heathen with that original and divine system, without which the heathenism that only adulterated and troubled this original system, could never even have existed at all; they would not so much as hear of any point through which Christianity could be engrafted on a nature and qualities in man, which are akin to the Divinity, and which beam through it constantly

* Stromat. i. 278. [Pott. 326. Sylb. 120.]

† ἀμαθῶς ἱκανῶς.

‡ vi. 655. [Pott. 780. Sylb. 278.]

§ In Stromat. vi. 659, Clement, in a manner full of spirit, says: "Most Christians handle the doctrines after a clownish manner, like the companions of Ulysses, who got out of the way, not of the Sirens, but of their music and song, by shutting their ears out of ignorance; because they knew, that if they have once given their ear to the Hellenistic knowledge, there is no chance of their turning again from them." [See p. 337.]

* I. 278. [i. e. Ed. Paris. In Sylburg. ed. p. 120. In Potter, vol. i. p. 327. Klotz, vol. ii. p. 15.]

† V. 554. [Pott. 656. Sylb. 237.]

even in its worst corruption; and yet without such a point, Christianity could never have propagated itself upon the heathen soil;—or else, like the impetuous, fiery Tertullian—the friend of nature, and of all the original revelations of life, the enemy of art, and of all perversion (of such revelation)—they saw in philosophy only the hand of Satan, that adulterates and mutilates the original nature of man. Clement endeavoured to refute this party also on their own principles. “Even if this view were just,” he says, “yet could Satan deceive men only when he clothed himself as an angel of light: he must attract man by the appearance of truth, and by the intermixture of truth and falsehood; and man must always seek the truth, and acknowledge it, let it come from whom it may. And even this communication can only take place in accordance with God’s will, and therefore, must have been contemplated in the plan of education proposed for humanity by God.”*

But this view, however, which was so exceedingly contradictory to the natural development and progress of human nature, was thoroughly repugnant to his own sentiments; and he expresses himself very strongly against it, when he speaks in conformity with his own views. “Is it not then absurd,” he says, “while we attribute disorder and sin to Satan, to make him the giver of a good thing, i. e. philosophy? for he appears, under this point of view, to have been more benevolent towards good men among the Greeks than Divine Providence.”†

Clement was inclined rather to seek in the progress of the Greek philosophy the work of God in his care for the improvement of man, and a preparation for Christianity adapted to the peculiarities of the Greek character; as it is impossible to deny that the philosophical development of the human mind, which proceeded from the Greeks, tended both negatively and positively to render the soil capable of the reception of the Gospel. The idea of the Divine education of man as a great whole, was Clement’s favourite idea, and he conceived the object of this great scheme to be Christianity; and to this he attributed the dealings of God, not only with the Jewish people, but also

those with the heathen world, although not in the same manner. The Alexandrians combated that confined view [*lit.* particularism] which would limit the government of God, in whom we live, and move, and are, only to the narrow limits of the Jewish people. Thus Clement says, “Every good impulse comes from God; he uses those men who are fit to lead and to instruct other men,* as instruments for [the improvement of] the greater mass of mankind. Such men were the better class of Greek philosophers. Philosophy, which forms man to virtue, cannot be a work of evil; it can only be a work of God, whose work every impulse to good is. And all, which is given by God must be given and received with advantage. Philosophy is not found in the hands of the wicked, but it was given to the best among the Greeks; and it is, therefore, evident whence it was given,—it must have been given by *Providence*, which gives to every man that which is adapted to his peculiar condition. It is clear also that the law was given to the Jews, and philosophy to the Greeks, till the appearance of our Lord; and hence proceeds the universal call to a peculiar people of Righteousness, in virtue of the doctrine which we receive by faith, as the one God of both, the Greeks and the barbarians, or rather of the whole race of man, brought all together through the one Lord.† “Before the appearance of our Lord, philosophy among the Greeks was *necessary for righteousness*, but now it is *useful* for the furtherance of holiness, as a kind of preparation for the demonstration of the faith; for thy foot will not stumble, if thou trace up every good thing, whether it belongs to the heathen or to us—to Providence; for God is the cause of every good thing, but partly in an especial manner, as (he is the cause) of the Old and the New Testament, and partly in a more remote (or derivative) manner, as he is of philosophy. But, perhaps, even this was also given in an especial manner to the Greeks at that time, before the Lord called the heathen also, for it educated the heathen as the law did the Jews for Christianity, and thus philosophy was a degree of preparation for him, who was to be

* The *ἡγεμονικὰ* and *παιδαγωγικά*

* This is the substance of passages found in vi. 647. [Pott. 773. Sylb. 274.] and i. 310. [Pott. 367. Sylb. 134.]

† L. c. vi. 693. [Potter, vol. ii. p. 822. Sylburg, 294. Ed. Klotz, vol. iii. p. 198.]

† vi. 393, 4. [Potter, vol. ii. p. 822, 823. Ed. Sylb. p. 294. Ed. Par. 693, 694. Ed. Klotz. § 158, 159, vol. iii. p. 197, 198. The passage is abridged. I have followed the German.—H. J. R.]

brought to perfection by Christ.* When Clement speaks here of a righteousness to be attained by philosophy, he does not mean to say that philosophy can impart to man the disposition requisite to the fulfilment of his moral destination, and the attainment of the happiness of heaven; he makes a distinction between a doctrine justifying man, which with him can be only the Gospel, and such a one as can merely prepare him for that.† He makes a distinction between a certain degree of awakenment in the moral and religious conscience, as well as of excitement to moral endeavours, and of moral preparation; and between the universal perfect righteousness, which is the object of the whole nature of man,‡ and is opposed to that cultivation of man's nature which is only partially adapted for a certain condition of human development: he himself says of the Greek philosophy,§ that it is too weak to practise the commandments of God, and that it makes men capable of receiving the most majestic doctrines only by ennobling their morals, and by furthering their belief in the superintendence of Providence.|| "As God," says Clement, "willed the salvation of the Jews, by giving them prophets, so also he separated the most pre-eminent among the Greeks from the mass of ordinary men, by making them come forward as their own prophets, in their own language, inasmuch as they were capable of receiving the blessing of God. . . . As now the preaching of the Gospel has come at a convenient season,¶ so also were the law and the prophets bestowed upon the Jews, and philosophy upon the

Greeks at the proper time, in order to accustom their ears to the Gospel message.**

Clement had observed, from intercourse with many who had received a philosophical education, and perhaps, had learned also from his own experience, that previous philosophical culture might become a means of facilitating conversion, (*lit.* a transition point,) to Christianity, as he appeals for proof of what has been alleged to the circumstance, that those who received the faith, whether prepared for it by the Greek philosophy, or by the Jewish law, were both led to the *one* race of the redeemed people.† As the Pharisees, who had mixed the law of God with human traditions, by Christianity attained to a right knowledge of the law; so the philosophers, who had defiled the revelation of Divine truth to the soul of man by the partial and imperfect views to which human nature is liable (*lit.* by human *one-sidedness*) attained to true philosophy by means of Christianity.‡ Clement, in order to represent the ennoblement of philosophy afforded by Christianity, uses the simile of a graft which had been used by the apostle in a kindred sense, and was very expressive and well adapted to denote the ennoblement of human nature by Christianity. The wild olive tree§ is not deficient in sap, but in the power of properly concocting the juices which circulate through it. Now, when the germ of the garden olive is engrafted upon the wild stem, the former obtains more sap, which it appropriates to itself, and the latter the power to assimilate (or digest) it. Thus also the philosopher, who is compared to the wild olive tree, has much which is undigested, because he is full of the versatile spirit of inquiry, and longs after the noble nourishment of truth; and if he now receives Divine power through faith, then

* Strom. i. 282. [i. e. ed. Paris, vol. i. p. 331. Ed. Pott. p. 121, 122. Ed. Sylburg. vol. ii. p. 20. Ed. Klotz.]

† Διδασκαλία ἢ τε δικνύουσα, ἢ τε ἐς τοῦτο χεραγνύουσα καὶ συλλαμβανούσα, vi. 844.

[The context is here important. Clement says, that as every relation (πατρία) ultimately ascends to God the Creator, so also to the Lord must be referred, ἢ τὴν καλὴν διδασκαλίαν, ἢ τε, &c. Potter's edit. vol. ii. p. 770. Sylburg. p. 274. Klotz, vol. iii. p. 134.—H. J. R.]

‡ ἢ καθύλου δικαιοσύνη, Strom. i. 319. [Potter. vol. i. p. 377. Sylb p. 137. Klotz, vol. ii. p. 70.]

§ i. 309. [Pott. i. p. 366. Sylb. p. 133, Klotz, vol. ii. p. 57.]

|| Ἀμυγνῆτι σωφρονίζουσα τὸ ἄνθος καὶ (αἱ καὶ τὸ ἄνθος) προστυφύουσα καὶ προστυφύουσα εἰς παραδόχην τῆς ἀλλοτρίας τῆν περὶ αὐτὴν διερχούσα. [Ita ap. Neand. διερχόμενα, Potter, Klotz, &c., which seems the right reading.—H. J. R.]

¶ κατὰ καιρὸν, i. e. after human nature had been prepared for it by the previous dealings of God.

* τὰς ἀδικίας ἐβρίζουσα πρὸς τὸ κηρυγμᾶ. Strom. vi. 636. [Potter, vol. ii. p. 761—2. Sylb. p. 270. Klotz, vol. iii. p. 123]

† vi. 636, 637. [Potter, vol. ii. p. 761—763. Sylb. p. 270. Klotz, vol. iii. p. 122, 123.]

‡ vi. 644. [Potter, vol. ii. p. 769, 770. Sylb. p. 273. Klotz, vol. iii. p. 133.]

§ vi. 671. [vi. 672. Potter. vol. ii. p. 799. Sylb. p. 285. Klotz, vol. iii. p. 170. The German is hardly an exact translation of the Greek. It is rather a condensation of the text of Clement. I have, therefore, followed the German. The word

verdauen, to *digest* or *concoct*, I have translated by *assimilate*, which is equally applicable to vegetable and animal functions. See Prout's Bridge-water Treatise, part iii., especially p. 469.)—H. J. R.]

he will be able to digest the nourishment imparted to him, and become a garden olive tree." He beautifully illustrates the difference between the pure revelation of truth in Christianity, and those individual beams of truth which are dimmed by an intermixture of human imperfection, by a comparison drawn from the light artificially imprisoned in a burning lens, as contrasted with the pure and clear sunshine.* The Alexandrians were full of the great idea, which now, when Christianity began to unfold its essential nature to the thinking mind, for the first time revealed itself in a passing manner, and was unable as yet to become the principle which, carried out into every individual application, should be the life-giving principle of Christian theology, and of a Christian consideration of history, the idea which alone gives the right key to the contemplation of human nature and of history; namely, that Christianity is, as it were, the centre to all the rays of human imperfection† (*literally, one-sidedness*;) that it proves itself the religion of human nature, inasmuch as it reconciles with each other all the contending dispositions which meet each other in human nature; that it divides truth from falsehood in all human and imperfect systems, that treat of Divine matters; and that it teaches us to recognise in errors the truth, which being misunderstood,

has formed the foundation of them. Such a light of the Spirit, according to the idea of Clement, ought Christianity to have lighted for the Gnostic, and thus ought he, standing on the ground of Christianity, through which he has attained the true centre for the religious nature of man, to be able freely and securely to separate truth and falsehood from each other in all the systems of Grecian philosophers and Christian heretics. Thus Clement says: * "As truth is one, for falsehood only has a thousand paths of error, in which truth is dismembered, just as the Bacchæ dismembered the body of Pentheus, thus the sects of the philosophy derived from the barbarians (*the Christian*) and of the Hellenic philosophy pride themselves upon that portion of truth, which each happens to possess, as if it were the whole truth, but all is enlightened at the rising of the dawn. As," he says, "eternal existence‡ represents that in *one* moment, which is broken by means of time into past, present, and future, so also is truth able to collect together the seeds which belong to her, even if they may have fallen into a strange soil. The Hellenic and the barbarian philosophy have in some sort received portions of eternal truth; they have received not Dionysius, as in that mystical legend, but the divine revelation of the eternal Logos, dismembered and divided into fragments. But he who gathers together again that which was torn asunder by them, and reinstates the Word in its perfection and unity, will without doubt, learn the truth."† This mode of view peculiarly distinguished the Alexandrians, as compared with the partial polemical views of other divines, and therefore, they alone were in a condition to appreciate, with less prejudice, the opinions of heretics, to judge about them with more justice, and in considering their systems, to separate not only the truth from the falsehood which appeared in them, but the

* ἡ μὲν ἑλληνικὴ φιλοσοφία τῇ ἐκ τῆς θρυαλλίδος ἔκειτο λαμπρόν, v. 560, vi. 688. [Potter, vol. ii. p. 663. Sylb. p. 239. Klotz, vol. iii. p. 22. Now, I do not see any mention in this passage of *Brennglas*, though the part of the sentence which follows should be given also; it is this ἡν ἀναπτύσσον ἐνθροῦντι, παρὰ ἡλικυ κλεπτικόντες ἐντεχνῶς τὸ φῶς. It seems to me only a comparison of the artificial and feeble light of a lamp, which is, in fact, originally stolen from the sun, to the full clear light of day. The *Brennglas* is taken from vi. 688, (Potter, vol. ii. p. 817. Sylb. p. 292. Klotz, vol. iii. p. 191,) where a different simile is used, ὡς γὰρ πῦρ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλικυ φῶς δὲ ὕδατι σκευῶσι πληρεῖς ὕδατος μέδουσιν ἢ τεχνῇ εἰς πυρ, οὕτω καὶ ἡ φιλοσοφία ἐκ τῆς βλας γράφει τὸ ἐμπυρεῖμα λαβύσα ἐν ὁλίγῃ φαντάζεται.—H. J. R.]

† [I understand by this a point in which all human dispositions which are apt to run into excess, each in one direction, and thus some in directions exactly opposite to each other, may meet and be reconciled and united; e. g. extreme liberality tends to prodigality, extreme prudence to inhumanity; Christianity alone gives the right direction of the heart which shall unite the two properly. I have thought it necessary to add this explanation, because I do not choose to incorporate a *paraphrase* with the text, and the literal translation hardly gives an adequate notion of the meaning to the English reader.—H. J. R.]

* i. 298. [Potter, i. p. 348. Sylb. p. 128. Klotz, vol. ii. p. 43.—H. J. R.]

† "Das ewige Seyn." In the Greek it is ὁ αἰών.—H. J. R.]

‡ Strom. i. 298, as above. [Potter punctuates and explains the latter part of the sentence somewhat differently. It is thus: ὁ δὲ τὰ διερχόμενα συνθεῖς, καὶ ἐνοπίστας τελεῖν Ἀλζὺν ἀκινδύνως εὐ ἰσθ' ὅτι κατὰψεται, τὴν ἀληθεῖαν. He, therefore, makes τὴν ἀληθεῖαν in apposition with τελεῖν τὴν Α., but I apprehend Neander's is probably the more correct construction, for I think in the other case we should have τὴν τελεῖν Ἀλζὺν. Τελεῖν is the predicate of a clause of the sentence.—H. J. R.]

important errors also from the unimportant.*

On the one side it may, indeed, also appear that Clement, far from supporting the Gnostic distinction between an *esoteric* and an *exoteric* Christianity made *one* life of faith in all Christians, and understood by Gnosis nothing but a well-informed knowledge and capacity of explaining the *one* faith, which was to belong to all Christians. It is certain, in accordance with the connected theory, which has been laid down above, and which may be proved by many passages of Clement, that this alone was his impression on the one side, but on the other side we find also indications, that he had no clear view of the bearing which different forms of religious belief and knowledge had to the essential character of the Christian life. Beautifully as he speaks in many passages of the *nature* and the *power of faith*, yet he was not always clearly conscious to himself of the full meaning of these declarations, and they did not become principles, logically carried out, of his dogmatical (doctrinal) opinions. There was mixed up with that idea of faith which Clement had deduced from the essential nature of Christianity, the idea which adhered to Clement from his former Platonism, namely, the idea of a mythical popular faith,† in which fancy and truth are intermixed, as contrasted with the pure religious knowledge of the philosophically educated, and this notion would have a close affinity with the Gnostic ideas of the relation of *γνῶσις* to *πίστις*. By many explanations, which he gives, he appears to understand by *πίστις* only a very subordinate stage of subjective Christianity, and of the Christian life, a carnal faith, received upon authority and clinging to the letter, a

faith which is still far removed from the true spirit and essence of Christianity, and which, as Clement represents it, is essentially more able to repress the external outbreaks of evil, than to produce true inward sanctification of the heart (although he well knew that on this latter the very essence of practical Christianity depends;) but *γνῶσις*, on the contrary, is in his language, an inward, living, spiritual Christianity, a Divine life. If the mere *Believer* is impelled towards good by fear of punishment and hope of future happiness, the *Gnostic*, on the contrary, is animated toward all good by the inward, free impulse of love; he needs no outward grounds to persuade him of the Divine origin of Christianity, he lives in the consciousness and in the perception* of Divine truth and even already feels himself blessed by its means. If the mere *Believer* (*πιστικὸς*) acts on the dictates of uncertain feelings, and therefore, at times fails in doing that which is right, or does it, but not in the right way, the *Gnostic*, on the contrary, acts always under the guidance of an enlightened reason with clear Christian views and with a consciousness of their clearness.†

* [Anschauung. This word is variously used. It sometimes means merely contemplation, sometimes intuitive perception, sometimes the object of our perception. It is here applied to the *act*, and, therefore, may be rendered *perception*, as showing that the Gnostic has (in the view of Clement) as clear perceptions of Divine truth, as men usually have of those ideas, which we call ideas of sensation. See the Edinb. Rev. for Oct. 1832.—H. J. R.]

† Clement, Stromat. 518-9, [Pott. vol. i. p. 612, 615. Sylb. p. 222-3. Klotz, vol. ii. p. 338, 341.] 645. [Pott. vol. ii. p. 770-1. Sylb. p. 274. Klotz, vol. iii. p. 133-4.] 652. [Pott. vol. ii. p. 777-8. Sylb. p. 277. Klotz, vol. iii. p. 143.] where he says that the *πίστις γνῶστος* has already received in anticipation, what to others is still something future; through love, the future is to him already present; *ἐστὶν αὐτῷ δι' ἡγάπην ἑνώσις ἰδὴ το μέλλον*; vi. 663, [Pott. vol. ii. p. 789. Sylb. p. 281. Klotz, vol. iii. p. 158.] where he divides *good* into that which is worthy of being pursued for its own sake, and that which is only a means to something higher. *Gnosis* belongs to the first class, because we shall attain nothing else by means of it, when it is attained, but only obtain the possession of itself, and be in the enjoyment of an uninterrupted immediate knowledge,* and we shall make our way to

* Hist. as in Strom. vi. 675. [Pott. vol. ii. p. 802. Sylb. p. 287. Klotz, vol. iii. p. 195.] The important distinction is made between *οἱ πρὸς τινὰ τῶν ἐν μέρῳ σφαλλόμενοι* and those *οἱ εἰς τὰ κυριώτατα παραπίπτοντες*. Clement also in vi. 647. [Pott. vol. ii. p. 773. Sylb. p. 275. Klotz, vol. iii. p. 138.] argues against the blind condemnation of all, which is said by heretical teachers, merely on account of the person by whom it is said, without weighing the matter itself, and this he does particularly with reference to the Montanistic prophets. "Nor must we on account of the person who speaks ignorantly, condemn before hand that which he says, which observation is applicable to those who now pass as prophets, but we must prove that which is said, whether it is conformable to the truth."

† *δὲξαι τὰν πολλὰν*.

* Anschauung. See note above. The last clause of the sentence is thus in the German: dass wir uns in ununterbrochenen Anschauung befinden, und zu dieser und durch diese uns durchkämpfen; by which I only understand that *this state* becomes a means only to its own continuance, and not an introduction to a higher state. —H. J. R.

Where Clement speaks of the progressive enlargement of the Divine scheme for the education of man, and represents the Logos as the Θεὸς παιδαγωγός, he says,* "All men belong to him, some of them with a consciousness of what he is to them, (κατ' ἐπιγνώσιν,) others without that consciousness; some as friends, some as faithful *servants*, and others merely as *servants*; it is the teacher, who leads the *Gnostic* by the revelation of mysteries, (the inward perception of truth,) the believer by *good hopes*, and the hard-hearted by corrective discipline, by appeals to the senses." Now here Clement's γνωστικός appears in many respects to resemble the πνευματικός of the Gnostics, and his πιστικός their ψυχικός, and in regard to their interior life they both appear to bear the same relation to each other, but there is, nevertheless, this great distinction, that amidst all the differences which they held to exist in the subjective Christianity of the two conditions, the Alexandrians maintained that there was the selfsame foundation of objective Christianity, of which they only admitted different conceptions, the one more spiritual and the other more sensuous, nor did they, like the Gnostics, make these two different subjective conditions dependent on an original and ineffaceable difference of human dispositions. It may, indeed, be said, that, nevertheless, the two different conditions of subjective Christianity which Clement distinguishes from each other, were really in existence in his day, and are again found in other times, inasmuch as they are founded in the very nature of man; and therefore, that it cannot be of so much consequence, by what name we distinguish the two conditions, nor can it make so great a difference whether we consider them as two different stages in the development of faith, and of the life under the influence of faith, or whether we accord the true spiritual life of faith only to Gnosis, as Clement has done in many passages. And yet this difference is by no means so unim-

portant, as it may seem at first view, but its foundations lie deeper and its consequences are more important. The cause that the Alexandrians conceived the thing in this way, lay partly in their own predominant turn of mind, and partly in the manner in which they viewed the faith of a large class of Christian people.

As far as the first is concerned, the contemplative and speculative turn of mind was far too predominant among the Alexandrians, and this prevented them from recognising in its full extent the independent practical power of faith in the reformation of the interior life, and they were still under the influence of that view, which proceeded from the Platonic School, and was natural, indeed, generally to the whole of the ancient world, namely, that the inward, spiritual, and religious life, in short, maturity in religion, could not exist without philosophical culture of the mind.*

As far as the second point is concerned, we must take into the account the manner in which they (the Alexandrians,) were often accustomed to meet with faith in a certain class of uneducated Christians, as a mere belief received upon authority, united with a sensuous Eudæmonism,† and a fear of hell, that presented to the mind only images of horror derived from the senses. They could not mistake the bettering influence of faith upon the life, even where it appeared to them under this form, when they compared what these men had become, as Christians, with what they had been as heathens; but they did not believe that they could perceive any traces of the ennobling influence of Christianity upon the whole inward nature of man, or of a divine spiritual life; and this sensuous Christianity was in contradiction to their spiritualized religious habits

* There is a remarkable passage in Clement, vi. 691, in which he distinguishes an inward perception, [Geistes-anschauung,] a learned knowledge or Gnosis and faith, from one another. The first, or γνωσις, consists in an immediate connection of the Spirit with the highest origin of things, the mere ἐπιβλάνη; γνωσις is distinguished from γνῶσις by the addition of βιβλικὴν λόγον ἀποδεικτικήα, the reception of the fundamental doctrines without the inward perception (anschauung) in regard to the practical exercise of them is Faith. (ἡ φρονησις) ἐν τῇς εἰς εὐλαβείαν συντηρούμενην, καὶ οὕτω θεωρίας παραδείξιμένην τὸν ὀρθοῦ λόγον κατὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ ἐκτελέσασιν τηρεσθῆναι πίστις λέγεται.

† Eudæmonism. The word in the original is Eudæmonismus, which is a modern coinage. It expresses a notion of the Deity being pleased with man and rewarding him, especially in good that affects the body.—H. J. R.]

this and through this, [i. e. a state to which we attain through itself.—H. J. R.] Faith belongs to the second class, on account of the fear of punishment which arises from it, and on account of advantages, and the hope of reward; fear being a motive to the multitude to abstain from sinning, and the promises a motive to strive after obedience, through which the happiness of heaven is to be obtained.

* viii. 702. [Potter, vol. ii. p. 831-2. Sylb. p. 298. Klotz, iii. 209, and seqq.]

of thought. They might, therefore, be inclined to attribute a very low grade of the religious life to *πίστις* and to the *κοινὸς πιστικός*, and to consider the higher life of Christianity, of which they saw nothing in the *κοινὸι πιστικοί*, as fruit due only to the *γνώσις* of the well informed and highly cultivated. It must, indeed, be avowed that they were very likely in this case to do injustice to those, who were in an entirely different condition as regarded both the turn of their mind, and the extent of its development, if they passed judgment upon the more hidden spiritual life of faith from the impure reflection of it in a habit of thought, neither thoroughly formed, nor as yet thoroughly penetrated by the leaven of Christianity.

The prejudicial consequences of this predominance of the contemplative and speculative turn of mind, and of this extremely sharp division of *γνώσις* from *πίστις*, show themselves in Clement in a variety of ways. Instead of bringing forward the *Gnosticos*, under the image of an humble-minded Christian, living in the constant conviction of the sinfulness that still adheres to him, and constantly advancing in holiness, he often appears in Clement under the form of a Neoplatonic Theosopher, living in contemplative self-sufficingness,* and unmoved by passions,† although, even hither the Christian element has again made its way, as may be seen by the circumstance, that the Gnostic cannot feel himself entirely blessed in contemplation alone, and living for himself and shut up in himself alone; but is represented as actuated by the desire of working actively for the benefit of others.‡

Hence also it happened, that instead of contenting themselves with a mere systematic (*lit.* organic) development of that which is known in faith, the Alexandrians wished to transcend the bounds

of faith by their Gnosis, and lost themselves in the region of Theosophy, which desired to comprehend divine things; so that mistaking and overlooking the practical aim of Divine Revelation for the improvement and salvation of human nature, they endeavoured to find the solution of speculative inquiries in Scripture. When many came forward and opposed the speculative Gnosis with this just argument: "The wise man is persuaded that there is much which is incomprehensible, and his wisdom even consists in the very acknowledgment of the incomprehensibility of the incomprehensible!"* Clement answered, "This is also common to those, who are able to see only a little way before them; the Gnostic apprehends that which appears to be inapprehensible to the rest of men, for he is persuaded that there is nothing which cannot be apprehended by the Son of God; whence it follows that there is nothing which cannot be taught [by him,] for he who suffered out of love to us, would debar us from nothing which could contribute to the instruction of Gnosis." One sees how indefiniteness here becomes the source and foundation of great error, for this declaration is true enough when understood of that only which it is necessary for man to know for his salvation, but not when applied to things, which serve only to the gratification of speculative and ill-directed curiosity.

The notions of Clement in these matters, are repeated in those of his great disciple Origen, only conceived in a peculiar manner, full of deep thought, and systematically worked out, but there is the same connection of the ideas of Gnosis and Pistis in relation, as well to different conditions of subjective Christianity, as to the different operations of a Divine scheme for the general instruction of man, which lets itself down to the varied wants which arise from the variety of these conditions of man. In his controversies with the heathen, who reproached Christians with their blind faith, Origen often declares it to be a peculiarity of Christianity as a revelation of a God who came for the salvation of *all* men, that it is able to attract even the multitude who are incapable of scientific investigation and knowledge, and in virtue

* [The word "self-sufficiency" is so constantly used in English in an idiomatic sense, as implying merely conceit and vanity, that I have used a word which, if not a current word, may be perhaps allowed.—H. J. R.]

† See F. 748. [See Potter, vol. ii. pp. 881-2, Sylb. p. 318. Klotz, vol. iii. p. 268.]

‡ Clement says, beautifully, on this point: "The Gnostic, who sees his own salvation in the advantage of his neighbour, may justly be called a living image of the Lord; not with regard to the circumstances of his outward form, but from similarity to that which he was in power, and from a resemblance to his preaching." Ὁ γνωστικός ἰδὼν σωτηρίαν ἡγεμενὸς τὴν τῶν πλὴκ ἀφελῶν, ὡς ἀλμα ἐμψυχὸν εἰκτὸς ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ λογματοῦ, οὐ κατὰ τὴν τῆς μορφῆς ἰδιότητα, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ τῆς δυνάμεως συμβεβηκὸν καὶ κατὰ τὸ τῆς κηρυγτικῆς ὁμοιωμά.

* vii. 649. [Potter, vol. ii. p. 775. Sylb. p. 276; Klotz, vol. iii, p. 140. N.B. The reference in Neander should be vi. 649. not vii. 649.—H. J. R.]

of mere faith,* to work upon them to sanctification with divine power; and he appeals to the experience of very many, as a testimony to this efficacy of Christianity.† Those who had attained to faith at first only in this manner, might then become impelled of their own accord to penetrate constantly more and more also into the deeper sense of Scripture.‡ He makes *πιστις* the lowest stage of Christianity, which must, nevertheless, have an existence, in order, that “the simple, who give themselves up to holiness according to their power, may be able to attain salvation;” and above faith he places both *Gnosis* and *Sophia*. This last is that Divine Wisdom, which is imparted to the souls, who are, by God’s grace, capable of receiving it, and who have sought to obtain it from God, by study of the Scriptures, and by prayer. Human wisdom, the wisdom that belongs to our world, is only a preparatory exercise of the soul, in order that it may become capable of attaining that which is the real aim and object of its existence, by means of cultivating its intellectual faculties.§

Origen, as well as Clement, in many places declares expressly in reference to the nature of faith, that it is a fact of the inward life, through which man enters into a real communion with divine things, and he distinguishes this living faith from a belief, resting on authority, which clings only to outward things. Thus, in explanation of John viii. 24,|| he says, “That faith brings with it a spiritual communion with that on which we believe, and hence there is generated a kindred condition of the heart,¶ which must show itself in works. The object of our belief is received into the inward life, and becomes a forming and fashioning principle for it. In all the relations (*ἐπιστολαί*), under which Christ becomes an object of faith, according to all these

the believer receives Christ into his inward life; thus, for example, since Christ is called the power of God, power to all good actions cannot be wanting to him, who believes on Christ, as the source of divine power.” Thus, in tom. xx., in Joh. c. xxv., he makes a distinction between a sensuous belief in miracles, and a faith in the truth. He compares John viii. 43, and 45, and says, that those sensuous Jews were impressed by the miracles, and would have believed on Jesus as a worker of miracles, but they were incapable of receiving Divine truth,* and never would have believed on Jesus as a preacher of deep truth; and he adds, “This may also be seen in many, who look with wonder on Jesus, when they consider his history, but who cannot have any farther faith in him, when a deep doctrine, which surpasses their comprehension, is unfolded, but begin to cavil at it, and say that it is false. Therefore, let us take heed, lest he say to us also, ‘ye believe not me, because I declare the truth.’” Nevertheless, the relation to what is dependent on historical grounds, and the practical influence, which is inherent in the idea of faith, as conceived by St. Paul, is clearly thrown more into the back ground by Origen. That higher condition of faith was, in his notions, at the same time a condition in which Christianity was applied and conceived in a more spiritual manner—a condition in which truth was more immediately the object of interior perception; and this condition of faith so exactly accorded with his notion of the condition of *Gnosis*, that he often contrasts *Gnosis* with a mere historical belief. “Faith may exist without a definite conception of the thing believed.”† He ascribes this *Gnosis* to those who devote themselves wholly to the contemplation of Divine matters, who after they have cleared their spirit from foreign elements, behold God with more godlike eyes. He finds also that such a *Gnosis* is contrasted with mere faith, in John viii. 31, 32.‡ For this distinction between *Gnosis* and *Pistis* he appeals also to 1 Cor. xii. 9; where, however, faith being represented as a gift of grace, can-

* *Ψαλλὴ πιστὴς, πιστὴς ἀληθὴς.*

† Compare e. g. c. Celsum, lib. i. c. 10.

‡ C. Celsum, lib. vi. Philocal. c. 15. *μετὰ τὴν ἀταξὺς γενόμενῃ ἐισαγωγῇ φιλοτιμώμεθα περὶ τοῦ καὶ βέλυστα τῶν κερυμμένων νοημάτων ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς καταλαβεῖν.*

§ C. Cels. vi. 13. [Ed. Spencer, p. 283.] Origen maintains that St. Paul sets those graces, which are connected with knowledge, higher than the gift of working miracles. *ἐπεὶ τὸν λόγον προετίμα τῶν τεραστίων ἐνεργειῶν, διὰ τοῦτο ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων καὶ χαρίσματα ἰσχυμάτων ἐν τῇ κατωτέρῳ τάξει χωρὰ τὰς τὰ λόγια χαρίσματα.* c. Cels. iii. 46. [Ed. Spenc. p. 139.]

|| Tom. xix. Joh. § 6. [See Origen, ed. Huet, vol. ii. pp. 284, 285.—H. J. R.]

¶ *διεκρίσθαι κατὰ τοὺς λόγους καὶ συμπεφικέναι αὐτοῦ.*

* As if our Saviour had intended to say, *καθ’ ὃ μὴ τέταρα πικρὰ πιστεύετε μοι, καθ’ ὃ δὲ τὴν ὀλβωμένην λέγω, οὐ πιστεύετε μοι.* [The reference in the text has not enabled me to consult the original passage.—H. J. R.]

† [Erkenntnisse is the German word here used, which I have translated “definite conception.” See the Conversations Lexicon in verbo.—H. J. R.]

‡ See c. xix. in Joh. c. 1.

not be that historical belief of which Origen speaks as opposed to Gnosis, but where it is rather the designation of a peculiarly practical power of faith. Origen places the condition of Gnosis so far above that of faith, that he represents it, in speaking of this contrast, as a life of sight. "Those," he says, "who have received the charisma of Gnosis and Sophia, no longer live in faith, but in sight; the spiritually-minded, who already dwell no longer in the body, but even here below, are already present with the Lord. But those do still dwell in the body, and are not yet present with the Lord, who do not understand the spiritual sense of Scripture, but cling wholly to its body (i. e. the letter, see below.) For how, since the Lord is the Spirit, should he not be far from the Lord, who does not understand the life-giving spirit and the spiritual sense of Scripture? such an one lives in faith."* He busies himself here very diligently in endeavouring to explain, after his own notions, what St. Paul says in utter contradiction to this view in 2 Cor. v., about the relation of faith to sight; and not without sophistical arguments involving a confusion of ideas, he contends against the just interpretation of most of the fathers, who maintain that even Paul speaks of himself, as one who still lived in faith, and had not yet arrived at living in sight. He makes the expression, "to dwell in the body," entirely equivalent to "living in the flesh, and according to the flesh;" and thus obtains as a result, that St. Paul said this, not in reference to himself and all spiritually-minded persons, but only in reference to those believers, who were still carnally-minded. He applies also (and in him the application is consistent) what St. Paul says (1 Cor. xiii.) of the perfect, to the genuine Gnostics, as contrasted with the mere believers, who are still in childhood, and still have only the mere partial knowledge.† This twofold condition, according to the notion of Origen, corresponds with the twofold condition of a spiritual and a fleshly Christianity.‡ He who is in the position afforded by a fleshly Christianity, abides only by the letter of Scripture,

and by the historical account of Christ; he clings only to the outward appearance of the Divine, without raising himself up in spirit to the inward essence, which is revealed in it; he confines himself wholly to the earthly, temporal, and historical appearance of the Divine Logos; he does not raise himself up to the actual perception of the latter (the Logos) itself; he contents himself with the mere shell of the Christian doctrines, without penetrating to the interior kernel contained in them; he clings solely to the letter of Scripture, in which the spirit lies bound. The spiritual Christian on the contrary, in the temporal appearance and operations of Christ, sees the revelation and the representation of the eternal government and operations of the Divine Logos; with him, the letter of Scripture is only the covering of the spirit, and he knows how to detach the spirit from this covering. With him, all that is temporal in the form, under which Divine things are presented to us, is elevated into the inward perceptions of the spirit; with him the sensuous Gospel of the letter,* becomes spiritualized into the revelation of the eternal spiritual Gospel,† and it is the highest question to which his soul applies itself, to find the latter in the former, and to turn the former into the latter; and to understand Holy Scripture as the revelation of a continuous scheme of education, provided by the Logos for human nature, and of his uninterrupted activity for the salvation of man, a scheme of which the centre point is his appearance among men (which is the sensuous representation of his eternal and spiritual operation),‡ and the aim of which is to bring back all fallen being to God. While he refers every thing to this one view, the whole volume of Holy Scripture becomes to him, by means of the Gospel, elevated and refined into Gospel. Hence, Origen believes by means of spiritual communion with the Logos, by the reception of the Spirit of Christ into the inward life alone,§ can any one attain to the true spiritual Christianity, and to the right spiritual understanding of the whole Scripture. Just then as the prophets *before the temporal advent of Christ* were partakers in spiritual communion with the Divine Logos,

* Origen. t. xiii. Joh. c. 52.

† In Matt. ed. Huet. frag. 213. He does not always remain consistent in this respect; in another passage (in Matt. 271,) he properly refers τελειν to eternal life.

‡ Α χριστιανισμός πνευματικός and a χριστιανισμός σαρκικός, α πνευματικός and a σαρκικός χριστιανισμός.

* το εὐαγγέλιον αἰσθητόν.

† του εὐαγγελίου πνευματικού, αἰνέτου.

‡ The εἰκόνη αἰσθητή, an image of the εἰκόνη νοητή του λογου.

§ The εἰκόνη νοητή του Χριστου.

and in virtue of that communion were enabled to foretell that advent, and the whole of Christianity beforehand, just as they, therefore, had the spiritual understanding of the Old Testament, and in some degree were Christians before the coming of Christ; so after the temporal appearance of Christ, there are among Christians, persons also, by whom this spiritual communion with the Divine Logos has not been obtained, and they, like the Jews of old, still cling to the outward covering; and the saying of St. Paul about the Jews before the appearance of Christianity, (Gal. iv. ;) viz. "That they were still children, that the time appointed by the Father for them, had not yet arrived, and that they were still under guardians and governors," is still applicable to them, as being in a condition through which they must necessarily pass, in order to be prepared and made capable of receiving the true spiritual Christianity. "Every soul," says Origen, "which enters upon childhood, and proceeds on the road towards perfection, until the time destined for its perfection shall arrive, requires a teacher, and guardians, and stewards.*"

Whatever portion of truth there may be in this expression of Origen, and however applicable it may be to the progress of the development of the Christian Church, yet it cannot be denied, that the meaning of historical Christianity, the intimate connection between historical and inward Christianity, appear to be obscured in his representation. We will now hear him speak in his own words,† "We must know, that the spiritual appearance of Christ, was communicated before his personal advent to the perfect and to those who were not in the condition of infants,—to those, who were no longer under schoolmasters and guardians, and to whom the spiritual fulness of time had appeared, namely, the Patriarchs, Moses, the Servants of God, and the Prophets, who had seen the glory of Christ. Now just as he himself, before his visible and bodily appearance, appeared to the perfect, thus also after his incarnation has been preached to those who are still in a state of childhood, because they are under

guardians and stewards, and have not yet reached the fulness of time, to them have the harbingers of Christ appeared, namely, the ideas proper for the souls of children, of which (the ideas or notions) it may be justly said, that they are advantageous for the instructions of such souls. But the Son himself, the Divine Logos, in his majesty has never yet appeared to them, because he awaits that preparation which must take place beforehand among the men of God, who are to be capable of receiving his Godhead. We must also know, that as there is a law, which contains the shadow of good things to come, which good things are revealed (in Christianity) by the preaching of the true law; so also the shadow of the Christian mysteries is represented by that Gospel, which all, who read it, think they understand. The Gospel, on the contrary, which St. John calls an eternal Gospel, and which ought properly to be called the spiritual Gospel, sets clearly before the eyes of those, who understand it, every thing which regards the Son of God himself; the mysteries which were shadowed forth in his language, and the things of which his actions were the symbols. In conformity with what is here said, we must also suppose that, as there is an outward Jew, and an outward circumcision, so also there is an outward Christian and an outward baptism." Origen here scripturally points to spiritual communion with Jesus Christ, as the source of systematic and lively perception of that, which is only hinted at in Scripture; and what he said, was certainly just when taken as said in opposition to a blind and narrow-hearted zeal for an orthodoxy which adhered merely to the letter, and a conceited, unprofitable acquaintance with Scripture; but such declarations, if they were not sufficiently defined and limited, might easily favour a speculative habit of dealing arbitrarily with Scripture, which, under the pretence of a higher truth, mystified the simplicity of the Gospel, and did not recognise the depth which was united with that simplicity. As for instance when he says, "I believe, that the whole body of Holy Writ, even when understood very accurately, contains only a very small part of the elements of Gnosis, and a very brief introduction to it." Thus in his allegorical explanations of the conversation with the Samaritan woman, the well of Jacob is the symbol of the Holy Scripture, and the living water which Jesus gives, is the symbol of

* Comm. in Matt. 213. *παρα ψυχὴν ἐρχομένη εἰς νοσηριότητα καὶ ἰδρυομένη ἐπὶ τὴν τελειότητα, δεῖναι μέχρις ἐνταῦθα τὸ πληρωμαὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, παιδαγωγῶν καὶ οἰκονομῶν καὶ ἐπιτρόπων.*

† Origen in Joh. tom. i. p. ix. [p. 8, 9. Ed. Huet, in which, however, the last sentence of this quotation is imperfect.—H. J. R.]

that, which transcends Scripture. "Scripture is then," he says, "the introduction, and after we have sufficiently understood that, we must raise ourselves up to Jesus in order that he may bestow upon us the fountain of water that bubbleth up into eternal life."*

In his mind this theory of two different stages of Christianity was closely connected with the theory of different forms of the Revelation of Christ, or of the Divine Logos, in relation to these two different conditions. The Gnostics, indeed, according to the different conditions of the spiritual world, by reason of the difference in the natures of men, were accustomed to divide† the revealing and the redeeming power of God among different hypostases; they acknowledged a Monogenes, a Logos, a Soter, an *ἀντὶς* and a *κατὰ Χριστός*, a spiritual and a natural‡ Christ; but, on the contrary, Origen the unity of the being of Christ and of his Divine-human appearance; the one Christ is every thing to him, he only appears under different predicates, in different modes of conception, and in different relations to those, to whom he reveals himself, according to their different capacities, their different requirements; and hence he appears either in his heavenly dignity, or his human state of abasement. The thought often occurs in Origen, "that the Redeemer became all things to all men in a more Divine sense than St. Paul, in order to win all men."§ "The Redeemer," he says, "becomes much, or rather perhaps, every thing, according as the whole creation, which is to be released by him, happens to require him."|| We must separate those predicates, which belong to the Divine word, in virtue of his nature, as the eternal Revealer of God for the whole spiritual world, and the source of

all truth and goodness, from those, which he has taken upon him for the advantage of the fallen natures, which are to be redeemed by him, in relation to the different conditions in which those natures are found. "Happy are they," says Origen,* "who have made such progress, that they need the Son of God no longer as their physician that heals their sick, nor as the shepherd, nor as their redemption, but require him only as truth, as the Logos, as righteousness, and whatsoever he is besides to those, who from their own perfection are able to conceive him in the utmost splendour." Christianity in its historical and practical form, the preaching of Christ crucified, was reckoned by Origen only a subordinate condition, above which he placed the wisdom of the perfect, which acknowledged Christ no longer in the condition of a servant, but in his dignity as the Divine Logos, although he recognised the former condition as a necessary preparatory stage, in order to ascend from the temporal to the eternal Revelation of God, in order that a man being purified through faith in the crucified Redeemer, and sanctified by the following after the Son of God who appeared in human form, should be rendered capable of receiving the spiritual communications of his Divine Being. "If thou canst understand," says Origen,† "the differences in the Divine word, according as it is announced in the foolishness of preaching, or brought forward in wisdom to the perfect, then you will see in what manner the Divine word has the form of a servant to novices in Christianity . . . but it comes in the glory of the Father to the perfect, who are able to say, 'we have seen his glory, the glory as of the only begotten Son of the Father, full of grace and truth;' for to the perfect the glory of the Word appears, as well as his being the only begotten Son of the Father, and his being full of grace and truth also, which they are unable to comprehend, who require the foolishness of preaching to induce them to believe." In another passage,‡ he says, "To those, who live in the flesh, he becomes flesh; but to those who walk no longer after the flesh, he appears as the Divine Logos, who was in the beginning with the Father, and he reveals the Father to them." He says of that preparatory stage of belief,§ "If any

* Tom. 13. Joh. p. 5 & 6. [Ed. Huet. vol. ii. p. 201, 2.—H. J. R.]

† See Part II.

‡ [Pneumatischen und psychischen are the German terms, which are here opposed as in St. Paul: the *pneumatical* meaning spiritual as belonging to the soul, and *psychical* meaning natural as required only to the animal soul or life of man.

The difference between the Gnostic view and that of Origen, may be shortly stated in one sentence. They believed in an *objective* difference in Christ's nature, and he only in a subjective.—H. J. R.]

§ Tom. 20. Joh. 28.

|| Tom. 1. Joh. 22. Where, I think, instead of *καθ' ἑαυτὸν*, we must read *καθ' ἃ χρεῖται αὐτῷ ἡ ἐλευθερωσθαι δυνατόν πᾶσα κτίσις*.

* Joh. i. 22.

† In Matt. p. 290. Ed. Huet.

‡ Commentar. in Matt. p. 268.

§ In Joh. i. c. 11. [?]

one also belongs to the class of the Corinthians, among whom Paul will know nothing except the crucified Jesus, and whom he teaches to acknowledge only him who became man for our sakes, yet he may by means of the man Jesus become a man of God, by the consequences of his death may die to sin, and by consequences of his resurrection may rise up to a Divine life." So that Origen revered even that subordinate condition, and he desired that the Gnostics would let themselves down* to the weakness of those who were placed in it, and avoid giving them offence and occasions of bitterness. "Just as Paul," he says, "could not be of service to those who were Jews according to the flesh, if he had not, when he had good reasons for his conduct, caused Timothy to be circumcised, shorn his own hair, offered sacrifices, and became a Jew to Jews, in order to gain the Jews; so also he, who is inclined to be useful to many, cannot improve those who are still in the school of sensuous Christianity, by spiritual Christianity alone, nor lead them thus to a higher and better state, and he must, therefore, unite spiritual and sensuous Christianity together.† And where it is necessary to preach the sensuous Gospel, in virtue of which among carnal men he can know nothing,‡ but Christ crucified, he must also do this. But when they are grounded in the faith and continue to bring forth fruit in the Spirit, then must we bring forward to them the word, which, having appeared among men, has raised itself again to that, which it was with God in the beginning."§ Thus too, in his allegorical interpretation and application of Matt. xiv. 10,|| after he has deduced from the passage, that a man must become a child to children, in order to gain children to the kingdom of Heaven, just as Christ, though he was in a Divine form, became a child,

he says beautifully, "We must be well aware of this, in order that we may not, out of a presumption of wisdom and advancement, as great ones in the Church, despise the little ones, and children, but inasmuch as we know that it is said, 'Of such is the kingdom of Heaven,' we ought to become such men, that through us the salvation of children may be promoted. We must not only not hinder such from being brought to Christ, but we must do his will by becoming children with children, so that when those children arrive at salvation, through us, who have become children, we may be exalted by God, as men who have abased themselves." Origen here blames those, who, like the Gnostics, despised ordinary preachers and teachers, who were destitute of spiritual culture of the higher order, and who presented the simple Gospel in an unattractive form, just as if such persons did something unworthy of so great a Saviour and master.* "Even if we were arrived at the very highest and clearest perception [anschauung] of the Logos and of truth," says Origen,† "yet still we must not wholly forget the passion of Christ, for it is to that we owe our introduction into this higher life during our abode on earth."

With this twofold condition, namely, that of spiritual, and that of sensuous Christianity, the theory of a twofold condition of Scriptural interpretation and the theory of different senses of Holy Writ were closely connected, for spiritual Christianity brought with it a penetration into the spirit of Scripture, and an understanding of the eternal, spiritual Gospel, just as, on the contrary, sensuous Christianity abided by the letter of Scripture alone. The highest problem of Scripture interpretation was in his estimation the changing of the sensuous Gospel into the spiritual,‡ just as the highest aim of Christianity was to elevate itself from the earthly appearance of the incarnate Logos to communion with him and to the contemplation of his Divine nature. Thus he saw also in the whole body of Scripture a letting down of the overwhelming heavenly Spirit to the human form, which was incapable of containing it; a letting down of the Divine Teacher of man to

* Thus also Clement on the *οικονομία* of the Gnostic. Stromat. vii. p. 730. [Potter, p. 863, 864. Syll. p. 310. Klotz, vol. iii. p. 246, 247.] Comp. the notions of Philo given above, vol. i. p. 73, &c.

† πνευματικῶς καὶ σαρκιατικῶς χριστιανίζων.

‡ [It is difficult to imagine a text more tortured in its application than this passage. It was written to show that the knowledge of Christ crucified, whereby we are led to righteousness and to heaven, transcends all other knowledge, which St. Paul casts away in comparison of it—it is applied to degrade that doctrine of Christ crucified, in comparison of other doctrines and revelations of the same Christianity.—H. J. R.]

§ 'Tom. i. in Joh. p. 9.

|| In Matt. i. c. 374, 375.

* βλέπετε οὖν τις τινὰς τῶν ἐπαγγελλομένων κατὰ χριστὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν καὶ διδασκαλίαν, προσφέροντα τὰ μυστὰ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τὰ ἐξουσιώματα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα.

† Tom. ii. Joh. p. 4. [?]

‡ το μετὰ λαβὴν το αἰσθητοῦ ἐπαγγελῶν εἰς τὸ πνευματικόν.

the weakness and the wants of men, and all Scripture was in like manner a revelation of the incarnation of the Logos. Thus he says,* “All which is here called Word of God, is a revelation of the Divine Word, which became flesh and emptied itself in relation to its heavenly nature, and hence we see the Word of God on earth when he became man, as a human Word, for the Word constantly becomes flesh in Scripture, in order to dwell among us.† But when we have lien on the breast of the Word that became man, and are enabled to follow him as he climbs up the high hill, (Matt. xvii.) then we may say, ‘we have seen his glory,’”‡ He sets out from the principle of an analogy between the Holy Scripture as a work of God, and the whole creation which proceeds from the same God; a principle, which carried out in his lively and spiritual manner, would at once become fruitful for the right consideration of the twofold revelation of God. Thus he says, and the saying shows at once how thoroughly imbued he was with the notion that the Holy Scripture is the Word of God:§ “We need not think it strange, if in every passage of Holy Writ the superhuman nature of the thought does not strike the unlearned, for in the works of Providence, which extend over the whole universe, some of them show manifestly, that they are the works of Providence, while others as so concealed, as to give occasion to incredulity in respect to God who governs all things with inexpressible skill and power. But just as we do not dispute the doctrine of a Providence,|| on account of those things of which we are ignorant, when once we are justly persuaded of his existence, so we cannot doubt of the Divine authority of the Holy Scriptures, which extends to every portion of them, because our weakness is unable in every case to come up to the hidden glory of their doctrines, which is clothed in inadequate language, for we

have the treasure in earthen vessels.” And in another passage he says:* “He who once admits that these Scriptures are the work of the Creator of the world, must be persuaded, that whatsoever phenomena in regard to the creation present themselves to those who attempt to give an account of it, the same will also occur to him who inquires about the Scriptures. There are now, for instance, in Scripture many things which human nature may find difficult, or be unable to explain, but we are not on that account, to accuse the Creator of the Universe; as for example, when we are unable to explain the cause why basilisks and other poisonous animals were created; for here it is the duty of a pious mind, taking into consideration the weakness of man, and how it is impossible fully to understand the creating wisdom of God, to reserve to God the knowledge of such things, and he will afterwards, when we are considered worthy of it, reveal to us that, about which we have doubted in reverence.” How full he was of the belief in a Divine Spirit which breathed throughout the whole of Scripture, and how thoroughly persuaded he was that this could be received only with an humble and a believing heart, is beautifully expressed in the following words of Origen:† “We must believe that no title of Holy Scripture is deficient in the wisdom of God, for He, who proclaimed to man, ‘*Thou shalt not appear empty before me,*’ (Exod. xxxiv.,) will himself far less utter any empty word; for the prophets take what they say, out of his fulness; therefore, all parts are animated (*lit. breathe*) by this fulness, and there is nothing in the Prophets, the Law, or the Gospel, or the Apostolic Epistles, which does not proceed from this fulness. The breath, therefore, of this fulness (*πληρωμά, Pleroma,*) descends on those who have eyes, to see the revelations of the Divine fulness, ears to hear it, and a sense to catch the sweet smelling savour, which proceeds from this fulness. But if, in reading Scripture, you meet with a thought which, so to speak, is a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence, blame yourself, for be assured, that this stone of stumbling contains thoughts, by which that saying shall come to pass, ‘*He that believeth shall not be put to shame,*’ (Rom.

* See Philocal. c. 15.

† Similarly also Clement says, that the character of the Holy Scripture is a parabolical one, as also the whole appearance of Christ is a parabolical one—viz. the Divine in an earthly garb, *παρεβλῆκε γὰρ ὁ χριστὸς ἐν τῷ φανερῷ, διὰ τὸ καὶ ὁ κύριος οὐκ εἶναι κοσμικὸς, ὡς καὶ σωματικὸς εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἦλθεν.* Stromat. vi. 677.

‡ The ennobling of Scripture for him, who learns to understand its spirit by a living communion with Christ.

§ Philocal. c. i. p. 10. [p. 5. Ed. Spencer, 1658.—H. J. R.]

|| *ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐκείνους ἀλλὰ πάντας.*

* Philocal. c. ii, p. 61. [p. 23. Ed. Spencer.—H. J. R.]

† *I. e. c. i. p. 51.* [p. 19, 20. Ed. Spencer.—H. J. R.]

x. 11.) Believe first, and you shall then find much holy assistance and support under that which appeared to you an offence."

But however just this principle of Origen might be, yet in the application of it he was led astray by means of the false position, from which he viewed the spirit and the object of Holy Scripture, and of all Divine revelation through the Word; and this false position was intimately connected with his false conception of the relation between *faith* and *Gnosis* (*πιστις* and *γνωσις*.) In both respects he was led astray by the speculative point of view, which was too prevalent, inasmuch as he did not sufficiently distinguish the nature of a Christian system of faith, and a Christian philosophy from each other, and he did not keep sufficiently before his sight the essentially practical object of all Divine revelations, and especially of Christianity. He did not refer every thing to the one object, that affects all mankind—redemption, regeneration, sanctification, and the blessings resulting from them; but the practical object of man's improvement was, in his estimation, only a subordinate one, which was chiefly of use to the great mass of believers, who were incapable of receiving any thing of higher character. In his estimation, the highest object was the speculative, the communicating the most elevated truths to spiritual men who were capable of understanding them, i. e. to the Gnostics. These higher truths have reference chiefly to the following points: * "About God—about the nature of his only begotten Son, and the mode in which he is the Son of God—about the cause which impelled him to come down and take upon him the nature of man—about the effects of this incarnation, whom it affects—about the higher kinds of reasonable beings who have fallen from a state of happiness, and the causes of their fall—about the difference of souls, and whence this difference arises—what the world is, and wherefore it was created—why there is so much evil in the earth, and whether evil is found only there, or elsewhere also." As Origen made it the chief object to find explanations and answers to these inquiries; many parts of Scripture, if he abided by their natural interpretation, would naturally appear to him to be unfruitful towards that which he considered

its essential object. All narratives embracing only earthly occurrences, all legislation bearing only on earthly relations, he explained as being only the symbolical guise of a higher history of the world of Spirits; and of higher laws which related also to that world. Thus the higher and the subordinate object of Scripture would be united together, and the revelation of the higher class of truth would be hidden in a literal form, adapted to the improvement of the general mass of mankind. "The multitude of genuine and simple believers," says Origen, "bears testimony to the usefulness, even of this inferior understanding of the Scriptures." Between these two kind of senses included in Scripture, Origen imagined an intermediate kind, an allegorical sense adapted for those who had not yet arrived at that higher state of spiritual perception; this was a general, moral, and instructive application of those passages of Scripture, which relate to individual cases, though this application was not of that elevated and profound class; * and he adduces as examples of this, the explanation of 1 Cor. ix. 9; and most of the allegorical interpretations of Scripture then commonly used, even in the instruction of the people. Thus, the triple sense of Scripture corresponded to the three parts of man's nature, which the theory of Origen acknowledged; that which is really Divine in man, the *Spirit*, which is directed towards the Eternal, and finds its proper life in the perception and contemplation of Divine things; the *Soul*, whose sphere of action is the temporal and the finite; and the *Body*. While Philo agreed with Origen in the essential and fundamental features of his view, he (Origen) sought also on the whole to preserve the objective truth of the literal and historical contents of the Scriptures, † which are given as the dress in which the spiritual revelations are communicated. And yet, he formed passages where the letter could not, in his opinion, be defended; because he was destitute of right hermeneutic principles, and of other necessary helps and aids; or because he did not know how to separate the divine from the human in the Holy Scriptures; ‡ or else,

* [As in the higher class of interpretation, which he imagined.—H. J. R.]

† Το σωματικόν των γραφών, το ένδυμα των πνευματικών.

‡ As, for example, where he found it impossible to maintain the literal truth of the history of Uriah, because in David he saw only the man inspired

because (which is connected with the remark we have just made,) proceeding from an exaggerated notion of inspiration, he could not entertain the supposition of any contradiction in Scripture, even in unimportant things; and then, he thought the only way to clear up the difficulties was by a spiritual interpretation.* And, like Philo, he united the supposition with his reverence for the Holy Scripture in such a manner, as to induce him to say, that these things, the literal acceptance of which cannot be maintained—this mythical guise in which the higher wisdom is clothed—were strewed purposely about as a stone of stumbling,† in order to excite deeper inquiry.

These principles Origen applied not only to the Old Testament, but expressly to the New; and expressly to the Gospel history.‡ Thus he imagined that he was able to clear up many difficulties, by supposing, that the apostles represented§ under the outward form of various matters of fact, what they had to say of a difference in the operations of the Divine Logos.|| This principle of interpretation, it must be avowed, gave an opportunity for the exercise of every kind of subjective caprice, and was liable to make historical Christianity entirely a thing of naught; as every one could thus place whatever did not suit his subjective ideas and feelings, in the class of those things which were not to be taken literally. Origen felt with much force, what danger might arise from this to objective Christianity; and he, therefore, always declared, that for the most part the spirit and the letter were both alike to be main-

tained, and that the letter was to be abandoned only after careful examination. But where were there any certain limits?

And yet, we cannot but acknowledge, that in Origen the caprice so prejudicial to objective Christianity, which might proceed from those principles, was softened down by the intimately pious and believing feeling, which animated him, and the thorough sense of the historical truth of Christianity with which he was impressed. And we must also take care to remark, how truth and error here were mingled together in a manner, which must be explained by taking into consideration the peculiarities of his own character, and his relation to his own times, which were then agitated by a variety of contradictory opinions. He saw how carnally-minded Jews, cleaving to the letter of the Old Testament, were unable to attain to a faith in the Gospel; how carnally-minded Christians by that disposition too were led to rude conceptions (*lit.* representations) of God and divine things. He saw how anti-Jewish Gnostics, in consequence of this very mode of conception of the Old Testament, fell into the other error; so that they would not recognise this God, who appeared thus carnally represented (i. e. in the Old Testament,) as the God of the Gospel; which circumstance was an introduction for their whole system of Dualism. Now Origen believed that he should be able, by means of this spiritualizing mode of interpretation, to tear up all these contradictory errors by the very roots.* He had not in this the smallest intention of degrading that which is Divine in Scripture into something human; but he was more inclined to go too far on the other side, by not recognising in that which was Divine, that which was *properly and peculiarly human* in the mode in which it was brought forward; because, in accordance with the general notions of that time, he deduced throughout Scripture both form and matter from the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. The Divine Spirit—such was the belief of Origen—had so completely acted in reference to the higher wisdom, that in many passages the spirit was given without the letter.

It must, however, be confessed, that the

by the Spirit of God, and not a *frail and sinful* man.

* ἀναγκαῖον εἰς το νοητόν.

† σκινδαλα, προσκρίματα.

‡ See the passage of the Philocalia quoted above; and also c. xv. p. 139.

§ T. x. Joh. p. 4. προεκοτο αὐτοὺς, ὅπου μὲν ἐνεχρεῖ ὁλόθων πνευματικὸς ἄμα καὶ σωματικὸς, ὅπου μὴ ἐνεχρετο ἀμφοτέρως προεχρεῖν το πνευματικὸν τοῦ σωματικῷ, συζῶμεν πολὺ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὁλοθῶν πνευματικῷ ἐν τοῦ σωματικῷ, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις ψαδῶν.

|| Of different communications of the ἐπιδημία νηπτι τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

[N. B. In a passage requiring some delicacy of touch in translating, I have used the word *outward* for *sinnlich*, as I thought it gave the nearest idea to the English reader. The ἐπιδημία αἰσθητῇ, or the *abode of the Logos with us which could be perceived by the senses*, was only the type of the ἐπιδημία νηπτι, the *sojourn of the Logos or of Christ in the spirit of man*. This was explained above, p. 350, a reference to which will be of service in considering this passage.—H. J. R.]

* After mentioning all these errors, he says, Philocalia, c. i. p. 17, αἰτία δὲ πασι τοῖς προειρημένοις ψευδοθεῖαν καὶ ἀσέβειαν ἢ ἰδιωτικὸν περὶ Θεοῦ λόγον οὐκ ἄλλα τις εἶναι δοκεῖ ἢ ἡ γεγραμὴ κατὰ τὰ πνευματικὰ μὴ νουνομήνη, ἀλλ' ὡς πρὸς τὸ ψιλον γεγραμὰ ἐβλήθησθαι.

Alexandrian turn of mind, if carried to the extreme, without any counter action, and without the spirit of piety which imbued an Origen and a Clement, might lead to an Idealism, entirely subversive of all that is historical and objective in Christianity; and then, as the struggles which the Origenian school had to undergo at the end of this period indicate, we must look especially to the realistic tendency, which proceeded from the Western Church, for a counterbalancing power to meet that idealism; just as the Origenian school was calculated to be efficacious in spiritualizing that Church. Such is the general picture of the relation which existed between the most remarkable and differing dispositions of mind; a picture, which we shall be sure to find again in the different modes of treating the chief points of Christian doctrine singly, just as this consideration will give us a proof, that, even in the fundamental truths of Christianity, these two dispositions, notwithstanding their opposite nature, must touch each other and join together.

II. *The Development of the great doctrines of Christianity considered separately.*

WE must always bear in mind, that Christianity did not deliver to man isolated *speculative ideas** of God and Divine things, nor a ready made dogmatic system in a settled form, but announced the *facts* of a communication made by God to man, through which man became placed in a new relation to his Creator, by the recognition and application† of which an entirely new direction and formation of the religious feelings might be produced, through which all that was before contained in it would receive an alteration and modification. The fact of the redemption of sinful man by Christ, forms the central point of Christianity, and from the influence which the application of this fact to the heart must produce on the inward life of man, this new form or condition of the religious conscience

arises, and from this again there results a new state of thought about Divine things, which reflects the new world formed within. The characteristic by which the Christian nature of any thing is determined, depends on its connection with this, which forms the essential and fundamental ground of Christianity, according to the manner in which dogmatic systems and individual opinions are in relation to this *one* doctrine, so will be their relation to Christianity in general, and in the same manner we must estimate the importance or nonimportance of errors as far as their efforts on Christian practice are concerned. If from the beginning men had clearly conceived this relation of insulated doctrines to the centrepoint of Christianity, and maintained a full consciousness of it, it would have been more easy for them to come to an understanding as to unity in that which forms the essential nature of Christianity, and this unity would not have been so easily destroyed by differences in speculative conceptions, to which they attached in early times too much weight, exactly because they were unacquainted with the true measure for estimating in what Christianity* consists.

Even the common God-consciousness, the consciousness of the God, in whom we live and move and have our being, received a new impulse from Christianity; the believer who lived in God became filled with a new feeling of the undeniableness of God, and even in Nature, he, on whom inward communion with God had been bestowed through Christ, felt the Omnipresence of a God, who filleth all things, with more liveliness and greater force. While those Fathers, who in early life had been devoted to the Platonic Philosophy, and had received through its influence the shape of their mind and the form of their knowledge, developed under *this form* their Christian God-consciousness, Tertullian, on the contrary, expressed in the original but uncultivated form of his powerful and rugged peculiarity, that with which the animation of an inward deep Christian God-consciousness† inspired him. On the whole, al-

* [*Erkenntnisse*. Like other words belonging to the metaphysical vocabulary of Germany, this word is almost untranslatable. 'Cognitions' would be the nearest if we had the word. It expresses rather the *acknowledgment* of an idea to our own consciousness than the ideas themselves. The *representations* of the mind (*vorstellungen*) are its ideas, our *erkenntnisse* are our knowledge of these ideas. See the *Conversations Lexicon* on the word. See *Edinburgh Review*, Oct. 1832, p. 173. —H. J. R.]

† [*Aneignung*. Literally, *appropriation*; i. e. application to the heart.—H. J. R.]

* [*Literally*, 'for the estimation of all which is Christian,' meaning, how far any doctrine is essentially Christian or not. As I am scrupulous about paraphrasing, I wish my readers to know exactly the force of the idioms which I cannot render literally.—H. J. R.]

† [*Gottesbewusstseyn*. God-consciousness. I have used this new word merely to express the German term, which conveys the idea of "an

though the fathers had not to contend with *Atheists*, yet their controversial treatises against *superstitious* men and *idolaters* often took such a turn, as might have been directed against *atheists* also. Instead of endeavouring to prove the existence of God by logical inference,* they appealed to that which is most immediate in the human spirit, and is antecedent to all proof, they appealed to the originally-implemented consciousness [of God] which human nature cannot deny: they appealed to an original revelation of the one God, made to the human spirit, on which every other revelation of God is founded. Clement appealed to the fact, that every scientific proof presupposes something which is not proved, which can be conceived only through an immediate agency on the spirit of man. He says,† “To the Supreme, the simple Being, and the Being elevated above all matter, faith alone can raise itself.” Therefore, he says, there can be any knowledge or perception of God, only in as far as he himself has *revealed* himself to man. God cannot be conceived by means of demonstrative knowledge, for this proceeds only from things previously acknowledged, and more known [to other things which are less known] but nothing can be prior to the Eternal, and hence it results, that it is only by Divine grace, and by the revelation of his eternal word, that we can recognise the unknown; and then he introduces the words which Paul spoke at Athens, with reference to the knowledge of the unknown God.‡ And in another passage also,§ he says, “The first Cause is above space, and time, and name, and conception. Therefore, Moses says to God, ‘Reveal thyself to me,’ (Exod. xxxiii. 18,) most clearly pointing out, that no man can either teach or express what God is, but he can make himself known only by his own power.” He recognises also in all men an outpouring from God, a Divine seed,|| through which they are impelled, even against their own

will, to acknowledge the one Eternal God. As Origen reckoned the idea of the one God according to the language of philosophy, among the *κοινὰ ἰδέαι* (the ideas common to the conscience (or mind) of all human nature,) so he considers the consciousness of God in man’s nature as a mark of his affinity to God.* Theophilus, of Antioch, recognises a revelation of God in the whole of creation; but at the same time he lays down the position, that a capability and aptitude of the moral and religious nature of man is requisite for the perception of this revelation. Where this nature is dulled and dimmed, that revelation is unintelligible for man. To the common inquiry of the sensuous heathen, “Where then is your God? show him to us;” his answer was, “*Show me thy man, and I will show thee my God*; show me that the eyes of thy soul see, that the ears of thy heart hear; all have eyes to see the sun, but the blind cannot see it. Just as the tarnished mirror will not receive an image, so the unclean soul cannot receive the image of God. But God has created all things in order that he may be known by his works, just as the invisible soul is known by its operation. All life reveals him, his breath animates all things; without him all would again sink back into nothingness; man cannot speak without revealing him, but in the darkening of his own soul lies the cause of his being unable to perceive this revelation. He says, therefore, to man, ‘give thyself to the physicism who is able to heal the eyes of thy soul; Give thyself to God.’”†

While Clement, the friend of philosophy, sought the revelation of that seed of a nature akin to the Divine, in the philosophical development of that original belief-in-God,‡[*literally*, God-consciousness] Tertullian, on the contrary, the friend of nature, the enemy of art, and of the wisdom of the schools, in which he saw not the developing handmaid, but the *falsifier* of that original religious belief that is founded in our very nature, appealed to the involuntary testimony of the soul, not as it is when trained in schools, but in its simple, rude, uncultivated condition.§ He says, (Apologet. c. xvii,) “Although

inward recognition of God’s existence, and a sense of his presence and operations,” a *consciousness* of his existence and agency.—H. J. R.]

* [*i. e.* The *à posteriori* argument, or the argument of design.—H. J. R.]

† ii. 364. [Sylb. 157. Pott. 435.]

‡ v. 588. [Ed. Potter, 696. Sylb. p. 251. Klotz, iii. p. 60.—H. J. R.]

§ v. 582. [Ed. Potter, p. 689. Sylb. p. 248. Klotz, iii. p. 52.]

|| ἡ προεργία βυκν. Protrep. p. 45.

* c. Cels. lib. i. c. 4.

† Theoph. ad Autoyle. lib. i. c. 2. [The *substance* of this passage is found in ch. iii. 11. (Ed. Wolf.) but the exact words are not taken from Theophilus.—H. J. R.]

‡ ἐν τῇς πρὸς λόγους ἐνδοκρινέσθαι.

§ De Testimonio Animæ.

shut up in the prison house of the body, although cramped by bad education, although enervated by lusts and desires, although serving false gods, yet the soul, when it awakes, as it were, from a debauch or a sleep, or some disease, and attains to its healthy condition, the soul calls on God as God, and with this name only, because it belongs to the true God; 'Great God! Good God! and what God hath given,' this is the outcry of all men.* They appeal to him also as Judge, when they say, 'God sees,' 'I commend it to God,' and 'God will repay it to me.' O! the witness of the soul which is by its nature Christian! In fact when it makes this appeal it looks not to the Capitol, but up to Heaven, for it knows the seat of the living God; from him and from thence it came itself! While others sought for testimonies to the truth which Christianity presupposes to exist in the religious conscience of man, among the treasures of ancient literature, and even in forged writings,† Tertullian was more

pleased to appeal to the clear testimony which was near at hand and accessible to all, and whose genuineness none could dispute, to those outbursts of the soul, (*erupciones animæ*,) the still and silent pledge of an innate persuasion and belief* [*literally*, conscience or consciousness.] Marcion, was the only one, who through a truth (see above) which he misunderstood and conceived in a one-sided view, and through a turn of Christian feelings, actually proceeding from a foundation of truth, but only not sufficiently clear to himself, and carried to the extreme, suffered himself to be seduced into mistaking or overlooking that witness of the God of the Gospel in the creation and in the common conscience of mankind. (See above.) Therefore, Tertullian makes this witness tell against him more forcibly,† "God never will be hidden, God never will fail to the human race, he will always be recognised, he will always be understood to exist, [he will always be heard,] yea, he will even be seen, if he wills it. God hath for a witness of himself, all that we are, and all in which we are. Thus he proves himself to be God, and to be the one God, even by his being known to all, while another must first be proved to exist.‡ The consciousness of God's existence is the original endowment of the soul, a gift the same and identical in Egypt, in Syria, and in Pontus, for souls proclaim the God of the Jews to be their God."

While, however, we find this inward and deep conviction of the universal acknowledgment of God by man's conscience among all the Fathers, we must not expect to find a spiritual mode of thought about the nature of God corresponding to it in all of them; for the former proceeded from the most profound depths of the inward life, on which the heaven of Christianity which was thrown into the mass of mankind, produced its influence at first and immediately, while, on the contrary, it was only gradually, and in proceeding from this [i. e. this first

covered marks of spuriousness in the Pseudo-sibylline books, or rather, because on doctrinal grounds they would not allow of the existence of any Prophetesses among the heathen. See Origen. c. Cels. lib. v. § 61.

* De Test. Animæ, c. 5.

† 1 c. Marcion, lib. i. c. 10. comp. 18, 19.

‡ [Sic probatur et Deus et unus, dum non ignoratur; alio adhuc probari laborante. This sentence and the next are transposed in Neander's translation, at least if he follows Rigault's Edition. —H. J. R.]

* [The reading of this passage varies considerably in the different editions of Tertullian. I subjoin two—that of Cambridge, 1686, which runs thus: "Deum nominat hoc solo quia proprie verus hic unus Deus, bonus et magnus. Et quod Deus dedit, omnium vox est"—and that of Havercamp, 1718. "Deum nominat, hoc solo nomine, quia proprius Dei veri. DEUS MAGNUS, DEUS BONUS, et quod DEUS DEDERIT, omnium vox est." Neander follows the reading of Havercamp's edition. I must ask my readers to compare the treatise *Adversus Marcion*. l. 10, where nearly the same phrases occur, only "*si Deus dedit*" and *quod Deo placet*, are two of the colloquial phrases quoted there. The "*si Deus dedit*" would rather indicate, If God hath so disposed matters, &c., but the appeal to *Deity* is the same in each phrase.—H. J. R.]

† As especially in those under the name of *Hermes (Trismegistus)* of the *Egyptian Thoth*, of *Hystaspes* (the Persian Gushtaph) and of the Sibyls. Such writings originally sprung, partly from heathen Platonists, and partly from Alexandrian Jews, and were only interpolated with new additions with a view to Christianity. According to the principle promulgated among Platonists and Theosophists of every class, that the delusion of the multitude is allowable for pious purposes, people thought themselves authorised to promote such fictions. But we should be doing an injustice, if we attributed this principle to the Fathers generally. As most of them, with the exception of the Alexandrians and particularly of ORIGEN, were entirely destitute of critical attainments, they might easily be deceived, especially where they were willing to be so. Besides, at the time in which the false Sibylline books first became current among the Christians, there was a party which did not approve of appealing to them, and gave to those, who favoured them, the party name of Sibyllists—perhaps, because their critical taste dis-

and immediate action on the interior life] as a centre point and origin, that the enlightening influence of Christianity could extend itself over the individual ramifications of the spiritual nature of man."* The saying of our Lord, "God is a Spirit," appears, indeed, to a reason, formed under the guidance of Christianity, at once to suggest the notion of a pure Spirit, but a mode of thought, already spiritualized through the practical influence of Christianity, or by the praying to God in spirit and in truth, was in fact needed, in order to understand the meaning of this saying. Those men, the form and fashion of whose religious sentiments had been derived either from a sensuous Judaism, or a heathenism occupied in the contemplation of Nature, could not at once justly interpret and develope the idea contained in this saying, although their heart well understood what it is, to pray to God in spirit and in truth. According to their former habits of mind, they would understand by *πνεῦμα* nothing but a mere refined body of an ethereal nature, as contrasted with a body composed of gross earthly materials,† and they became, therefore, the rather confirmed in their error by that saying. The more lively their religious feeling, especially when joined to lively and fiery powers of imagination, the more they were imbued with the conviction that God is the most real of Beings; and the more deeply they were impressed by the feeling of the omnipresence of God, the more likely, on that very account, was it to happen, that their conceptions of God would take a sensuous shape, and the more difficult would it be to them to lift themselves up above all objects of the

senses, to that which would seem to them a cold and negative abstraction. The religious Realism, as yet not sufficiently enlightened, which opposed itself to an Idealism, inclined in religion too much to refine away all things into insubstantiality, and reduce them to shadowy nonentities,* would be inclined in the spirit of angry contrast too far to sensualize every thing, and the more spiritual conception of the idea of God would then appear to such a disposition under a somewhat suspicious point of view. And these, indeed, are the very circumstances, which we meet with in Tertullian, who makes *corporeality* and *existence* convertible terms.†

Now two different causes would operate towards introducing a spirituality into the idea of God. These were, on the one hand, a sober and chastened practical direction of the religious spirit, proceeding immediately out of Christianity, and seeking to raise itself up to God through the heart, rather than through speculation and the power of the imagination; this was a Spirit which acknowledged from the depths of the religious conscience the truth, that the image of Divine things is only an image, and a faint expression of that which is bestowed upon the believing soul in its inward life,—and, on the other side, a style of thought, which worked up the contents of the Christian doctrines after a learned and scientific manner; such a turn of thought, in fact, as we find in Clement and Origen, and generally in the Alexandrian school. The former turn of mind is found in an Irenæus and a Novatian. Irenæus says,‡ "All which we predicate of God, we speak as if in a kind of similitude [or comparison;] they are only images which love makes for itself, and our sentiments and feelings throw into these images something more than actually lies in them;" and Novatian† says

* [This is the same view which is often enforced throughout these volumes, viz. that Christianity first acted on the inward life of man, purifying his affections and dispositions, &c., and then served to clear his intellectual conceptions of Divine things. The first was an *immediate* effect of Christianity; the second, an effect produced *by means* of the former. It is in this sense, as opposed to *secondary*, i. e. *consequent on other actions*, or *produced by mediate agency*, that the word *immediate* (unmittelbar,) is used in the text. Our metaphysical vocabulary, slender as it is, has been so injured by the usage of its words in improper senses, that I feel it necessary sometimes to draw attention to the language, which is used in a sense different from that which it bears in common conversation and writings where no closeness is required.—H. J. R.]

† See Tertullian, adv. Praxeam, c. vii. Spiritus corpus sui generis. Comp. Lactant. Institut. vii. 9. Origen, in Joh. t. xiii. c. 21.

* [Einem in der Religion allez zu sehr verdünne und verflüchtigenden Idealismus. [Lit. To an Idealism in Religion too much inclined to *thin away* and *volatilize* (or evaporate) every thing.—H. J. R.]

† De Carne Christi, c. xi. Nihil incorporeale, nisi quod non est.

‡ L. ii. c. 13. § 4. Dicitur quidem secundum hæc per dilectionem, sentitur supra hæc secundum magnitudinem.

§ See ch. vi. and viii.

[The latter half of this sentence occurs p. 22. Ed. Welchman, c. viii. "*quem mens omnis humana sentit, etiam si non exprimit.*" The former seems to me most nearly expressed in ch. v.

of the nature of God, "What, that is, that which he alone understands, that which every human soul feels, though it is unable to express its feelings."* The same writer says, "that although Christ, because the spirit of man must constantly be making progress in religious development, made less use of *anthropomorphic* images than the Old Testament, yet that he could speak of the Being, who is above all human representation and language, only in images, which fell short of the thing itself."

We must be careful to make a proper distinction between *Anthropomorphism* in the representations of God, and *Anthropopathism*.* The latter consists in that inclination of man to represent to himself the Supreme Being after the analogy of his own spirit, and by it he is easily misled into attributing to God that which is founded upon the limits and imperfections of his own nature; and even if that Anthropomorphism, of which we speak, was obliged to yield by degrees to the spiritualizing influence of Christianity, yet Christianity could not act upon *Anthropopathism* in the same manner, because there is a foundation to it (*namely, Anthropopathism*), which is inseparable from the nature of man, which can never step beyond its own peculiar condition, and can receive all which it does appropriate to itself, only in the form allowed by that condition. A great truth is also at the bottom of this Anthropopathism, inasmuch as the spirit of man is destined to represent the image of the Supreme Spirit. Now, as far as Anthropopathism is founded on the essential attributes of human nature, Christianity must engraft itself upon it, but must at the same time purify and ennoble it together with the rest of man's nature, because it revealed the perfect realization of the image of

God in the human nature of Christ, and renewed that image of God in all mankind. Even here also all must arise and develop itself from the fundamental consciousness of a renewed communion between God and man. In the acknowledgment of God as the Redeemer of human nature an opposition was at once established to all false Anthropopathism in a moral point of view; for here the holiness of God revealed itself in opposition to all sin, as well as the eternal love of God towards a being entangled in sin, whom a holy love desires to free from sin and to lead back to God.

The two opposite dispositions, which resolve themselves into the common contrast of religious Realism and Idealism, were here also opposed to each other (as we remarked in the general introduction,) among the Jews and the Heathens; namely,—an *impure sensuous corporeal conception** of God among the ruder multitude, and a *stripping off all human attributes*,† by which the idea of God was too subtilized and rendered untenable to the human mind; the latter was found among the Platonists, who placed only an abstract idea of perfection in the stead of that of the living God. Between these two opposite extremes, the development of the idea of God was to be conducted by Christianity.

One extreme constantly produced the other. The rude and carnal anthropopathical ideas, which fleshly minded Jews and uninformed Christians, by clinging to the letter, made to themselves out of passages from the Old Testament, which they misunderstood, induced a Marcion to form to himself out of the God of the Old Testament, exactly such a being as those people had imagined their god to be. The carnal conceptions of the ideas of Divine wrath and a Divine justice, which he found current, impelled him to take up an opposite principle, by which he entirely mistook and obliterated the fundamental and objective truth, which really did belong to these notions, on account of the form in which they were presented to him; and after another mode of Anthropopathism, more in accordance with a tender heart, he formed to himself the notion of a *blessing* and a *redeeming Love*, entirely separate from the idea of

"Est enim simplex, et sine ulla corporea concretionē, quidquid illud est totus, quod se solus scit esse; quandoquidem *Spiritus* sit dictus." On the passage afterwards which makes *every Spirit* a creature, see Welchman's note. The meaning seems to be clearly 'every mere Spirit;' i. e. that of which nothing else could be predicated than that it is a Spirit, 'is a creature.' The whole passage to the end of ch. viii. ought to be read, to enter into the writer's meaning. The first quotation is the same as occurs in Neander's next note, only with a different reading.—H. J. R.]

* Quod mens omnis humana sentit, etsi non exprimit.

† I use these two expressions in their proper senses, which are both etymologically and historically widely different.

* [Literally, a *humanizing* of God.—H. J. R.]

† [Literally, a *de-humanizing* of God, if I may coin such a word to represent the German *Entmenschlichung*.—H. J. R.]

that *Holiness*, which is a consuming fire to the sinner.* As for Tertullian, whose powerful Christian realism made him hold fast the fundamental truth of a Christian Anthropopathism, although in the feelings of his heart, and in the conception of his spirit, he frequently had more than he was able neatly and clearly to express in his uncultivated and carnal modes of expression, he justly reproaches Marcion, who thus separated the attributes of God, with inconsistency in his belief about redemption: and says to him,† “Does not the forgiveness of sin presuppose the existence of sin in the eyes of God, who forgives sin?” and, on the contrary, he maintains, that the goodness of God cannot be separated from his righteousness; that principle, which sets every thing in order, and attributes to every one that which is his.‡ “The goodness of God has created the world, and his righteousness has duly arranged it.” In opposition to Marcion, he shows the necessity of an Anthropopathism, which even Marcion himself, although unconsciously to himself, could not avoid; but he shows also how a just Anthropopathism must consist in this, that we should not let down the attributes of God to human sinfulness and imperfection; but by a restoration of the image of God in human nature, ennobled that which is human till it becomes a mirror of the Divine. He says to Marcion, “Those are extremely foolish, who judge that which is Divine according to that which is human. Why shouldst thou imagine God to be partly human, and not wholly Divine? [Moreover, while you acknowledge, that man became a living soul, being breathed into by God, and not God by man’s operation,] it is perverse enough on your part, to let down God to the nature of man, instead of elevating man to the image of God Why do ye consider long suffering, mercy, and the mother of all *goodness itself*, to be something Divine. And yet, at the same time, all this is not in us in its perfection, because God alone is perfect.”§ Tertullian recognises in every revelation of God a progressive condescension, the highest point and the object of which is the incarnation of God.|| “Whatever you

may collect together, which speaks of inferiority, or weakness, or any thing that is unworthy of God, I will give you a simple and consistent answer. God cannot enter into any association with man, without attributing to himself human sensations and affections; and thus by his condescension he softens the overwhelmingness of his majesty, which human weakness could not bear; and this is a condescension, which, however unworthy of the Deity, is necessary for man, and, therefore, worthy of God; because nothing is so worthy of God, as that which serves to the salvation of man* God deals with man, as with one like himself, in order that man may act towards God as with a being like himself. God appeared in humility, in order that man might be raised to the highest pinnacle of greatness. If thou art ashamed of a God like this, I see not indeed how thou canst believe in a crucified God.” It must be acknowledged that the latter charge of inconsistency did not apply to Marcion, because the same principle which induced him to oppose the anthropopathical conceptions of God belonging to the Old Testament, made him also an opponent of the doctrine of a crucified Deity.

The Alexandrian Fathers distinguish themselves peculiarly, in consequence of their philosophical culture, by endeavouring to eradicate entirely a carnal Anthropopathism out of the Christian system of doctrine; but it was also very easy for them to carry their notions too far in the contrary direction, and they were liable to lower the doctrine of the Divine attributes and involve it too completely in what is only subjective. Let us take as an instance the following beautiful passage of Origen, in which, notwithstanding all the beauty with which he speaks of God’s education of man, he does not conceive with sufficient depth the sense of the Biblical expression of the ‘wrath of God’ against sin. Working upon the idea of Philo, as to the two systems in regard to Divine things, the *Humanizing*, and the *De-Humanizing* system,† he says,‡ “When the Scriptures represent God, as God in his Divine Majesty,§ and do not involve in their consideration his dealings in relation to men, they declare

* See the representation of Marcion’s system, given in a former section.

† Adv. Marc. ii. 26-7. ‡ L. c. ii. 12.

§ [Tertull. Contr. Marc. ii. xiv. Ed. Rigalt.—H. J. R.]

|| L. c. ii. 15.

* L. c. ii. 27. † See Part I. [p. 49.]

‡ Hom. 18, in Jeremiah, § 6. [p. 169, and seq. Ed. Huet.—H. J. R.]

§ [θεοστυλατον τον θεον κατ’ αυτον, i. e. speak of him absolutely and not in relation to man.—H. J. R.]

that 'he is not like a man, for there is no end of his greatness.' (Ps. cxlv. 3.) And again, 'the Lord is a great God, a great king above all Gods.' (Ps. xcv. 3.) But when his dealings with the human race are interwoven with the subject, then God assumes the mind, the fashion, and the language of man; just as when we talk to a child of two years old, we lisp for the sake of the child; for if we maintain the dignity of mature age, in talking to children, and do not let ourselves down to their language, they are unable to understand us. Think, then, that God also acts in the same way, when he lets himself down to the race of men, and especially to those who are still in their [intellectual] childhood. See now, how we grown up men alter even the name of things, when we communicate with children, and how we call bread by some peculiar name, and also drinking we designate by some other term, because we make use of the language of children, and not of grown up persons If any one heard us talking thus, would he say 'This old man is become foolish?' and thus also God speaks [with us] as with children. 'Behold,' says our Saviour, 'I and the children whom God hath given to me.' (Heb. ii. 13.) When you hear of the wrath of God, do not imagine that wrath is a passion to which God is subject. It is a condescension of language in order to convert and amend the child, for we ourselves put on a look of severity and anger towards children, not from feeling the passion ourselves, but designedly. If we preserve our mildness of aspect, and testify our love of the child, without changing our look, as the real interest of the child would require us to do, we spoil it utterly. Thus also God is represented to us as angry, in order to our conversion and improvement, while in fact he is not subject to anger; but thou wilt undergo the wrath of God, by drawing down upon thyself by thy wickedness, sufferings hard to be borne, when thou art punished by what is called the wrath of God." Origen spoke thus in one of his *Sermons*; and also in another passage in his commentary on Matthew, where he develops the same theory, he says,* "Much may be said to those, *who are not in a condition to be injured by it,*

about the goodness of God and the abundance of his grace, which he properly hides from those *who fear him*."

The Alexandrians here also took a middle path between the Gnostics and the rest of the Fathers. While these maintained that there is no absolute retributive justice in God,* nay, set aside the whole notion of justice as contradictory to the nature of a perfect God, and opposed the God of justice to the God of goodness, the Alexandrians, on the contrary, made the notion of justice altogether into the notion of a Divine love, which educates rational beings in a fallen state, according to their several capacities and needs.† Thus they might say, that the distinction made by the Gnostics between a just and a good God, might be applied in a certain true sense, by attributing the epithet of "the just" peculiarly to Christ (the Divine Logos) as the educator and the purifier of fallen beings, the aim of whose education was that they might be rendered capable of receiving the goodness of their everlasting heavenly Father, and thus becoming blessed.‡

The doctrine of a creation out of nothing is closely connected with the peculiar character of the Christian doctrine regarding the Deity. In opposition to the notions of antiquity founded upon a religion, which consisted of a deification of nature, which either carried back a succession of causes and effects to a blind unconscious chaos, or at least made God only the fashioner of an inorganic, chaotic matter—in opposition to these notions, Christianity, which frees the con-

* [The sentence in Neander runs thus: 'Wenn diese eine absolute Gerechtigkeit in Gott setzten, ja den ganzen Gerechtigkeitsbegriff als einen des Wesen des vollkommenen Gottes widersprechenden umstießen, und den gerechten Gott dem guten entgegensetzten,' &c. 'While these acknowledged an absolute retributive justice in God, and even farther than this threw aside,' &c.]

As the two parts of the sentence are contradictory of each other, I conceive that there is some mistake, and I have translated it as if *keine* stood in the place of *eine*.—H. J. R.]

† A δικαιοσύνη σωτηρίας.

‡ Clemens, *Pædagog.* lib. i. p. 118. καὶ ὁ μὲν πατὴρ νοστήσει ἁγίως ἐν αὐτῷ μὲν ὁ ἴστι, κληθεῖται ἁγίως, καὶ ὁ δὲ υἱὸς ἐν ὁμοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ πατρὶ ἴστι, δικίως περιστρέφεται. And Origen t. i. in Joh. p. 40, speaking of the difference between the Θεὸς ὁ γὰρ and the θεμινοῦν δικίως.

(τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ) εἰμαι μὲν ἐξέτασας ἡγεῖσθαι βασιλεύοντι δυνάμει ἡγεῖσθαι ἐν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ, τῷ μὲν υἱῷ τῇ χαρίτι δικαιοσύνης, τῷ δὲ πατρὶ τῷ ἐν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ τῷ υἱῷ παιδεύοντι μὲν τὴν Χριστῷ βασιλείαν ἐκτρέφοντες.

* p. 378, Ed. Huet. [The phrase 'who fear him,' of course alludes to those whose religious character is imperfect; who have not arrived at the point where they may cast away fear.—H. J. R.]

sciousness of God's existence from every thing like a connection with the deification of nature, presented the doctrine of the Creation as the object of a faith which raised itself over the whole circle of causes and effects in the world cognisable by sense [literally, *the appearance-world*,] up to the free author of all existence. The characteristic circumstance here, and that which is of practical importance, is this; that the incomprehensible was maintained to be incomprehensible, and that which alone can be of any interest or importance towards affecting our religious faith here, was separated from all the uncongenial elements of poetry and speculation, by which it had been contaminated in the old Oriental systems of religion. Christianity was here destined to purify the religious faith as it had been already revealed in the Old Testament, from all the strange additions it had received by intermixture with the Platonic and the Oriental systems. Thus in the Epistle to the Hebrews, chap. xi., it is proclaimed as an object of faith, that things visible came not from things visible, but that the world was created by the Almighty power of God. This was negatively expressed in the doctrine of a Creation out of nothing,* a conclusion which was altogether misconceived by the Gnostics,† when they opposed to it the old saying, (*ex nihilo nil fit*), "from nothing, nothing can come," because this doctrine has an antithetical force only against the supposition of matter, which should limit creation; and in this doctrine it is not Nothing but the Supreme, absolute Being = GOD which is declared to be the formation of all existence. It must, however, be confessed, that this conclusion was intended to exclude also a view, which declared all existence as a kind of development of nature proceeding from God, subjected God to a necessity arising from the course of nature, and went near to destroy the notion of the absolute dependence of creation on the Creator. But we have already remarked that those Oriental Theosophists, the Gnostics, were unable to content themselves with this negative conception of the incomprehensible Being. They wished to explain it, and to make that intelligible and perceptible to our ideas, which the doctrine of the creation out of nothing only presented as an object of faith.

Hermogenes, who lived probably at Carthage, about the end of the second and the beginning of the third century, agreed with the Gnostics in their controversy against this portion of the Church doctrine. He was essentially distinguished from the Gnostics by the turn of his mind, which was more of a Western cast, for he was more addicted to Grecian speculation than to Oriental intuition [*Anschauung*,] and hence also his system, which did not, like the Gnostic systems, set the powers of the imagination to work, was not able to obtain so much acceptance as theirs, and in fact we do not hear of any sect of Hermogenians. Nor did he, like the Gnostics, sketch out for himself a peculiar system of esoteric religious doctrines, but he departed from the Church doctrine only in one point, which was, however, a point necessarily very influential on the whole system of religion. He was a painter, and probably a very determined opponent of the Montanism which was spreading over the north of Africa; the artist was as little suited to the Montanistic sect, as they were to the artist. Perhaps also, Hermogenes,* while he opposed the harsh and gloomy character of the Montanists, went into the other extreme of laxness in his estimation of what is Christian and what unchristian; he appears to have had no scruple in representing the objects of the Heathen mythology in the way of his art, because he considered them as mere objects of

* The obscure words of Tertullian, from which we are enabled to derive this account, are as follows. *Pingit illicite, nubit assidue, legem Dei in libidinem defendit, in artem contemnit.* The first sentence might be understood so as to convey the notion that Tertullian looked on painting itself as something heathenish and sinful, but such a judgment could not be confidently affirmed even of the Montanistic hatred of art in Tertullian, and no proof in favour of such an explanation is to be found in his writings. Neither do the words "he despises the law of God in reference to his art" favour this interpretation, for one cannot think of any passage of Scripture, which Tertullian can have considered as an entire prohibition of painting; but probably Tertullian comprised the old Testament under the expression "*Lex Dei*," and alluded to the prohibition of idolatrous images: and the sense would then be, "he despises the authority of the Old Testament by the manner in which he plies his art, and yet he will make its authority available to him to defend a second marriage, against the Montanists, who maintained that the authority of the Old Testament in this respect was superseded by Christianity, and by the new revelations of the Paraclete."

* *κτιστις ἐκ τοῦ μη ὄντος*

† See above, Part ii.

art, independently of any reference to religion at all.

Hermogenes controverted the emanation doctrine of the Gnostics, because it transfers sensuous images to the Being of God, and because the idea of the holiness of God was irreconcilable with the sinfulness of a nature which emanated from him. But he also controverted the doctrine of a creation out of nothing, because, if the world had had no other source than the will of God, it would have corresponded to the nature of the perfect and Holy God, and therefore, would of necessity have been perfect and holy; nothing imperfect nor evil could have found place in it, for in a world whose only source was God, whence could any thing arise which was ungenial to the nature of that God? Hermogenes, no doubt, here partly followed, as the Gnostics did, a subjective rule of too limited a nature in his estimation of the different creatures according to the different grades of being, and partly he omitted to take into consideration what is included in the very idea of Creation. In respect to moral evil he was as little inclined as the Gnostics to throw himself back upon the distinction between *willing* and *permitting* on the part of God, and he also with justice abandoned the ground, that evil is necessary as the foil to good, in order that the latter may be known by the contrast; because this position denies the self-existence and independence of good, and the very nature of evil would be destroyed, if it were considered as something which is necessary to the harmony of the whole. But Hermogenes fell into the very error which he desired to avoid; because he still deduced the existence of evil from a necessity inherent in nature. According to his theory, all that is imperfect or evil in the world originates from this cause, that God's creation is limited in consequence of the eternal existence of inorganic matter. From all eternity two principles have existed; the one, the active, and the forming and fashioning (the plastic,)—namely, God; and the passive, the undeterminate in itself,* and the formless—namely, matter. This latter is an infinite chaotic mass in constant motion, in which all opposite qualities are present undeveloped and run into each other, full

of wild impulse, without law or order, and like the motion of a cauldron that boils up in every direction.* This infinite chaos, thrown as it was into endless and irregular motion, could not at any point be laid hold of by a single act, brought to a stand-still, and compelled to subject itself to be formed and fashioned. It was only through the relation of his nature to that of matter, that God could work upon this mass; as the magnet by some inherent necessity attracts iron;† as beauty exerts a natural force of attraction on all that approaches it, so God exerts a fashioning influence on matter by his mere appearance, and by the superior power of his Divine Being.‡ According to these principles, he could not, with any consistency, maintain a beginning of existence to the creation, and, in fact he does not appear to have assumed any such beginning, as we may judge from the grounds which he alleges for his doctrine on this subject; namely, that since dominion is a necessary attribute of God, there must always have been matter for him to exercise that dominion upon. In accordance with this view he maintained an eternal influence of God upon matter, which consisted, according to his system, in the victorious plastic power. From what has been said, it follows, that we must not conceive that in his system chaos was a separate thing existing by itself, and that the influence of this Divine plastic power had begun at some particular instant, whereas [according to his system,] it can exist only in connection with this organization, which is imparted to it [by God,] and they can be separated only in idea. From the resistance of this infinite matter, which was to be fashioned by degrees in all its separate parts, against the fashioning power of God, which could only penetrate it successfully by degrees, he deduced all that is imperfect and evil. Thus the old chaos manifests itself in all that is hateful in nature, and all that is morally evil in the spiritual world.§

That Hermogenes should maintain a

* Inconditus, et confusus, et turbulentus motus, sicut ollæ undique ebullientis.

† We here recognise the painter.

‡ Non pertransiens materiam facit Deus mundum, sed solummodo apparens et adpropinquans ei, sicut facit qui decor, solummodo adparens, et magnes lapis solummodo adpropinquans.

§ [i. e. Physical deformity and moral evil are the phenomena which give testimony to the existence of this Chaos, and they are its manifestations.—H. J. R.]

* ['Das in sich selbst unbestimmte;'] 'without power or purpose to throw itself into any definite state or form.'—H. J. R.]

progressive formation of matter, co-existing with an eternal creation, was an inconsistency, because no progressive development can be imagined without a beginning. His inconsistency would be still more striking, if the account of Theodoret is accurate, by which he is made to hold a final aim of this development. He maintained in fact then, (if this account be true,) like the Manichees, that at last all evil would resolve itself into matter, from which it originated, and then also that a separation would take place between that part of matter, which is capable of organization, and that which offered an obstinate resistance to it.* Here the teleological and moral element, which adhered to him from his Christianity, and did not suit this heathenish natural view of evil, rendered him inconsistent.†

Irenæus and Tertullian maintained, the former against the Gnostics, the latter against Hermogenes, the simple Christian doctrine of the creation, without permitting themselves to enter upon speculations concerning it.

Origen was distinguished also in this respect from these Fathers by a system peculiar to himself, of which we must develop the fundamental features, as far as they are connected with the doctrine of the creation. In accordance with the character of his Gnosis (see above,) he founded his system on the belief generally prevalent in the whole Church, and thought that his speculative inquiries, which stepped beyond this, might be very consistently united with it. He declared himself in favour of the doctrine of a creation out of nothing, as far as the free action of Divine power, unlimited by any condition inherent in pre-existent matter,

* Theodoret does not say this expressly, but such a doctrine is necessarily implied in that, which, according to his account, Hermogenes held. Theodoret's words (Hæret. fab. i. 19,) are these: *τον δε διαβολου και τους δαιμονας εις την υλην αναχθισσεν*.

† Theodoret ascribes to Hermogenes also the doctrine, that Christ deposited his body in the sun. A question would arise here, whether Theodoret has not confused his doctrine with some others like it; and in what way his words are to be understood. Perhaps, Hermogenes taught that Christ, when he raised himself into his heavenly existence, left behind him in the sun the garb which he had taken from the material world. And yet it is difficult to attribute confidently so entirely fantastic an opinion to Hermogenes, and the matter must be left in obscurity for want of evidence. Perhaps also, some meaning of Psal. xix. 4, with a *messianic* interpretation according to the version of the LXX. may have led the way to this notion.

was indicated by this doctrine; and this he did, not merely with acquiescence, but out of hearty persuasion.* He also acknowledges a definite beginning to the limited and definite world now in existence; but with regard to what preceded it, he conceived that Scripture and the faith of the Church left him fully at liberty to speculate. And here then he found those general grounds for opposing any beginning of creation, which are sure to strike any thinking mind, which is unwilling to be satisfied with a *mere belief* in the incomprehensible. How can it happen that if creating is suitable to the nature of God, any thing which is suitable to that nature, should ever have been wanting? How should the qualities, which reside in the being of God, omnipotence and goodness, fail to have been always active? The transition from inaction to creation cannot be conceived without the notion of *change*; to which the Being of God is not liable.

Origen was also an opponent of the emanation doctrine, as it was conceived by the Gnostics; because it appeared to him to transfer sensuous representations to the being of God, and by the supposition of an unity-of-substance (the *ὁμοουσιον*;) between God and the natures that emanated from him, appeared to abolish the proper distinction between the Creator and the creation. But he assumed a system of emanation spiritually conceived and abjuring all sensuous images, a spiritual world of a kindred nature with God, and which beamed forth from him from all eternity, above which he is, however, immeasurably exalted, and in all these Spirits, was there the partial revelation, the partial reflection of the Glory of God,† as the Son of God is the collected revelation of the Glory of God.

Origen here conceived the idea of an absolute dependence without any beginning in time;‡ a causation, in which the existence of the creation, as a thing which

* See Præfat. Libb. π. αρχ. p. 4. *ibid.* lib. ii. c. i. § 4. Lib. iii. c. 5.—Commentar. Genes. init.

† π. αρχ. lib. i. c. 2. § 6. In Joh. t. 20. c. 16. T. 13. c. 25. T. 32. c. 18. *ὅλην μὲν οὖν της διξης του Θεου ὑπαρχασμα εἶναι τον υἱον, φανηνται τα γε ὅπο του ὑπαρχασματος της ὅλης διξης μικροτα ὑπαρχασματα ἐπι την λατριν λεγομεν κτισιν.*

‡ ['Ohne ein zeitliches werden,' literally 'without a temporal becoming or coming into existence.'

In the next clause of the sentence ('as a thing,' &c.) the original is 'als etwas seinem Wesen noch nicht in sich selbst ruhendes,' 'as something according to the laws of its nature not reposing on itself,' i. e. not self-dependent, or self-existent.—H. J. R.]

could not have a self-existence, was founded from all eternity.† What he says of the continuous regeneration of the pious, and of the generation of the Son of God, may be applied in the sense in which he uses it to this also; because the Divine Logos stands in the same relation to the rest of the spiritual world as its source of Divine light, as God stands in to him. He says, Jerem. Hom. ix. § 4. [p. 106. ed. Huet. H. J. R.] “I will not say that the righteous is born of God once for all; but that he is constantly born of him in every good action. And if also I lay down to you in reference to our Saviour, that the Father did not beget the Son and then cease, but that he always begets him, I should also maintain something similar in respect to the righteous. Let us then see who is our Saviour? The reflected image of [God’s] glory. Now the image of glory is not produced once for all, and then ceases to be produced; but as long as the light is efficient in creating the image itself, so long is the image of the glory of God constantly created. If, therefore, thou hast the spirit of adoption (sonship,) God constantly begets thee in that same sonship, in every act and in every thought, and thus thou art forever being born as a son of God in Jesus Christ.”†

Bishop Methodius, the adversary of Origen, whose theory of creation was controverted by the bishop in his work concerning *creatures*, was by no means his equal in respect to a spirit of speculation.‡ He had not a sufficient power of speculative perception, justly to conceive the ideas of Origen, and he represented what he did not understand as foolish and impious. While he himself compares the relations in which God stands to his creatures with the relation between a human workman and the works of his hands, he makes against the system of Origen objections, which could not justly lie against it. How little able he was to understand that great man, whom in his blind zeal he calls a Centaur, appears by the following argument, which he casts

in his teeth; viz. that if the transition from noncreation to creation implies a change in God, the transition from creation to noncreation equally implies a change. Now God must have ceased to create the world, when it was finished, and thus a change in God would clearly be implied. He did not observe, that with Origen the conception of the upholding of the world was the conception of a continuous creation, and he did not consider, that just exactly by such a representation of creation, as is contained in his own argument, a self-existence would be attributed to creatures which is inconsistent with the idea of them as creatures. He made another objection, which although more directed against an inaccurate expression of Origen, than against what he really meant, was more correct; and it was this, that the idea of God’s perfection actually implied, that it is a thing, whose foundation is in itself; that it is dependent on nothing besides, and limited or conditioned by nothing whatever.*

The doctrine of Origen relative to creation is intimately connected also with his peculiar conception of the *omnipotence of God*. It happened to him in this matter, as, indeed, in many other respects, that, being entangled in the ideas of the philosophical school, from which his learning and his education were derived, he set out from those ideas, as if they were acknowledged truths. Thus he set out from the principle, *that an infinite line cannot be conceived by any mind*, into which the Neo-platonic school allowed itself to be deluded, by their attempt to measure an absolute reason by the limits of finite human thought.† From this Origen drew the conclusion; that we must not, in order to enhance the Divine omnipotence, make it *infinite*, because then it would be unable to comprehend itself.‡ Thus also God could create only

* το αὐτο δι' ἑαυτοῦ ἑαυτοῦ πληρωμα ὃν καὶ αὐτοῦ ἢ ἑαυτοῦ μὴν, τὰς αὐτὴν εἶναι τούτο μὲν διέκασεν.

† [N.B. The word here is *Bewusstsein*, which will express that wherein our knowledge or our capacity of entertaining ideas resides, as well as our consciousness of those ideas. In popular language, *understanding* would come the nearest; but it is so desirable to keep the distinction between *reason* and *understanding*, as definite as possible, that I would rather use *thought* or *comprehension* instead of it.—H. J. R.]

‡ το ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπερίληπτον, and in Matt. Ed. Huet. p. 305, he says expressly: ἀπερὶ γὰρ τῆ φύσεως οὐχ εἰναι περιλαμβανομένην τὴν πᾶσαν περικυκλῶν τὰ γινώσκουσα γένεσιν.

* Methodius represents faithfully the expressions of Origen, when he ascribes to him the doctrine of a γεννῆτον ὅτι γεννῶντος οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτὸν ἐκείν, and of an ἀναρχὸς κατὰ τὸν τοῦ τεχνιματος.

† Thus tom. i. in Joh. p. 32, we must not imagine that any limitation of time is indicated, but ὁ συμπαρακείμενος τοῦ ἀγεννητοῦ καὶ ὁβίου ζῶν, ὃν αὐτὸς αἶψα, χρόνος ἡμέρα ἵσταν αὐτὸς σπέρειν, ἐν ᾗ γεννῶνται ὁ υἱός.

‡ Extracts from the book of Methodius found in Photius, Cod. 235.

a definite and not an infinite number of beings endued with reason, because otherwise they could not be embraced by his providence. We recognise also in this error of Origen the leaning which he had in the matter of religion. This doctrine is of great importance to his whole system (as will be seen below) when taken in connection with his theory, that, since the number of reason-gifted beings is definite, and is always the same, therefore, it is only from the change of will and intention among them that all other changes can proceed.

The peculiar nature of Christianity reveals itself in the recognition and worship of God, not merely as the Creator, but also as the Redeemer and Sanctifier of human nature, in the belief that God, who has created human nature pure, has redeemed it when it became estranged from him by sin, and continues to sanctify it, until it shall have attained in an eternal life to an untroubled and beatified communion with him in perfect holiness. Without this faith and knowledge, there is no lively worship of God, no worship of God in spirit and in truth, because a lively worship of God cannot exist without communion with him, and because this communion cannot be shared by man, as long as he is estranged from God by sin; as long as that, which separates him from God, is not removed; and because the worship of God in spirit and in truth, can only proceed from a soul which has been sanctified so as to become a temple of God. This doctrine of *God the Creator*, the *Redeemer* and the *Sanctifier* of human nature, is the essential import of the doctrine of the *Trinity*, and therefore, since in this latter doctrine the essence of all Christianity is contained, it could not but happen, that, as this doctrine proceeded out of the depths of Christian consciousness, it should be considered as the chief doctrine of Christianity, and that even in the earliest Church the essential import of the faith should be annexed to the doctrine of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.* This doctrine again is nothing else than the doctrine of God, who has revealed and imparted him-

self to sinful man in Christ; every thing here reverts to the doctrine of God's being in Christ, for the working of God in human nature redeemed by him, presupposes the inward relation, into which God has entered with human nature through Christ, and all is here only the continuation and the consequence of that [relation;] and therefore, this doctrine is nothing else but the perfect development of the doctrine about Christ, which the Apostle Paul, 1 Corinth. iii., calls the foundation of all Christianity, the development of that which Christ himself designates as the essential import of his doctrine; "This is Eternal Life that they should know thee, that thou alone art the true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." But the speculative doctrine of the Trinity is carefully to be distinguished from this its essential Christian import, and men might agree in the latter, and yet differ from each other in their conceptions of the former. The former only set itself up as an human attempt to bring into just harmony with the unity of the Divine Being, the existence of God in Christ, and through Christ in the faithful, as it is represented in Holy Scripture, and out of that Holy Scripture formed an image of itself in the inward life and the inward perceptions of the faithful. But it was an evil, that, in this attempt, men did not rightly divide the speculative and dialectic element from that essential and practical foundation; the consequence of which was, that men transplanted that doctrine from its proper practical ground, in which it is rooted in the centre point of Christianity, into a speculative region foreign to it, which might give an opportunity of mingling with it much extraneous matter, and again might lead to setting Christianity, contrary to its peculiar character, on a speculative instead of a practical foundation; and the consequence of this again was, on the one hand, that men, overprizing the importance of speculative differences, tore asunder the bond of Christian communion, where there was yet an agreement in what is practical and essential; and on the other hand, that men stunted the *free development* of the Christian doctrine by the attempt to *attain an uniformity of speculative conceptions*.*

* This is literally translated; perhaps the meaning would be more nearly expressed as follows,—that the acknowledgment of the doctrine of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost was considered to comprise the essentials of the Christian Faith. The original is "dass der wesentliche Glaubensinhalt an die Lehre vom Vater, Sohne, und Heiligen Geist angerichtet wurde."—H. J. R.]

* [We must also be careful that in endeavouring to reconcile contending views we do not depart from the great truth which is contained in the acknowledgment of the Athanasian Creed, that

It is self-evident from what has been said, that the development of this doctrine must first proceed from speculations on the manner, in which the Divine nature in Christ was in relation with the Godhead of the Father. Providence had then so exactly managed things in this respect, that in the Spiritual world in which Christianity first made its appearance, many notions, at least apparently of a kindred kind, were afloat, in which Christianity could find a point on which to attach the doctrine of a God revealed in Christ, or which it might appropriate to itself as general, intelligible forms, in which it might envelope that doctrine. In a discourse preserved to us by the Apostle John, Christ himself has expressed with Divine confidence the consciousness of his oneness with God, an incomprehensible fact of his consciousness (Matt. xi. 27,) without founding his declaration on any of the then notions of his age, but rather in opposition to the limited representations, current among the Jews, of the Messiah as a man, who proceeded from the ordinary development of human nature. But the Apostles Paul and John, united with the doctrine of God revealed in Christ, the idea that was already in existence in the Jewish theological schools, of a revealer of God elevated above the whole creation, the perfect image of the hidden Divine Being, from whom [the Word] all the communication of life from God proceeded, the image of the invisible God, the Word, in whom the hidden God reveals himself, the First-born before all creation—and they confirmed and established this idea and applied it to Christ. John, in particular, by the brief introduction prefixed to his Gospel, induced those among his contemporaries who sought after a knowledge of Divine things, who

each person is acknowledged “by himself to be both God and Lord, and yet that no one should for a moment believe that there be ‘three Gods or three Lords.’” We must take care that we do not explain the Divinity of the Son as the mere indwelling of the Father in Jesus Christ; or believe that the Son is the mere manifestation of the Father; or we shall fall into Sabellianism or Patripassianism at once. The evil which Neander wishes to obviate seems to be the attempt to explain this great truth *speculatively*, and creating differences in consequence of such attempts. However wrong such attempts may be, in opposing them we must still be careful to maintain that great Catholic truth, the Trinity in Unity, and the Unity in Trinity, which is founded on the Scriptures and must be received by faith, though our finite faculties are unable to explain its mysteries.

—H. J. R.]

busied themselves with speculations on the self-revelation of God in his own express image—the Word that expressed his hidden nature, or the revealing and creating Reason—to give a lively, an historical and a practical meaning to this idea, by applying it to the appearance of Christ, instead of constantly restraining it to the regions of speculation. By this means, the development of the doctrine of Christ’s Divinity was placed in connection with that speculative idea, which was already to be found current, although under a different form, among the Jewish Theologians, the Oriental Theosophists, and the Platonic Philosophers.

But in the conception of this doctrine there existed already among the Jews *two different views*. One party considered the Divine Logos as a Spirit, which existed in an independent personality, although in the most intimate union with the Divine First Cause,* while another party rejected this notion of an Hypostasis, as inconsistent with strict Monotheism, and they conceived to themselves, under the name of Logos, nothing but the Reason, which is either hidden in God and only engaged in contemplation,† or else reveals itself both after the manner of thought, which manifests itself in human speech, and also by its efficient operation in the work of creation,‡—the Reason, which cannot be divided from God, and which either concentrates itself in him or beams forth from out of him.§

* [Literally, Urwesen. Original Being.]

It is impossible to express the idea with metaphysical accuracy; if we speak of *first*, we give the idea of being prior to the *Word*, which is yet held to be eternal. I use the word First cause, therefore, relatively to other Beings, as it is used in common parlance, not as expressing priority of existence in the Father relative to the Son, or Word.—H. J. R.]

† The λογος ενδιαιτης.

[I recommend those English readers who wish for clear statements on this subject, to consult Newman’s “Arians of the Fourth Century,” especially ch. ii. § 3 and 4.—H. J. R.]

‡ λογος προσερκος.

[The same Reason, therefore, was conceived under two different conditions. It received the name of λογος ενδιαιτης when considered as residing in God, and delighting itself in contemplation, and that of λογος προσερκος when considered as emanating forth from Him and revealing God by spoken words or by the acts and the works of creation.—H. J. R.]

§ See Clementin. Homil. 16. c. xii. τη δε σοφει, ὡς παρ᾽ ἰδίου πνευματι οὐ συνειρηθη, ἦν ὡς μεν ὡς ψυχη τῷ Θεῳ, ἐκτατατα δὲ ὅτ’ αὐτῷ ὡς χυμὸς διμικροβυσσα το παν, κατὰ ἑκτασιν καὶ συστολῇ ἢ μετασθῆς εἶναι ὁμιλεῖται.

While the former was the predominant mode of conception [as to the Logos] in the doctrines as exhibited by the Church, the other mode of conception made its appearance not unfrequently during this season in opposition to the Church doctrine, and this opposition served again, on the other hand, to promote the systematic formation and development of the former view.

Those who embraced the latter mode of conception, in their controversy against the Church Doctrine of the Trinity, and in their religious leaning, were in agreement in one respect, namely, that it was of the utmost importance to them, firmly to maintain the doctrine of the Unity of God,* and to avoid every thing which bore even the appearance of Polytheism.† But in the manner in which they applied this theory to Christ, they varied widely from each other, according as they happened to be peculiarly interested in maintaining merely the principles of the *Monarchia*, or were at the same time filled with a belief in the Divinity of Christ, and although they controverted the doctrine of an independent personality of the Logos, yet had a lively interest in maintaining the Divinity of Christ; in fact, according as they were under the direction of a dialectic and critical understanding, or of an inward and practical Christian disposition. The former, together with the Church doctrine of the Trinity, controverted also that of the Divinity of Christ, though they were nevertheless content to admit his godly nature [Göttheit, divinity; Göttlichkeit, godly nature or godliness] in a certain sense; that is to say, they taught that Jesus was a man, like all other men, but that from the very first he had been animated and influenced, more than all other prophets and messengers of God, by that Divine Power, the Reason or Wisdom of God, and that, on this account, he was to be called the Son of God. They were distinguished from those, who embraced entirely Ebiomite sentiments, by not admitting that this connection of God with Christ began at any one definite moment of his existence, but they conceived it to be coeval

with the development of the human nature of Christ.

The others, on the contrary, in regard to the doctrine about Christ, were still more strongly opposed to this class of Monarchianism than to the opinion adopted by the Church; not only a leaning towards the doctrine of the Monarchia, in which even a Jew might join with them, but also a leaning towards some of the peculiar features of Christianity, made them hostile to the doctrine of the Church. Not only did the manner, in which the doctrine of the Unity of God was conceived in the Church doctrine, fail to meet their Monotheistic views, but also the manner, in which the Divinity of Christ was there understood, was unsuited to their peculiar Christian class of feelings and wants. While the Logos, who became man in Christ, was usually represented as a Being, different in person from God the Father and subordinate to him, although in the most intimate connection with him, they thought this a disparaging representation of Christ, and such a distinction between Christ and the Supreme God was offensive to their belief about Christ; to them he was the one, Supreme God himself, who in a way that he had never done besides, had revealed himself in human nature, and had appeared in a human body. It was only inasmuch as God was to be named after two different considerations [or relations, *ἐπινοίαι*],—the hidden Being, as he was before the creation, the Father—and in so far as he revealed himself, the Son of the Logos—it was only in virtue of these considerations that Christ as the most perfect revelation of God the Father, was called the Son of God. They maintained that their doctrine was most eminently calculated to dignify Christ.* They were called *Patripassians*,

* The *μοναρχία*, the doctrine of the *μονή θεῶν*, whence this party obtained the name of Monarchians.

† It was their term of distinction, the watchword of their party. Tertullian c. Praxeam, c. iii. Monarchiam tenemus. Origen, in Joh. t. ii. § 2. το πολλοὺς φιλοθεοὺς εἶναι εὐχόμενους παρεσσοῖ, εὐλαβεμένους, ἐκζητοῦσαι δύο θεοὺς.

* *τι οὐ κακὸν πᾶσι, δεῖξάντων τὸν Χριστὸν*; said Noëtus, an adherent of this theory, when he was accused before a Synod. Hippolyt. c. Noët. c. ii. And Origen, in Matth. p. 420. ed. Huet, says, οὐ νομιστὴν εἶναι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ (τοῦ Χριστοῦ) (*that they are on his side*) τοὺς τε φερόντες αὐτὸν φρονούντας, πάντας τοὺς δεῖξαν αὐτὸν, ἵπταται εἰς αὐτὸν συζητούντες πατὴρ καὶ υἱὸς ὄντας καὶ τῇ ὑποστάσει ἑνὰ διδόντες: εἶναι τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱόν, τῇ ἐπωνομίᾳ μόνῃ καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι διακρινόντες: τὸ ἐν ἐπικειμένῳ (the one Divine Subject.) And Origen, probably, had this in his mind, when, like the Gnostics, he separated those who knew no higher God than the God of the Old Testament, the Demiurgos, from those, who elevated themselves above him (the Demiurgos) to the knowledge of the Supreme God, and like Philo also, separated those who knew God only in his mediate revelation, the υἱὸς τοῦ

because they were accused of attributing the sufferings of Christ to the Father.*

The first name which occurs among the Patripassians is that of Praxeas, of Asia Minor, the native region of the doctrine of the Monarchia. Having made a confession of faith under torture, during the persecution of Marcus Aurelius, he afterwards† travelled to Rome, where Eleutheros was bishop (see above,) and there he brought forward his doctrine without receiving any obstruction, which perhaps, arose from the Church doctrine not having as yet been so accurately defined, that the contradiction to it by the doctrine of Praxeas could at once make any impression; it may have been the case, that by his zeal for the Divinity of Christ against the other party of Monarchians, the Theodotians, which had perhaps, arisen at Rome by that time, Praxeas, who must have been favourably looked upon in virtue of having been a *Confessor*, won still greater favour for himself, and thence, therefore, that men were more easily induced to overlook other points of difference. He appears afterwards to have betaken himself to Carthage, where he found followers, but where the contrast between his doctrine and that which was predominant attracted more observation. He wrote and published an explanation which was looked upon, at least by his opponents, as an express recantation; but we cannot very accurately determine the state of the case, because it may have happened that Praxeas defended his doctrine only against consequences with which it was unjustly charged, and misrepresentations of it. Tertullian, who would not be favourably disposed towards Praxeas, as an adversary of Montanism, wrote against him, and his book is the only source from which we can

learn the doctrine of this person with any certainty.

But, if we take Tertullian as our guide, we might take two different views of his doctrine. From some places it would appear that Praxeas had taught the doctrine of the Patripassians, in the manner in which we have before represented it. He acknowledged the doctrine of a Divine Logos in a certain sense, he applied the name of *Son of God* not merely to Christ after his appearance in the form of man, but he recognised from the time of the creation of the world a difference between the hidden invisible God, and that [God] who revealed himself outwardly as well in the Creation, as in the Theophaniæ [appearances of the Deity] of the Old Testament, and lastly in a human body in Christ. In the latter respect he was called the Logos or the Son; by extending his agency in a certain manner beyond himself and thus begetting the Logos, he made himself into a Son to himself.* On the contrary, in other passages, it appears as if he had denied every distinction in regard to the Divine Being, and had applied the name of Son of God only to the human nature of Christ.† We may suppose, either that Tertullian has not always entered justly into the tenour of the ideas of Praxeas, or else, that among the adherents of this latter, different conceptions of his system had arisen, because men of uncultivated understanding, whom this doctrine suited, could not enter into those subtle distinctions.

Noëtus, also, who appeared at Smyrna during the first half of the third century, and was excommunicated for his unchurchly theory, belongs to this class of Patripassians. Theodoret gives, as well as Hippolytus, the most characteristic traits of his doctrine,‡ and he observes, with justice, that Noëtus did not bring forward any new invented doctrine of his own, but that others§ had made up such a system before his time. According to this system, there is one God the Father, who is invisible when he will, and appears (reveals himself) when he will; he is visible and invisible, begotten and unbegotten.||

Λογος, from those who elevate themselves above all mediate revelation to the intellectual perception of the Divine Being, who are the υἱοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ; and this is the manner in which Origen arranges the two classes of men.

1. αἱ μὲν Θεοὶ ἔχουσι τὴν τῶν ὅλων Θεοῦ, ὑπερβαίνει οὐκ αὐτῷ πατρὶ, μετὰ δὲ ὄντι: αὐτοῦ, 2. αἱ ἱσταμένοι ἐπὶ τὴν οὐκ ἐκ Θεοῦ, τὴν Χριστὸν αὐτοῦ, αἱ ἐπὶ τὴν σωτῆρα φθασάντι: καὶ τὸ παν ἐν αὐτῷ ἱστάντι. In Joh. t. ii. § 3. [Ed. Huet. p. 49. In the above quotation μετὰ; ought clearly to be μετὰ. The words are not exactly copied throughout.—H. J. R.]

* Origen expressly distinguishes between these two classes of Monarchians, particularly in Joh. t. ii. § 2, and t. ii. Joh. § 18, t. x. § 21. c. Cels. l. viii. c. 12. On the obscure passage Commentar. in Tit. f. 695, t. iv. Ed. de la Rue, see below.

† With regard to the chronological questions involved here see above.

* See Tertullian, c. 10. 11. 26.

† See c. 27.

‡ Hæret. fab. iii. c. 3.

§ Among whom he mentions two men who are unknown to us, Epigonius and Cleomenes.

|| Theodoret refers this latter expression to the birth of Christ, but one is inclined to ask, whether he has properly understood the meaning of Noëtus,

It might be asked whether Beryllus of Bostra ought not to be placed in this class; and this question will be treated of hereafter.

Of the *other* class of Monarchiani, the first traces are found in the end of the second century, in the Roman Church, whither however, as the very name of the founder of the sect indicates, it must have come from some other place, and that too from the Oriental Church. A worker in leather, who came from Byzantium, by name Theodotus, is named as the founder of this party. Victor, the bishop of Rome, must have excommunicated him at the end of the second or the beginning of the third century; but still his party extended itself in a state of separation from the predominant Church, and it endeavoured to procure itself respect on the ground that it was inclined to maintain Natalius, a Confessor held in much honour, in the rank of bishop. This man appears, however, to have been thrown into a state of conflicting feelings, by thus falling away from the faith, which at an earlier period had enabled him to endure suffering for its sake. The uneasiness of his heart showed itself in fearful visions and dreams, and at last he returned in sorrow and penitence to the Catholic Church.

One Artemon came forward also, from another point, as founder of such a party, which were called Artemonites after his name, and continued for a long time to spread themselves abroad. For about the middle of the third century, Novatian, the Roman Presbyter, considered it necessary, in his development of the Doctrine of the Divinity of Christ, to take especial notice of the attacks of that party, and in the later controversies, arising from Paul of Samosata, this party was spoken of as one that still existed.*

and whether Noëtus was not thinking of the *γεννησις του Λογου*, and under that phrase meant nothing but the agency of God extending outwards beyond himself.

* The relation between the Artemonites and Theodotus is involved in great obscurity. One naturally asks how the Artemonites could appeal to it as a fact, that their doctrine had been the predominant doctrine at Rome down to the time of Bishop Zephyrinus, who was the first to corrupt the doctrine of the Church, if a sect existed at Rome at that time, whose founder, Theodotus, had been excommunicated by Victor, the predecessor of Zephyrinus, on account of professing that very doctrine. Although one may imagine it likely enough, that where the maintenance of men's dogmas is concerned they should be in-

The Theodotians and the Artemonites are, no doubt, to be considered as holding that Christ is a mere man, and as having looked upon him as being in no peculiar connection with the Father; but as far as Theodotus is concerned, his own words, which Epiphanius, his adversary, himself quotes, militate against this supposition. It appears that in the words of the angel, Luke i. 31, he would not find any proof that the Spirit of God itself had appeared in a human nature; but he saw clearly enough, that they implied that the man Christ developed himself under the peculiar influence of that Spirit.* And as far as the Artemonites are concerned, they professed that theirs was no new doctrine, but the old doctrine of the Church, and that Bishop Zephyrinus was the first who taught a different one in the Church. Now if they would acknowledge nothing

clined to misrepresent facts, or to refuse to acknowledge them, yet both of these cases must have something, at least, on which they may be supported. We can then only imagine, that the Artemonites did not choose to acknowledge Theodotus as their predecessor, and that they thought they had reason to maintain, either that Theodotus had been excommunicated for some other reason than his doctrinal opinions, or that their doctrines were different from the Theodotian. Perhaps the following account may be given. The ancient author of the additions to Tertullian de Præscriptione, says, i. c. c. 53, that Theodotus brought forward his pestilent opinions, after he had denied Christ during the persecution. Although this account, which is prejudicial to the character of Theodotus, coming from the mouth of an enemy, cannot be accepted with confidence, yet it may be true, at least it is quite possible, that a man, who had embraced Christianity more with the understanding than with the heart, should, for that very reason, want the courage and the zeal to make a confession of it in the face of death. Perhaps he was excommunicated on account of this denial of the faith, and then, when he had nothing more to fear from the dominant Church which would not acknowledge him as one of her members, he brought forward his doctrines in public for the first time. This piece of truth may form the foundation of the old account of the matter, although it is to be looked upon as a fable after the fashion of Epiphanius, if the latter has only invented the opinions of Theodotus about Christ in order to excuse his denial of the faith.

* It is not said *γεννησεται εν σοι*, but *επινοησεται επι σε*. He set out with the notion of an *επερχομεναι του θεου πνευματος* (or *του Λογου*, if Theodotus admitted the doctrine of the *Λογος* in any shape whatever) *επι τον Χριστον*. As it is clear from this quotation, that Theodotus admitted the first chapter of St. Luke as genuine, the account given in the *additamenta præscriptæ*, and by Theodoret, that he acknowledged the supernatural birth of Christ, is more probable than that of Epiphanius, that he denied it.

whatever that is Divine in Christ, and utterly denied the doctrine of a Divine Logos, they had far too clear a testimony of facts against them when they maintained the high antiquity of their doctrines. But on the contrary, if they belonged to the other class of the Monarchians, they might very well make use of the indefinite nature of many old expressions so as to favour their views, and they might, perhaps, find some indefiniteness in a dogmatical point of view, in the statements of the Roman Church, which would also serve their purpose. And besides the Samosatensians, who belonged to this class of Monarchians, were afterwards classed together with the Artemonites, a circumstance which favours the notion of a similarity of doctrine between the two parties.

As to the turn of mind from which the doctrine of these Artemonites proceeded, one of the accusations made against them gives us some very instructive hints; they busied themselves much with mathematics, dialectics, critical inquiries, with the philosophy of Aristotle and with Theophrastus,* and thus their disposition was one in which the reflecting, the critical, and dialectic elements predominated, and which would diminish in their case the inwardness and depth of the Christian feeling; they wanted a Christianity, which the understanding could fully comprehend, and that which exceeds the bounds of the understanding, and must be assimilated into the life of man through some other channel, found no place in their dialectic categories. It was also made an accusation against them, that by means of a system of criticism, which professed to restore the true text of the Holy Scriptures, they allowed themselves to change at their own will those passages of Scripture, which were opposed to their doctrine. If we judge from their whole turn of mind, and from the boldness,

with which critical inquiries were often conducted at this period so as to favour dogmatical prejudices, this accusation is likely enough to be a just one; and yet on the other hand it cannot be denied, that men were then inclined at once to accuse heretics of falsifying Scripture, when they only quoted a various lection which was found in their manuscripts.*

One is inclined to inquire whether we are to assign to this class certain opponents of the genuineness of the writings of St. John, whom we shall designate by the name of *Alogi*, after the example of Epiphanius, who has given them in one place this heretical appellation, although the name is not particularly applicable.† The first trace of such opponents of the genuineness of St. John's Gospel is found in a remarkable passage of Irenæus.‡ He

* An example of an unjust polemical argument may be found in what is said by the writer against the Artemonites in Eusebius, v. 23. "Either they do not believe that the Holy Scripture is inspired by the Holy Ghost, and they are unbelievers, or else they consider themselves wiser than the Holy Ghost," as if those Artemonites, however capricious their criticism might be, did not think that by it they were enabled to restore the original, genuine text, just as it came from the inspiration of the Holy Ghost.

† *Ἀλογοί*, a word, which contains an allusion to their denial of the genuineness of the Gospel which treats of the Logos, and thus contains a paronomasia on the word Logos. *εἰς ἃ* as denying the Logos, and as being *unreasonable*.

‡ The passage is in Irenæus, lib. iii. c. xi. [towards the end.—H. J. R.] Infelices vere, qui Pseudo-prophetæ quidem esse volunt, prophetiam vero gratiam repellunt ab ecclesia: similia patientes his, qui propter eos, qui in hypocrisis veniunt, etiam a fratrum communicatione se abstinere. Datur autem intelligi, quod hujusmodi neque Apostolum Paulum recipiunt. In ea enim epistola, quæ est ad Corinthios, de prophetis charismatibus diligenter loquutus est, et scit viros et mulieres in Ecclesia prophetantes. Per hæc igitur, Ed. Massuet.—H. J. R.] Omnia peccantes in Spiritum Dei, in irremissibile incidunt peccatum." According to the common reading, the first part of this would mean, "The truly unhappy persons, who wish themselves, indeed, to be false prophets, but deny the grace of prophecy to the Church." And this would give a sense, which in itself is quite good, and which suits the severity of the rest of the passage tolerably well. But the reading which has been accepted by my friend Dr. Olshausen, and is, if I mistake not, an emendation proposed by Grabe, viz. *pseudo-prophetas*, has the advantage of conformity with the part of the context which follows it. The sense would then be, "They suppose, indeed, that there are false prophets in the Church, but from fear of false prophets, they go to the length of acknowledging no true prophets either, and they resemble those schismatics, who, out of fear of hypocritical Christians, withdraw themselves also from intercourse with genuine

* Not with the Philosophy of Plato, which exciting more the heart and the powers of inward perception, led to a conception of Christianity, more based on inward perceptions, and was exactly calculated to give a speculative form to the doctrine of the Trinity. We here perceive the different influence, exercised by the different schools of Philosophy, on the conception of Christianity by their adherents. The Neoplatonists, who were converted to Christianity, formed to themselves a speculative doctrine of the Trinity; the Aristotelian Dialecticians denied the doctrine of the Divinity of Christ, and would represent the existence of God in Christ as something entirely capable of being comprehended.

says, that they rejected the Gospel of St. John on account of the promise of the Paraclete, in order to cut off from the Montanists (see above) their appeal to this promise as a means of rendering credible the new revelations of the Paraclete. They maintained as a general position that there are no gifts of prophecy in the Christian economy, and they declared all that pretended to them to be false prophets. It was probably these same persons, against whom Hippolytus defended the genuineness of St. John's Gospel and the Apocalypse. The same persons occur again in Epiphanius: he describes them as warm opponents of Montanism and of the prophetic gifts of the Spirit, who thought that the Gospel of St. John was contradictory to the rest of the Gospels; and he represents them, where he treats of them specifically, as orthodox in other respects.* But he contradicts himself when he calls the Theodotians an offset from them, and then at the same time affirms that they rejected the doctrine of the Logos. It may be said, indeed, and not without reason, that Epiphanius is more worthy of credit, when he absolves from a charge of heresy, than when he makes such a charge, but other grounds of judgment also must be taken into the account. And, in fact, Epiphanius, when he absolved them from the charge of heresy, may have had before his eyes some writing of the Alogi, in which they

had purposely avoided dogmatical arguments.

If, in accordance with the expressions of Irenæus, we suppose that the Alogi were seduced into the rejection of the Gospel of St. John merely in consequence of their controversy with Montanism, yet still it is extremely improbable, that they should have rejected a book of so great value and importance to every believing Christian, (and which in its whole tendency is so antimontanistic,) only in consequence of those few passages, the application of which is so easily wrested from the Montanists by a right interpretation, and indeed, may so easily be turned against them.* The matter appears more capable of the following representation; when the Montanists appealed to that promise of the Paraclete, the Alogi immediately answered that the whole Gospel was apocryphal [*literally*, not genuine,] and from this their opponents gathered that they denied its genuineness, only in order to avoid recognising that promise. The case, indeed, we must confess, is possible, that the Alogi may have belonged to the class of those who, whenever they believed that they perceived contradictions between the Gospels, immediately rejected that Gospel which appeared to them to stand in contradiction to the rest.† But still it is not probable, that in this age, in which the dogmatic influence was so powerfully predominant, any one to whom the doctrine of the Divinity of Christ was of importance, could have determined himself, for the sake of some difficulties, which struck him, to give up the very chief book for the maintenance of this doctrine, especially in this youthful season of the Church, in which the immediate feeling bore far greater sway than reflection, and in which the immediate impression upon every one, who was not just enslaved by a prejudice against the Christianity of St. John, must have borne its testimony to the genuineness of that Gospel.

On the contrary, every thing is explained, if we abide by the account of Epiphanius, which indicates a connection between the Alogi and the Theodotians

ones." It is not necessary to suppose that this passage must have proceeded from a *Montanist*, it is only requisite to acknowledge as its author some person, who thought it of importance to maintain that the outpouring of the Holy Ghost revealed itself in the Christian economy by 'prophetica clarisimata'—and it is clear from many of the expressions of Irenæus, that such were his sentiments. And yet, nevertheless, the passage does bear rather a Montanistic character. The latter part, especially, is wholly spoken in the tone of a *Montanist*, who sees an adversary of the Holy Ghost himself, in every one, who will not acknowledge the new communications of the Paraclete. One can hardly attribute to a man of the moderation of Irenæus such violence in this matter, and one could almost be induced to suspect, that the whole passage has been interpolated by a Montanist. The context would hold together entirely, if the whole passage were wanting, and there would be nothing in it except in reference to the Gnostics, to whom alone the whole section relates.

* Hæres. 44. § 4. δεικνυσι τα αὐτα ἡμιν πιστῶναι. The passage, where he says of them *τοιν λογον ου δεχονται τον παρκα λωαντον κεινην μαρτυριαν*, does not make it altogether certain that he meant here to charge them with a denial of the doctrine of the Logos, because the word *λογος* is ambiguous.

* As for instance, if they said, as in fact the Church teachers did say, in answer to the Montanists, that this promise had already been fulfilled in the case of the apostles.

† Origen, vol. iv. p. 160, t. 10. Joh. § 2, speaks of this capricious critical conduct in certain people of this age. The exaggerated view of inspiration promoted this hypocritical conduct.

or Artemonites, although we would not assert at once, that all the adherents of this party belonged to the Alogi, and rejected the Gospel of St. John. Their principles made the latter course unnecessary, for, as they admitted a certain connection of God with Christ, they might also admit the doctrine of a Divine Logos, who worked in him,* and they might also explain the Gospel of St. John after their own notions, as it is clear from Novatian, that they explained many passages which did not suit their doctrine, as merely referring to a previous destination of Jesus as the Messiah, in the counsels of God. The unknown adversary of the Theodotians and Artemonites in Eusebius says, that they did not all misuse the Holy Scriptures in the same way, and that, while some endeavoured to bring it into accordance with their doctrinal opinions through *their own* sort of criticism, others rejected whole books of Scripture. The unnamed person here is certainly speaking, not of the New, but of the Old Testament. He says, that while they set the Gospel of grace in complete opposition to the Old Testament, they had cast away the Divine authority of the Law and of the prophets, and had torn asunder all connection between Christianity and Judaism.† But this account gives us reason to suspect that they indulged in a critical system which judged according to their dogmatical preconceived opinions, and which might take different directions simply in consequence of their other differences. Thus it is by no means improbable that to many among these people, all, which was said of a Divine Logos, appeared to be something Gnostic or too mystical, as we learn from Epiphanius, that they felt themselves peculiarly at a loss in regard to the Prologue to St. John's Gospel; and the Gospel of St. John, which from its whole character, would probably correspond but little to their predominantly dialectic and reflective cast of mind, and might appear to them too theosophical, was declared by them to be a forgery of the Gnostic Cerinthus. It will be seen also, that this cast of mind must have made them enemies of the prophetic gifts of the Montanists. In the

same way, what we hear of the rejection of the Old Testament by one portion of this party, agrees with their violent opposition to Montanism, which was often inclined to mingle together too indiscriminately what belonged to the Old and what belonged to the New Testament, and it accords also with their rejection of the Apocalypse, although this last circumstance may easily be explained on other grounds. That they attributed both the Gospel of St. John and the Apocalypse to Cerinthus, shows, that, although they ill understood the Gospel of St. John, because the sense for its understanding was wanting in them, yet they knew Cerinthus rightly for a Judaising Gnostic. Nor can we leave it unobserved, that the Montanistic prophetic spirit busied itself much with the defence of the doctrine of the Trinity as received in the Church, to which it may have been induced by the circumstance of the Monarchians being violently opposed to it [i. e. this prophetic spirit.]

To this class of Monarchians belongs also *Paul of Samosata* in Syria, who became bishop of the Church of Antioch at some time between the years 260 and 270, A. D. The bishops, who condemned his doctrines, make a very unfavourable report of his character,* and represent him as a proud, vain, and avaricious man, who was inclined to concern himself with worldly matters. Men, however, being but little able to distinguish between persons and opinions, opponents in faith, and more especially passionate opponents, as these men appear to have been, deserve but little credit for their accusations; but these accusations contain, nevertheless, too many special traits to have been wholly without foundation, and alas! the picture drawn of him harmonizes well with what we hear besides of the bishops of Antioch,† the great

* See Euseb. vii. c. 30.

† See what Origen says in Matt. Ed. Huet. p. 420. "We, who either do not understand what the doctrine of Jesus here means, or else despise such expressive exhortations of our Saviour, are of such a kind, that sometimes we even exceed the state of the wicked governors among the heathens, and want a body guard like the emperors, and make ourselves awful and inaccessible, especially to the poor. And in many so-called Churches, and especially those of the *greater towns*, you may find rulers of the Church of God; such that they would hardly acknowledge the best among the disciples of Jesus to be their equals."

μυθισμῶν ἰσχυρίων ὑπερβαίνοντας ἐξ ὧν ὅτι καὶ τοὺς καλλίστους τῶν Ἰησοῦ μαθητῶν εἶναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς.

* As the θεὸν πνεῦμα, of which the angel spoke to Mary, as at that time the ideas of the Holy Ghost and the Logos were joined together by many persons.

† ἀπλῶς ἀρνησάμενοι τὸν τε νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφῆτας . . . πρόσθεν χρεῖστος.

metropolis of the Roman dominions in eastern Asia. The being surrounded by earthly glory, pomp, and pride, has always been a most dangerous circumstance to Christianity, and especially dangerous to the clergy, if they allow themselves to be attracted by the glitter and the show of the world, which they, of all men, ought to despise in consequence of their elevated employment. At that time Zenobia* had the sovereignty of those regions as queen of Palmyra, and appears always to have been friendly towards Judaism.† Paul has been blamed, on the ground that, in order to obtain favour with this queen, he endeavoured to present the doctrines about Christ in a form more agreeable to the Jewish style of thought; but there is no proof to warrant such an accusation, as it was unnecessary to resort to this mode of explanation,‡ and as the firmness of Paul in this persuasion, even after political circumstances had changed, does not appear to bespeak the truth of the charge. But intercourse with the Jews, who were around the queen, with whom Paul, as a courtier, had much influence, may very probably have worked upon this tendency of his doctrinal views, although even this supposition is not *necessary* to be made. It may also be the case that his peculiar doctrinal views contributed to procure him favour with the queen. He now made use of his connection with this powerful patroness, in order to obtain influence and authority in worldly things, and to keep up considerable state. In flat contradiction to laws already publicly promulgated (see above) at least in the western Church, he held a civil employment under government,§ which could scarcely be compatible with the

episcopal office. At Antioch it seems that the profane custom of testifying approbation to preachers, by waving of handkerchiefs, exclamations, and clapping of the hands, which sets preachers in the same class with actors and declaimers for effect, had already passed into the Church from the theatre, and from the exhibition schools of the rhetoricians. The vain Paul saw this with pleasure; but the bishops, who were his accusers, were well aware that this custom was contrary to the dignity and order which ought to prevail in the house of God. The Church hymns, which had been in use since the second century, he banished as an innovation, apparently proceeding on the principle which has been set up by others in later times, that only passages out of the Holy Scripture ought to be sung in the Church; and thus he probably suffered nothing but Psalms to be used. There is no sufficient ground for the suspicion, that Paul did this in order to pay court to his patroness Zenobia, as being a Jewess. It is more probable that Paul, who might be well aware how deeply the import of Church hymns impresses itself upon the heart, when he banished those old hymns (which spoke of Christ as the incarnate Logos,) might hope also to banish the doctrines they contained from the hearts of men. When we find it stated, that the man who thus carefully removed the expressions used to designate Christ, was delighted to receive the incense of exaggerated expressions about himself, in poems and declamations in holy places, and to be called in bombastic rhetorical phrases an angel sent down from heaven, we cannot consent to receive such an accusation from the mouth of violent enemies as one on which we can entirely depend, but we have no reason whatever, for declaring it to be false.

As far as the doctrines of this man are concerned, he appears to have had but little that was peculiar to himself; in accordance with his Judaizing notions, he compared the Divine Logos to the reason of man,* either as the hidden contemplative reason,† existing within the very nature of God, or as the reason that reveals itself outwardly by word and by creation.‡ In the latter sense, the Logos, as the reason of God, by its agency in-

* Wife of the celebrated Roman general, Odenatus, who had made himself independent of the Roman empire.

† *Ἰουδαία ἐν Ζηνοβίᾳ καὶ Παυλοῦ περὶ τῆς τοῦ Σαμασιανῶς.* Athanas. hist. Arianor. ad Monachos, § 71.

‡ [This expression is not entirely clear. I have translated it literally, and I suppose it means that we need not resort to any supposition of a wish to procure the favour of Zenobia, in order to explain the Judaizing form under which Paul presented Christianity.—H. J. R.]

§ The office of a *ducenarius procurator* (which is not to be confused with that of *ducenarius judex*;) so called because the pay amounted to two hundred *sestertia* [about 3000*l.*—H. J. R.] See Sueton. Claud. c. 24. Cyprian, Ep. 68. But it is also possible that he was in possession of this office, when he was elected bishop; and then of course the bishops would have themselves to accuse for having suffered such an infraction of the laws of the Church

* *ὡς πρὸς ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ καρδίᾳ ὁ ἴδιος λόγος.* ap Epiphani. p. 67.

† *λόγος ἐνδιάθετος.*

‡ *λόγος προφορικός.*

spired all the men of the Old Testament, who were enlightened by God, and thus would also inspire Christ; and whereas he was the most illuminated of all mankind, this Logos dwelt in him as it dwelt in none besides; but the difference of this indwelling was only in degree and not in kind.* It was in virtue of this pre-eminent degree of illumination through the Divine wisdom, that the name of a *Son of God* belonged to Jesus. When he used the phrase Jesus Christ, who came from below, *Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καταβὴν*; he must have used it to imply, that the Logos did not receive any human body, but that the human nature, which had already an independent existence, had been honoured by a peculiar influence and operation of the Divine wisdom.† From the deficiency of authentic and accurate information, it cannot be determined with certainty, but the point is quite unimportant, whether he referred the name of Son of God to Jesus only as a man, when he says of him, that, in accordance with the Divine predetermination, or the Divine counsel, he existed before the creation;‡ or, whether, in the sense which we have remarked above, he transferred the name of Son of God to the Divine Reason also, inasmuch as it (the Divine Reason) had equally called forth God out of himself into outward activity in the creation of the world;§ for his adversaries accused

him of having maintained the existence of two Sons of God, one properly so called, the other improperly, although this may be regarded only as a consequence from his propositions *drawn by his adversaries from their own point of view*, and then charged on him. It is very probable that when he wished to hold more closely to the doctrines of the Church, he spoke, *in his own sense*, of a Son of God, whom God had begotten before the creation of the world; but on the contrary, when he expressed himself freely without any such intention, he spoke only of the man Jesus as the Son of God, for he expressly says that he *knew nothing of two Sons of God*.*

Many Synods were held on account of the controversies with the Bishop Paulus at Antioch; but he probably availed himself of the indefiniteness of the ecclesiastical terminology, and the different polemical views under which different expressions might be used, in order to hide his own opinions under ambiguous explanations, so that no charge of erroneous doctrine could positively be fixed upon him. In the last Synod, A. D. 265, an able dialectician, the Presbyter Malchion,† succeeded at last in forcing him to an open declaration of his opinion. He was deposed and his office bestowed upon another; but as he was supported by a party, and favoured by Zenobia, the matter could not be accomplished before she was conquered by the Emperor Aurelius, A. D. 272. This prince left the decision to the Bishop of Rome. (See p. 304.)

Besides these two classes of Monarchians, we find also a *third*, which stands in certain respects between the other two; these were such persons as approached the second class the most in their theory of the Logos, as a power that beamed forth out of the Divine nature, but receded from them again, and more nearly resembled the Patripassians as to their representations of the humanity of Christ. They were not satisfied with the idea of

* ἐναικῆσαι ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν σοφίαν, ὡς ἐν οὐδενί ἄλλῳ. He taught ὡς συγγρηγοῦντα τῇ ὑβρωτικῇ τὴν σοφίαν οὐσαυτῶς, ἄλλα κατὰ ποιητῆα. These words of Paul are to be found in Leontius Byzantin. c. Nest. et Eutichen., a work which has hitherto been known to us in a Latin translation; but the fragment of Paul has been published in Greek from the MSS. of the Bodleian Library at Oxford, by *Erlich*, in a *Dissertatio de erroribus Pauli Samosatensis*. Lipsiæ, 1745, p. 23.

† See the Synodal Epistle in Euseb. vii. 30.

‡ In the Synodal Epistle to Paul of Samosata, published by Turrian in Mansi's collection of Councils, i. 1034, which is the only authentic document among those made known by him which refer to these transactions, the following antithesis occurs, viz. that the Son of God existed *πρὸ αἰῶνων ὡς πρῶτον οὐκ ὡς ἕως καὶ ὑποστάσι*; from which we might judge that Paul maintained the contrary, *τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐχ' ὑποστάσι ἄλλα πρῶτον*.

§ He might engraft his own opinions on the older expression in the Apologetic writers, *ἐγέννησε τὸν λόγον πρῶτον*, by understanding this so as not to include the notion of an emanation which had the attribute of personality. The antithesis in the Synodal Epistle quoted above, seems to support this explanation: *ἵνα τὸν λόγον ὁ πατὴρ πάντα πέποιθεν οὐχ' ὡς δὲ ἐργαίου, οὐδ' ὡς δὲ ἐπιστατὸς ἀνυποστάτου, γέννησαντος μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν*

υἱόν ὡς ζῶντα ἐργαίου καὶ ὑποστάτου. From this it may be concluded that Paul spoke of a *σοφία*, *ἐπιστάτην ὑποστάτου*, and understood by the *γέννησις τοῦ λόγου* nothing but an *ἐργαία ὑποστάτης* of God the Creator.

* *μηδὺς ἐπιστάτου υἱός*. Leont. Byzant.

† From the expressions of Eusebius, although Theodoret, to whom they appeared very offensive, interprets them differently, we must conclude, that this clergyman also practised the profession of a rhetorician, which was hardly compatible with his spiritual calling.

an influence of the Divine Logos on Jesus as man, which differed only in degree from the influence exerted on other enlightened and holy men; but, on the other hand also, they did not accept the Patripassian view of an indwelling of the whole Divine Being in a human body. They agreed with the Patripassian theory, so far as not to separate that which was Divine in Christ, from the soul that resides within him. But they modified this view so far that they supposed the Divine in Christ, the soul of his human nature, not to be the Divine Being himself, but a certain emanation [streaming out] from him, which formed itself to an individual spiritual life.

Among the Patripassians, who will not admit of any distinction in the Divine Being (see above, on Theodotus and Artemon,) Beryllus, the bishop of Bostra, in Arabia, comes the nearest to this opinion. According to the theory of Beryllus, the personality of the Son of God first arose through a beaming forth, or an emanation out of the Being of God into a human body.*

* From the deficiency of clear and accurate accounts, the development of the doctrine of this man is one of the most difficult subjects of historical investigation, and therefore, we cannot expect to arrive at a perfectly certain result. The chief passage to the point is in Euseb. vi. 33, *τον σωτηρα μη προϋφισταναι κατ' ιδιαν ουσιας περιεραφην προ της εως ανθρωπου επιδημιας*, and in Origen *ιδιαν περιεραφην ορ ουσια κατα περιεραφην* means an individual, proper, personal existence, the same as *υποστασις*, to which is contrasted *αυτοϋστασις*, *ειναι κατ' επωνυμian ιπερευ της*. See Origen. t. i. Joh. p. 42. In this description of his doctrine two points are to be remarked: (1.) Before the earthly appearance of Christ there was no Son of God, as a Being personally different from God the Father, which is to be understood, either as asserting that a Son of God existed only in an ideal Being, in the idea or the foreordaining counsel [of the Father] (*κατα προγνωσιν*, or *κατα προορισμιν του Πατρος*) or else, that the Logos existed at first only as a dependent (unselbständige, *lit.* not-independent) Power of God; (2.) That contemporaneously with the incarnation of Christ, an existence of the Son of God also began, which was independently personal, and distinct from the Being of God (an *υφισταναι κατ' ιδιαν ουσιας περιεραφην*.) A Patripassian could not assert the latter, for he could only speak of an existence of the Father himself in the human nature, which existence was called the Son, from revealing itself.

And now we must add the second part of the representation of Eusebius, *μηδε μιν θεωτητα ιδιαν εχεν αλλ' εμπολιτευμενην αυτα μωνην την πατρικην*. If what we have above remarked is incompatible with the opinions of a Patripassian; so, on the contrary, this last says too much to suit the doctrine of a Monarchian of the second class. At the

In the year 244 a Synod was held respecting the affairs of Beryllus, which was attended by the great Origen, who lived at that time at Caesarea Stratonis. He discussed matters with him very much, and apparently by his superiority of mind, his ability and moderation, he succeeded in persuading him, that he had erred. It is true, that in this case, we follow the account given by Eusebius, an enthusiastic friend of Origen, and we have not the means of consulting the document used by him, in order to form an unprejudiced and independent judgment. And yet, we must take into the account that as yet

same time an opponent of this doctrine would certainly have been more ready to charge it with representing Christ as a mere man, than to make it say more than it really did say, of the Being of God in Christ. There remains, in order to reconcile these contradictory statements, only the representation given of the doctrine of Beryllus. We must, therefore, here bring forward the fragment occurring in the Commentary of Origen, on the Epistle to Titus. Origen, t. iv. p. 695.

‘Sed et eos qui hominem dicunt Dominum Jesum præcognitum, et prædestinatum, qui ante adventum carnealem substantialiter et proprie non extiterit, sed quod homo natus Patris solam in se habuerit Deitatem, ne illos quidem sine periculo esse ecclesiæ numero sociari.’ As in this passage Origen joins together two classes of Monarchians, and in the other member of the sentence, which has not been quoted here, the Patripassians; it may be supposed, if we should compare this passage with that above quoted (some pages back, on the subject of the Patripassians) from the Tom. on St. John, that Origen in the first member of the sentence was describing the two classes of Monarchians, while in that passage from his writings on St. John, he was opposing these two classes to each other. I was myself deceived formerly by this comparison of passages; but it will not bear being carried out fully. Origen ascribes to those, of whom he is here speaking, too high an idea of the Divine in Christ, for us to suppose that he has in view the doctrines we have remarked; and he also expresses himself too mildly about their relation to the Church, to suit that supposition. So that these words most strikingly agree with those of Eusebius, and both passages are most naturally to be explained in the same way. We must suppose that Origen here speaks of a doctrine, with which he was unacquainted before, and with which he had first become acquainted by means of his transactions with Beryllus of Bostra. And then by comparing Origen with Eusebius we find, that Beryllus, under the words *προϋφισταναι αυτοϋστατως*, understood a *προϋφισταναι κατα προγνωσιν και προορισμιν του Πατρος*. And thus also it is explained, why the Synod, as Socrates, b. ii. c. 6, informs us, should maintain against Beryllus the doctrine of a reasonable human soul in Christ; because Beryllus supplied the place of such a soul, by the special *οικονομια του θεου πνευματος*, out of which the proper, and God-allied personality of Christ was formed.

there was no *state Religion*, and no *state Church*, which could compel Beryllus to a recantation, although the authority of the Episcopal college had already much, and indeed, too much power over the Church. But if the bishops had wished to overpower their colleague by mere numbers, they would have had no occasion to call in the services of a Presbyter who had been driven away and branded as an heretic, and who had no other power than that which belongs to knowledge. And besides, Origen was not the man to use the weight of his name or of his superiority of mind for the purpose crushing an individual.

It is only among the men of the Alexandrian school that we find instances of theological conferences, which, instead of introducing still greater divisions, produced unity of mind. To what else can we attribute this, unless it be, that these men were not blind zealots for the letter, but men of a liberal spirit, and united the spirit of love and moderation with that zeal for the truth, which would not wish to triumph, except through the force of truth!

Although in other respects the system which Origen opposed to that of Beryllus was not free from error, and although, perhaps, it was not merely the superiority of the system, but the mental superiority of Origen himself that contributed to effect this triumph; yet still the system of Origen was in many points of view when compared with the doctrine of his opponent, nearer to a pure development of the truth.

According to the account of Jerome,* Beryllus thanked Origen by letter for the instruction he had received. We have no cause to doubt this, but the account of Jerome is not so authentic as that of Origen.

The next to Beryllus of Bostra, is Sabellius, who lived at Ptolemais, in Pentapolis, after the middle of the third century; and who may, probably, have maintained a doctrine more curiously developed and perfected, than any other of this class, but unfortunately, we have only an imperfect acquaintance with his system as to the internal dependence of its various parts. The account of Epiphanius, that Sabellius borrowed the germ of his doctrine out of Apocryphal Gospels, and especially from one† that was current in Egypt, and bore the stamp of the Jewish

Theosophy of Alexandria, is by no means to be rejected. In this Gospel, Christ, as a teacher of esoteric wisdom, communicated this to his disciples, which entirely suited the Theosophic disposition of a certain class: If the multitude, which cannot raise itself up to the perception of the Supreme simple Unity, hold God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost for different Divine beings, they must acknowledge that Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are only one; that they are only three different forms, under which the Supreme Unity is revealed.* As it is said in the Clementine† that God is either a *μονας*, or a *δυας*, just according as the Divine wisdom is hidden within him, as his soul; or as it works actively proceeding forth from him, as the hand that creates the world:‡ so also Sabellius said that God before the creation had been the pure *Unity*,§ as being entirely hidden within his own Being, and not active through communication [of any of his attributes, &c.,] with any thing beyond himself; and in this respect, he called God the Father; but, at the creation, this unity had developed itself into a *Trinity*.|| As, according to the apostle

* Epiphani. Hæres. 52. He says of this Gospel: ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ πολλά ταχυτά ὡς ἐν τετραβυστῇ μυστηριώδεις ἐκ προσαύτου τοῦ σωτηρὸς ἀναφύεται, ὡς αὐτὸν δαλύντος τοῖς μέθεσιν τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἶναι Πατέρα, τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἶναι υἱόν, τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἶναι ἄγιον Πνεῦμα. This may be illustrated by a passage in Phil. de Abrahamo, f. 367. (Ed. Hoeschel.) where it is said, that the ἐν from which his two supreme *δυναμεις*, the *ποιητικὴ*, and the *βελτιωτικὴ* proceed, appears either *one*, or *threefold*, according to the greater or less purified condition of the souls which contemplate it. If the soul has elevated itself above the revelation of God in the creation to the intellectual perception (anschauung,) of the ἐν, then the Trinity glides into Unity to its view: it looks upon one Light, from which at the same time two shades proceed, i. e. God's Being and those two operative faculties [Wirkungsweisen. *Lit.* the modes of operation,] are only shades, that fall from his overpowering Light. τρεῖσιν φαντασίαν ἑνός: ὑπεκκινῶν κατὰ λαμβάνειν, τοῦ μὲν ὡς ἑνὸς τοῖν δ' ἄλλων δυοῖν, ὡς ἐν ἀπαυλαζόμενον ἀπὸ τούτου σκιαν. And then: παρεχὼν τῇ ὁρατικῇ διανοίᾳ τὴν μὲν ἑνός, τότε δὲ τριῶν φαντασίαν ἑνός μόν, ὅταν ἰσχυρὸς καθέξωσιν ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ μὴ μινὼν τὰ πλεῖστα τοῦ ὑπερβίου ἁλλὰ καὶ τὴν ζωὴν μονάδος δοξάζει ὑπερβίον, &c. There is also a remarkable likeness between the mode of expression used by Sabellius, and that, which is peculiar to the Clementine, a work which proceeded from a Judæo-Christian theosophist.

† Clementin. H. 16, c. 12. κατὰ γὰρ ἐκτασιν καὶ συστειλὴν ἡ μόνος δυας εἶναι νομιζέται.

‡ According as it may be said either συστειλλόμεναι, or ἐκτεννομένη.

§ ἡ ἀσυμπλεκτος μονὰς τοῦ ἐν, according to Philo
|| See Athanas. Orat. iv. c. 13: ἡ μόνος πλεχτηνομενα γινونه τρις. And yet, one is inclined to

* De Vir. Ill. c. 60.

† From the *εὐαγγέλιον κατ' Αἰγυπτίους*.

St. Paul, there is one Spirit, and yet this one Spirit worketh several ways through manifold gifts and graces; thus, also, he says, is God the Father one and the same, but he pours himself abroad in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost,* under which names Sabellius means to designate only two different modes of operation of the same Divine subject; namely, God the Father. Therefore, he says also, it is one Divine Being, as to its self-existence, which is designated by two different names, according to these two different modes of operation—one Divine Subject, which represents itself under different forms, according to the necessity of each occasion, and sometimes speaks as the Father and sometimes as the Son, and sometimes as the Holy Ghost.† He had therefore, no scruple in using the language prevalent in the Western Church, and saying that we must acknowledge one God in three persons;‡ but then he understood under the word Person, nothing but different parts, different personifications under which the one Divine Subject presented itself. He made use also of the following comparison: As in the Sun we must separate his proper substance (the *ὄν*, the *μονάς*), the round body, from the warming and illuminating power that proceeds from it, so also in God we must distinguish between his proper self-existent Being, and the enlightening power, the Logos, and the Holy Ghost,

inquire whether he supposed that the *μονάς* unfolded itself immediately at the creation into a *τρίπλος*, or whether it was not originally only into a *δύας*, so that the *τρίπλος*, took its first origin from the emanation of the Logos into human nature. In order to decide on this point, we must know more of the manner in which Sabellius represented to himself the relation of the communication of the Holy Ghost to the incarnation of the Logos, and how he viewed the relation of God's operation in the New Testament, to that in the Old. It were much to be desired, that Origen had left us more distinct accounts of those whom he accuses, in the above quoted fragment of his Commentary on the Epistle to Titus, of making the Holy Ghost as relates to the prophets, and the Holy Ghost as regards the apostles, two different things, and whom he expressly distinguishes from the Gnostics; to whom one would at first be inclined to apply this passage, were it not for that express distinction.

* I. c. 25, *ὡς περ διμερεται: χρισματων εισι, το δε αυτο πνευμα, οτω και ο Πατηρ ο αὐτος εστι, πλατυνεται δε ως ὕψος και Πνευμα.*

† Basil. Ep. 210. *τον αυτον Θεον ένα τω ὑποκείμενῳ ὄντι προς τας ἑαυτοῦ παραπτώσεις χρεως μεταμετρεῖσθαι νυν μὲν ὡς Πατέρα, νυν δὲ ὡς υἱόν, νυν ὡς τὸ ἅγιον Πνευμα διελκυσθαί,*

‡ *ὃν τρεῖς προσώποις.*

the power that warms, glows through and vivifies the hearts of believers.*

Sabellius spoke in the sense above given, of a *λογος προφορικος*, and of a begetting of the Logos, which preceded the whole creation, without which no creation could have taken place. No Being could have existed, if the *thinking* Divine reason had not become a speaking reason; if the Divine Monas, wrapt up in itself, had not unfolded itself in the words of creation. In this sense Sabellius said, "God, being silent, is inoperative; but God speaking, is effective."† He considered, however, human souls to be a revelation or a partial outbeaming of the Divine Logos, in which idea he followed Philo and the Alexandrian Churchmen; reason in man, in this view, is nothing but a feeble reflection of that reason of God, which is active in communicating itself. Therefore, Sabellius applied what he had said of the creation in general to man in particular, "That we might be created," says he, "the Logos proceeded forth from God [or was begotten,] and no sooner hath it gone forth from God, than behold! we are in existence."‡

For the purpose of redeeming the souls of men that were akin to it, the Divine power of the Logos let itself down into human nature; and the whole Spiritual personality of the Logos was considered by Sabellius, as a certain hypostatized outbeaming, a peculiar modification of the Divine Logos! The doctrine of a class of Jewish Theologians, that God sends forth his revealing power, the Logos, from himself, and recalls it to himself again, as the Sun sends forth its beams; that the appearance of angels, and the Theophanies of the Old Testament, are nothing else than different transient forms under which this one power of God appeared;§ this theory he applied

* Epiphani. Hæres. 62.

† *τον Θεον σιωπῶντα μὲν ἀνενεργητον, λαλῶντα δὲ ἰσχυρον.* I. c. Athanas. iv. c. 11.

‡ Athanas. iv. 25. *ἵνα ἡμεις κτισθῶμεν, περιελθὼν ὁ λόγος, και περιελθὼντος αὐτου εσμεν.* These words would take a different sense, if they are referred to the *καινη κτισις*, and are understood of the incarnation of the Logos. But, both from the words themselves, and from the context and the manner in which it is quoted by Athanasius, the most natural interpretation is that given above.

§ Dial. c. Tryph. Jud. 358. As the Light proceeds from the Sun, and returns to it, οὕτως ὁ Πατηρ, ἔταν δεικνυται δυναμιν αὐτου προσηδαν πνευ, και ἔταν βυλληται παλιν ὑποστατικῶς εἰς εαυτον. [p. 372. Ed. Jebb.—H. J. R.]

to the Theophany in the appearance of Christ. He made use of the same metaphor, that the Sun was like a beam, that issued from the Sun, and returned again into God, like the beam to the Sun.

It may be doubted, whether he used the name, "the Son of God," merely for the human form under which the Logos appeared, or whether he applied this name to the λογος προφορικος on its first origin. As he spoke of an original generation of the Logos, and was generally willing to take up the expressions used in the Church, it would suit well with his whole theory, to suppose that he would have no scruple in applying this term, in the sense which we have observed, to the Logos.*

It is farther certain, that Sabellius ascribed to the Redeemer no eternally-enduring personality; but it might be doubtful, whether he maintained, that God did not recall again into himself the beam that had proceeded from him, until the whole work of redemption with all its consequences (after the general resurrection) was completed, or whether he supposed that God had taken back to himself this beam immediately on the ascension of Christ. The words of Sabellius support the first view: "just as the Logos was begotten for our sake, so also, does he return back again after us, to that which he was before, so that he may be what he was,† after we have attained to the union with God, to which we are destined;" (that is to say, after man through him shall have attained to a Being in God, analogous to the Being of the Logos in God;) on the contrary, the account of Epiphanius, who appears also to have had the words of Sabellius before his eyes, especially if we compare it with the doctrines of that Jewish sect, rather supports the second supposition. And there is something quite accordant with the whole Sabellian theory in the idea, that after God, through the sinking down of this one perfect beam into human nature, had again restored this to himself,‡ he

should in its stead communicate himself to the individual souls of the faithful through individual separate beams of the same divine Life, by means of the Holy Ghost. The words of Sabellius in Athanasius might certainly refer to something else; namely, they might mean, that after every thing had been restored to unity with God, the whole Spiritual creation would be in immediate connection with God, and then the Trias would also subside into the Monas, the λογος προφορικος and the λογος ενδιαθετος: and then nothing else would exist than the One* simple Divine Being, at repose within itself with the blessed Spirits reposing within him. But what opinion Sabellius may have held with respect to the enduring personality of souls, we cannot state with any certainty from the deficiency of any authentic vouchers.†

The Church doctrine formed itself in opposition to both these classes of Monarchians, and sought to maintain the substantial [selbständig] personal Being of the Logos. While these Monarchians considered the self-revelation of God in the λογος προφορικος, as only a certain activity of the Divine nature, in which the whole creation was called into existence; the Church teachers, on the contrary, supposed a self-revelation of God, preceding the whole creation, and forming the foundation of it: which self-revelation consisted in a Being, emanating from God with the attribute of personality, representing the Divine Being of God, and realizing his first conceived ideas; this Being was the substantial Word, in which the Divine thought came forth into crea-

* In the εὐαγγέλιον κατ' Αἰγυπτίους also, which Sabellius used, the doctrine that all opposites will at last be lost in unity, appears to be brought forward; for there, in answer to the inquiry of Solomon, when the kingdom of Christ was to come; Christ gives the answer, "when Two become One, and the outward like the inward, and the male like the female; when there is no farther distinction of sexes."

† According to this view, we can understand how Dionysius of Alexandria (Euseb. vii. 6,) might accuse Sabellius of having spoken injuriously of God the Father (as the expression of the evolution of the Divine Monas into a Trias must have appeared to a follower of Origen,) and of great unbelief in regard to the Logos, who became man (inasmuch as he looked upon Him as only a transient manifestation of Divine power,) and of great insensibility (ἀναισθησία) in respect to the Holy Ghost (because he denied the reality, and the objectivity of the Holy Ghost, and understood under that name only individual transient outpourings of Divine power.)

* He pronounced an Anathema against those, who did not believe in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, which he might do in his own sense of those terms. See Arnobii conflictus cum Serapione, Bibl. Patr. Lugd. t. 8.

† Lib. cit. c. 12. μεθ' ἡμᾶς ἀνατερχομένη ὡς παρ' ἐν.

‡ [The word "dieselve" here translated "this," grammatically considered, refers to "human nature" with which it agrees; but I apprehend it means the "human nature of Christ, with its enlightening beam of Divine Light."—H. J. R.]

tive activity.* They said, "While the word of man is only the transient expression of his thought; on the contrary, out of the Supreme and entirely perfect Being, nothing can come forth as his self-revelation (or the first act of the communication of Life from God,) which is not substantial, real, and objective." They conceived to themselves this Logos as the most perfect outpouring of the Divine Being, and they made the doctrine of the unity of God (the *μοναρχία*) to consist in supposing the Divine Logos to be nothing but an outpouring from the Divine First Being [Urwesen,] who revealed himself through this Logos, and works by means of him. But still by degrees this idea, in the conceptions formed of it, was developed in two different and opposite ways; the one prevailing in the Western, the other in the Eastern Church.

In regard to the latter, the fashioning which this doctrine received from the philosophical spirit of the Alexandrian school, and especially of Origen, had a very great influence upon it, and we cannot fail to recognise the influence also, which the system, from which his philosophical notions were derived, had exerted upon him. Although the Christian spirit had leavened his speculative ideas, although his "God the Father" is something different from the supreme, simple principle of the Neo-Platonists, the *ὄν*, which was to them a mere abstract idea of perfection, although his Logos is something different from the *νοῦς* of the Neo-Platonist, absorbed in ideal contemplation of itself; yet the speculative form, under which he had viewed things from this philosophy had certainly great effect in modifying his conception of this doctrine. We shall now view the ideas of this profound man, in their proper connection with each other.

That which is to be called God abso-

lutely,* is the original source of all being the source of Divine life, and of blessedness for a blessed world of spirits which is akin to him, and also elevated by communion with him above the bounds of temporary existence, and thus rendered divine. The higher spirits, in virtue of this Divine life, communicated to them by means of their communion with that original Divine Being, may, in a certain sense, be called Divine Beings or Gods.† But as the *αὐτοθεός* is the original source of all being, and all Divine life, so also is the *λογος*, the indispensable medium through which all communication of life from him must flow. This is the collected revelation of the glory of God, the universal all-embracing image of the glory, from out of which the partial beams of the Divine glory spread themselves over the whole world of Spirits.‡

Now as there is only One Divine First Being,§ there is also, One Divine First Reason,|| the Absolute Reason, through which alone the eternal Supreme Being reveals himself to all other beings, which is the source of truth to all them, the objective substantial truth itself. With Origen it is a great point to maintain firmly, that every particular class of reasonable beings has not its own subjective reason, nor every separate intelligence; but that there is one objective Logos for all, just as there is one objective absolute truth for all, the one truth of God-consciousness, which unites man with all classes in the world of Spirits. "Every one," he says, "will concede that truth is One, and in respect of truth, no one can venture to say, that there is one truth of God, another truth of angels, another of men; for in the nature of things there is One truth only in respect to every single thing. But now if truth is One, so must also the development of truth, which is wisdom, if thought of properly, be thought of as One also; because every false appearance of wisdom embraces not the truth, and does not deserve to be called wisdom. But if there be then One truth and one wisdom, the Logos which reveals the truth and wisdom to all who are capable of receiving it, will be One also." But although the Logos as to his nature and being, is absolutely One; yet he presents himself under a variety of forms

* [Lest I should have failed to represent by a literal translation the meaning of my author, I will merely state what appears to me to constitute the difference which he wishes to establish between these two views. The first considers the creation itself to be the act of this Divine energy of God set into activity, and thus the creation is the only manifestation of the thought of God, and is the *λογος ποιητικός*. The second, on the contrary, maintains that, previous to the creation, and independent of it, there was a manifestation of God, and a conversion of the *λογος ἐκδηλωτός*, into the *λογος ποιητικός*. This *λογος ποιητικός* has a personal existence, and by means of him God created the world.—H. J. R.]

* The *ἀπλῶς θεός*, *αὐτοθεός*.

† *μετοχῇ τῆς ἐκείνου θεότητος θεοποιουμένων*.

‡ Joh. ii. c. ii. 32; c. 18.

§ The *αὐτοθεός*. || The *αὐτολογός*.

and modes of operation, according to the different conditions and necessities of reasonable beings, to whom he is every thing, which is needful for their salvation, (see above.) Where the Gnostics, from the different modes of operation of the One Redeemer, and according to the different conditions of his operations, supposed different hypostases, Origen reduced these different hypostases to different conceptions and relations; but just as he opposed this fashion of hypostatizing every thing, so he opposed himself also to the Monarchians who reduced the whole Trias (or Trinity) only to different conceptions and relations under which the One Divine Being is viewed. Whosoever denied the substantial existence of the Divine Logos, appeared to him to reduce every thing into that which is subjective, to deny the existence of an absolute objective truth, and to make it a mere abstract idea [*abstractum*,] for he could not think of the Divine Logos in any other way, than as he had been accustomed to think of the *νοῦς*; of the Neo-Platonists. "None of us," says Origen, c. Cels. viii. 12, "has so debased a mind, as to think that the Being of truth* had no substantial existence before the appearance of Christ on earth."

As Origen explained all designations of the Logos as symbolical, he looked upon the name Logos in this light, and he spoke against those, who built exclusively upon this name, and made the comparison with the *λογος, προφορικος* always applicable, which to him, as a philosophical thinker, appeared too human, and one which would not allow the Logos to be represented as something having a substantial existence.† The representation which up to this time had been current: that God before the creation had caused the substantial Word to emanate from his Reason, in which he had conceived the plan of the world, which was to be executed by the Word, and that he had caused his thought to become the Word, was banished, together with that comparison by the philosophical spirit of Origen; because he could not allow the propriety of transferring in this manner the relations of time to the Eternal. Acknowledging no beginning of

creation, but supposing an eternal creation, he could still less acknowledge a beginning in this case, and he endeavoured to remove every consideration of time from the idea of the generation of the Logos, and to maintain that we must think of a "present," without any determination of time, [*lit.* a timeless present; an eternal now,] which he believed to be intimated in the "to-day" of Ps. ii. 7. What the Platonists said of the relation of the *ὁν* to the *νοῦς*, that the revelation of the former in the latter is contemporaneously co-existent with the former, he applied to the relation of God the Father to the Logos, that the reflection of the glory of God in the Son is co-existent with its own existence; and thus, that always this reflection had been present with the glory after a manner, which is independent upon time.* And thus he was peculiarly instrumental in establishing the notion of an eternal generation.

While Origen endeavoured to conceive the idea of the generation of the Son after the most spiritual manner possible, he declared himself strongly against all sensuous conceptions of it, and against all such expressions as might give occasion to, or favour them at all. On this account he rejected the phrase of a generation out of the substance of the Father.‡ (which, on the contrary, was used in the western Church, in order to distinguish the Son of God from all creatures,) because this expression, it appeared to him, might easily be used to favour the notion of a sensuous partition of the Divine Being.†

As the idea of a generation out of the

* Joh. i. 32. T. ii. c. 1; ii. 9. In Jerem. iii. 181.

† *ζῆντης ἐν τῇ οὐσίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ.*

‡ In opposition to those, who falsely explained the passage of St. John viii. 44, of the generation of the Son. T. 20, Joh. c. 16. *ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ ἐξαλθεῖν ἀπὸ Θεοῦ, δόκησαντο ὅντι τοῦ γεννηθῆαι ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, οἷς ἐκλούθῃ ἐν τῇ οὐσίᾳ: φησὶν τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθῆαι τὸν Υἱόν, ὡς καὶ μνησθῆναι καὶ λειτουργοῦν τῇ οὐσίᾳ, ἢ πρῶτον εἶχε δόγματα ὁνείων μὴδ' ὅτι ἐστιν ἀεὶ καὶ αὐματὸν πρῶτον αὐτῶν.* In the report of a discussion between Origen and Candidus the Valentinian, a passage occurred in which the former attacked an expression made use of by the more ancient Church doctors, as Justin, for example, (*viz.* a *πρόβλη* ἐν τῇ οὐσίᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς,) without any scruple,—*ne Deus Pater dividatur in partes*, and, on the contrary, in order to remove the idea of a necessity resulting from the nature of things, he maintained that the Son of God had received his existence from the will of the Father. Lib. ii. adv. Rufin. t. iv. 413.

* ἡ τὰς ἀλλοιῶν οὐσία.

† *ἐν συνεκῇ χρόνῳ τῷ ἐκπερσεύετο ἡ καρδία μου λόγον ἀγαθόν, ψ. 41. 1. οἰκονομῶν προφορὰν πνευματικὴν οἶον ἐν συλλαβῇ κειμένη εἶναι τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ.*

substance (*lit. the Being*) of God appeared to Origen to be too sensuous, it was also a concomitant of this caution on his part, that he thought it entirely necessary to maintain strictly the absolute superiority of God the Father the *αὐτοθεός*. in respect to his nature, over every other Being, just as he had, indeed, been accustomed as a Platonist, to consider the *ὁ*, as something incomparable with any thing else, and as elevated in his nature, even above the *νους* itself. It appeared to him, therefore, injurious towards the Great First Being, to suppose any equality of nature or unity between him and any other Being, were it even the Son of God himself. As the Son of God and the Holy Ghost are incomparably elevated above every thing else, even above the highest grades of the spiritual world; so much, or more than this, is the Father elevated above him.* This distinction between the nature of the Son of God, and of the Father† would necessarily be brought prominently forward by Origen against the Monarchians, because they denied not only the difference of nature, but even the distinction of the persons; and thus, on account of the connected nature of his philosophical and Christian system it was a point of practical importance to Origen to maintain against them the personal substantiality of the Logos. Sometimes, in the course of this controversy, he distinguishes between unity of nature and a personal unity, or unity of substance [*subjects-einheit, lit. subject- or substance- unity*] so that he only undertakes to controvert the latter idea.‡ This was the matter which was practically the most important to him to maintain, and he must have been well aware that many Church-teachers, who held a distinction of persons, at the same time maintained an unity of nature.§ But in virtue of the intimate connection of his own system, as a system, both these opinions would give way together, and when he spoke as from the position taken by that system, he maintained both the *ἑτεροτης της οὐσίας* and the *ἑτεροτης της ὑποστάσεως* or *του ὑποκειμένου*.||

* T. 13. Joh. c. 25.

† The doctrine of an *ἑτεροτης της οὐσίας* maintained in opposition to that of the *ὁμοουσιον*.

‡ T. 10. Joh. against those who said *ἐν οὐ μνον οὐσια ἄλλα καὶ ὑποκειμενὰ τῷ χανῇ ὁμοφροτους*. § [*Wesen-einheit, oneness of being*. See Wilson on the New Testament, p. 521.—H. J. R.]

|| In Joh. ii. t. ii. De Orat. c. 15. *κατ' οὐσίαν καὶ καθ' ὑποκείμενον ἔστιν ὁ υἱὸς ἑτέρου τοῦ Πατρὸς*.

From this doctrine he drew the practical consequence, that we must pray to the Father and not to the Son, from which it is clear, how much in a Christian and practical point of view, the Patripassians (whom Origen accused of knowing only the Son, and being unable to raise themselves up to the Father) must have thought themselves obliged to exert themselves against such a system. But still Christ was, nevertheless, to Origen, as he himself declared, with full conviction from the connection of his philosophical and Christian system, the way, the truth, and the life; he knew no other way to the Father, no other source of truth, and of Divine life for all creatures, than him, “the mirror, by means of which Paul and Peter, and all who are like to them, beheld God.”* He says, that in some respects, we may agree with the Gnostics, that the *Father* was not revealed before Christ revealed him, that men till that time, had known only the Creator and the Lord of the world, and that it was through the Son that they had first known him as their Father, and by the spirit of adoption received from him, had become capable of calling to him as to a father.† He acknowledged him to be the mediator, a confidence in whom must penetrate the whole inward life of Christians and unite them with God, in his name and through him, Christians must always pray to God the Father. Origen says, “How can we in the sense of him, who said, ‘Why dost thou call me good, there is none good, save only God the Father;’ avoid saying also, ‘Why dost thou pray to me? thou must pray only to the Father, to whom I also pray!’” As ye have learned from Holy Scripture, ye must not pray to him who is appointed by the Father to be your high priest, and who has received from your Father the office of being your advocate; but you must pray *through* your high priest and your advocate, through him who can have sympathy with your feebleness, who was in all things tempted like unto you, but by the gift of the Father without sin. Learn also what a gift ye have received from my Father, by receiving through a new birth in me the spirit of adoption, so as to be called the sons of God, and my brethren.”† And thus from the grounds already pointed, as we see, by Origen, a controversy arose against the doctrine,

* T. 13. Joh. c. 25. † T. 19. Joh. i. iv. 286.

‡ De Orat. c. 15.

that the Son of God was begotten of the Father, and against that of an unity of nature between them both, from which controversy, an opposition was afterwards to arise between the eastern and the western Churches; for in the latter of these Churches, the doctrine of one Divine Being in three numerically different persons, was already become predominant.

When we compare Origen and Tertullian together, we learn how the conception of the same Christian truth may be formed differently in persons, according to the difference of their spiritual character and education. Tertullian accustomed to sensible representations of the Supreme Being, could not find the difficulties, which met the philosophizing Origen. With his sensuous notions of emanation, he could easily make it clear to himself, how the Divinity could cause a being to proceed out of his own substance, which possessed this same substance, only in a smaller degree, and bore the same relation to the Divinity that the sunbeam does to the sun. Hence, he acknowledged one Divine Being in three persons intimately united together.*

The Son [according to this view] does not differ in number from the Father in relation to the Divine Nature, inasmuch as the same Nature of God is in the Son also; but he differs in degree, inasmuch as he is a smaller portion of the common whole of the Divine Being.† This became the prevailing view in the Western Church; viz. one and the same Divine Nature in the Father and the Son; but a subordination withal in the relation of the Son to the Father. But while the interior Christian life impelled men constantly to make the distinction between Christ and all creatures, always more and more sharply defined, and while on the other hand the idea of the Unity of God was constantly more and more definitely conceived, particularly by the spirit of the western people, so the notions of this subordination would necessarily be more driven into the background.

The form of doctrine, which had formed itself in the Alexandrian school, was now again brought more prominently forward in the second half of the third century, during the controversy against the systems of Sabellius, and of Paul of Samo-

sata. In the controversy against the latter, the expression *ὁμοουσιον* was condemned by a council at Antioch,* a circumstance which is of importance as an introduction to the controversies of the next century.†

We see already the seed of a controversy between the system of Origen, and the system of the Unity‡ in Trinity, which was constantly becoming more strongly defined in the Romish Church, and a prototype of the doctrinal controversies of the fourth century. Dionysius, the bishop of Alexandria, issued a pastoral letter against the doctrines of Sabellius,§ which were spreading themselves abroad in the province of Pentapolis, a district, the churches of which were under the superintendence of the bishop of Alexandria. In this letter in contradiction to the Sabellian confusion of persons [hypostases] he brought forward in consequence of that heresy the difference between the Son of God and the Father still more strongly, and made use of many inappropriate comparisons, and hard expressions, which he would not probably have used, if he had not been carried to extremes by means of this contrast between the two systems, and which might be so understood, as if he acknowledged no essential difference of nature between the Son of God and created beings, and as if he ascribed a temporal commencement of existence to the Son; he declared himself against the word *Homousion*. Many, who were offended by the expressions he used, complained of them to Dionysius, the bishop of Rome, who thereupon issued a letter, in which he contradicted those who denied the unity of nature in the Trinity [Trias,] who placed the Son of God in the rank of a creature, and assigned him a beginning of existence in time, as well as the Sabel-

* See e. g. Athanas. de Synod. § 43, and Hilar. de Synodis, § 86.

† As this may be explained so naturally by the doctrinal conceptions of the Alexandrian school, and also the ground brought forward by the council against this expression of the Church is quite in accordance with this, this account has hence, an *a priori* probability. The Arians, from whom it comes, are, however, suspicious witnesses in this respect; but the circumstance that neither Athanasius, Hilary of Poitiers, nor Basil of Cæsarea, their bitter opponents, who quote from their mouths, contradict them in the matter, may pass as a voucher for its credibility.

‡ [Wesenseinheit. Literally, Unity of Being, or nature.—H. J. R.]

§ The letter to Ammonius and Nicanor.

* Una substantia in tribus coherentibus.

† Deus de Deo, modulo alter, non numero. Adv. Praxeam.

lians. If Dionysius of Alexandria (who would easily be able to show that people had fastened too severely on single expressions of his, instead of explaining these expressions according to a general view of his ideas) had at once maintained obstinately his opposition to the doctrine of the Roman Church, and had proclaimed these points of difference more definitely, this would have sounded a tocsin to a contest of doctrines, in which the Eastern and Western church might possibly have taken part. But Dionysius acted in the spirit of moderation, which held fast what is material, and avoided contests on incomprehensible Divine things; a moderation which had passed from the great Origen to his worthy scholar. Without manifesting any resentment against his accusers, who had appealed to a foreign bishop, who was glad enough to set himself up as a judge over other churches, without manifesting any resentment towards the latter himself [the bishop of Rome,] who appears to have spoken more in the tone of a judge, than in that of a colleague in the office of bishop, he developed with composure and sound thought, the meaning of his expressions which had been misunderstood, and endeavoured while doing this, to avoid as much as possible any opposition to the Roman doctrine. He supplied also, according to the mode of Origen, what was requisite to complete the idea of the eternal generation of the Logos. He was willing even to allow the validity of the word *ὁμοουσιον*, as far as it was applied only to denote the affinity of nature between the Father and the Son, and to separate the Son from all creatures, although he might say against it, that this word had hitherto never been in use in the Church, and did not occur in the Holy Scriptures; which, however, it must be acknowledged, is not a satisfactory objection to make to a doctrinal expression; because the changes which take place in the general development of mind in a doctrinal point of view, and new errors arising in it, may render new expressions necessary; and because the only point of any importance here is, that the idea, which the doctrinal expression is to denote, can be deduced from the Scriptures. By this self-denial of Dionysius (in which he showed more of the spirit of Christ, and did more to honour him, than if he had maintained the unity of nature by dialectic rules,) the controversy was put aside, and a division, which might have torn asunder the

bond of Christian communion, was thus avoided.*

It will appear from what we have remarked above, that the development of the doctrine of the Holy Ghost is closely connected with that of the Son of God. We see also here, how completely religion is a thing of life, before it can obtain for itself an adequate form of development in definite conceptions, and we see the want of correspondence which must arise between the inward life and conscience, and the conceptions of the mind, until Christianity has penetrated the whole of man's nature. In that age of the first outpouring of the Holy Ghost on human nature, while the new life communicated by Christ to human nature, the life in communion with God, was felt so powerfully, and while its operations against the corrupted heathen world were so strongly marked there were generally wanting ideas of it, corresponding to the nature of that Spirit, whose power was felt to be Divine.

The Church-teachers, in virtue of the modes of mental conception in those days, could not (if we except the Monarchians above mentioned and Lactantius)[†] maintain the reality and objective existence of the Holy Ghost in any other way than by representing it to themselves as a personal substantial being. They were therefore, compelled by their system of subordination, to consider the Holy Ghost as a being subordinate both to the Father and the Son. Justin Martyr, for example, who certainly spoke with a just interior experience of that, which the Holy Ghost is for the interior life of the Christian; calls him "the angel of God, the power of God sent to us through Jesus Christ, which defends them [Christians,] from the assaults of the evil spirit, and compels him to leave them."[‡] With

* See the fragments of the letter of Dionysius to Ammonius and Euphranor, and of the second letter under the title, *ἐσθλὸς καὶ ἀπολογίαι*: in Athanasius de Sententia Dionysii et de Decretis Synodi Nicenæ.

† Who appears to have declared the Holy Ghost to be the sanctifying power of the Father and the Son, "eum vel ad Patrem referri vel ad Filium; et sanctificationem utriusque personæ sub ejus nomine demonstrari." See Hieronym. ep. 41. ad Pamach. et Oceanum.

‡ Dialog. c. Tryph. Jud. 344. *ὁ ἐγγλεος τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ πεμφθεῖσα ἡμῖν δια Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἡ τιμιμὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀφιστάται ἀφ' ἡμῶν.* This affords a key to the passage in the Apolog. ii. ed. Colon. p. 56, which is often found difficult; "we reverence the Son of

a just Christian view [Anschauung,] also, Origen calls the Holy Ghost—as the source of the Divine life communicated to the Christian, which, penetrating and sanctifying the natures of men, although according to its nature it be One, still reveals itself in manifold ways in the manifold qualities of human nature, and shows itself efficient in acting upon them—"the substance of all gifts and graces effected by God, and communicated through Christ, as something substantial in the Holy Ghost." According to his system of subordination, which is of importance for the development of the doctrine of the Greek Church in the following period the Holy Ghost is in his view, the first Being [or nature, *Wesen*,] produced by God the Father, through the Son. In this respect also the Unity system was already brought more prominently forward in the Western Church during the last years of this period, especially in the letter of Dionysius the bishop of Rome to his namesake of Alexandria. (See above.)

From the 'Doctrines relating to God' (Theology in the more confined sense of the word) we pass to the Doctrines which relate to the nature of man (Anthropology;) two classes of doctrines which stand together in close connection, when conceived after that mode of viewing them which belongs exclusively to Christianity, just as both of them receive their properly Christian character and significance, by their peculiar relation to the Doctrine of Redemption, the centre point of Christianity.

The Doctrine of Redemption, while it is indissolubly connected with one mode of viewing human nature, is essentially contradictory to other modes. It necessarily presupposes the recognition of the truth, that human nature stands in need of redemption, and hence, that there exists a schism and discord in it, and an estrangement of it from God, through communion with whom alone it can be rendered blessed. It stands in contradiction to the stoic view of the moral self-sufficiency of man, as well as to that heathen view of nature, which removed the opposition between sin and the holiness of God, and deduced evil from the natural organization of man, or from the influence of a blind destiny. Christianity, therefore, ne-

cessarily introduced with itself a new point of view for the consideration of human nature, and this point of view was to be maintained against those conceptions of it previously in existence. Christianity directed the attention of the thoughtful to the struggle [Zwiespalt, division] between good and evil in human nature, from which that nature must be set free, and to such inquiries as the following: "Whence this struggle arose? whence did evil originally come? and how is it to be considered in respect to the holiness of the Creator?" And in the case of many men (see the Gnostics as described above,) even before this time speculation had taken the turn to those inquiries, in consequence of the desire that had been awakened for some solution of the enigma of the course of nature; and in consequence of the perception of the disharmony that exists, and the feeling of commiseration for man's misery, that had already been excited.

Christianity united *Anthropology* with the *Doctrines that relate to the nature of Spirits* (Pneumatology,) inasmuch as it ascribed to man the same reasonable and moral nature, and the same destination, as to all the spirits of a high order; it represented man, on the one hand, as the companion of a race of holy and blessed Spirits in a world to which he belongs, even while here below, in virtue of his inward life; while on the other hand, it threw back the origin of moral evil on this very world of Spirits, by the doctrine of a fallen Spirit of a higher order, from whom at first the origin of sin proceeded. This latter representation was of practical importance, in establishing the doctrinal view of sin, inasmuch as by means of it, a more express and direct contrast might be presented against the important error of the moral judgment, which deduced evil from the mere nature of the senses, and from the natural organization of man.

The Gnostics, however, did not merely neglect the practical and Christian view in their union between Anthropology and Pneumatology, but they rather lost sight of it entirely in their idle speculations. We observed before (see above,) how their theories, intended to reconcile the holiness of God with the actual presence of evil, necessarily disparaged alike the holiness and the omnipotence of God, and tended altogether to remove the notion of evil, which they traced finally up to a necessity arising from the nature of things. The Christian doctrine of Satan's

God, and all the host of the other angels which follow Him, as especially the Holy Ghost;" as this last is ranked among angels, although considered to be elevated above all others.

influence, &c., lost with them its whole characteristic importance; because in their estimation, Satan was nothing more than a mere natural power, the culminating point of the power of the ἄλλ, which resisted every Divine influence.

In contradiction to the Gnostics, the Church-teachers were especially concerned to show, that evil was no necessary result of the composition of nature, but had its origin in the freewill of beings, created by God for good, and also that there were no natures either essentially wicked in consequence of their derivation from one source, or essentially good in consequence of their derivation from another; but that in consequence of their derivation, equal moral capabilities were present in all, and the use or neglect of them was wholly dependent on the freewill of the individual. There was no need, in arguing against the Gnostics, to prove, in the first instance, that human nature had been defiled by some element foreign to it; but on the contrary, the first point to make good against them was, that this foreign admixture could not have utterly destroyed man's freewill. Upon the whole, the Church-teachers agreed unanimously in maintaining both the freewill of man, as a necessary condition for the existence of any morality, without which there could be no righteous judgment on the part of God and also in maintaining, at the same time, the necessity of Divine grace for the moral reformation of human nature. The accurate investigation of the mutual relation between these two things, was yet far from this period; but still, amidst this agreement in essentials, two tendencies in the development of the doctrines pertaining to these points, which recede from each other, are nevertheless, to be found, when we compare the doctrines of the North African and the Alexandrian teachers with each other.

The formation of the North African system of Church doctrine proceeded from Tertullian. He received from the then existing Church doctrines the idea, that the first man, as he was created by God, had every capability of manifesting the image of God through his spiritual and moral nature; but that these capabilities were still undeveloped. Their development depended on the freewill of man. The nature of man was pure enough that no obstruction was offered to the influence of God upon it; through communion with God human nature

would have been constantly more and more ennobled and refined, and would have been enabled to attain to a participation in a divine and imperishable life, so that it would have been forever removed out of the dominions of death. But, by means of the first sin, which consisted in man's not subjecting his will to the will of God, but opposing it,* man stepped out of this communion with God, and thus became subjected to the mastery of sinfulness and perishableness.† As the harmony between the Divine and the human will entailed as its consequence a harmony between all the parts of human nature; so the rent between the Divine and the human will introduced a rent in the *whole* nature of man. Connection with an ungodly Spirit took the place of connection with the Spirit of God. The Father of the race of men communicated the Spirit of this world [*literally*, the world-spirit,] to all his descendants.‡

But Tertullian's theory about the mode of propagating this first element of destruction to the nature of man, was peculiar to himself, and connected with his theory, of the propagation of souls. In fact, he thought that original forefather of the race bore within himself the undeveloped seed of all mankind; that the soul of the first man was the source of all other human souls, and that all the qualities of human nature were only manifold modifications of that one spiritual substance.§ (This is a point of view, which, although it was conceived in sensuous images by Tertullian, who could not think of any thing except through the medium of images drawn from the senses, was not necessarily connected with sensuous views.) Hence, the whole nature of man became corrupted in our first forefather, and sinfulness was propagated together with the souls of men.||

Tertullian was, in like manner, imbued with the conviction of the sinfulness that adhered to man's nature, and also the conviction of man's nature being undeniably akin to God; and that it was expressly in contrast to this latter element of his nature, that sin manifested itself as

* Electio suæ potius quam divinæ sententiæ.

† Among the Fathers of this period both of these notions were included in the idea of φθζα: just the opposite term αφθζα with them signified divine, imperishable, and holy life.

‡ Spiritum mundi universo generi suo tradidit.

§ De anima, c. 10, and c. 19.

|| Tradux animæ, tradux peccati.

sin. "The corruption of man's nature," he says,* "is a second nature, which has its own God and Father; namely, the author of this corruption himself; but still in such a way that good is also present in the soul, that original Divine and genuine [Good] which is properly natural to it. For that which is from God is not so much extinguished as dimmed. For it may be dimmed, because it is not God, but it cannot be extinguished, because it is from God. Wherefore, as Light, which is obstructed, nevertheless remains, but does not appear, if the obstruction is sufficiently dense, so also the good which is in the soul, being oppressed by the evil, in conformity to its own peculiar nature,† either remains entirely inactive, while its Light remains hidden, or when it finds its freedom, shines out where an opportunity is given. Thus some are very good and some are very wicked, and yet all souls are one race; and also in the very worst there is something of good, and in the very best something of wickedness, for God alone is without sin, and Christ is the only man wholly sinless, for Christ is also God. The Divine nature of the soul breaks forth into anticipations in consequence of its original goodness, and its God-consciousness delivers a testimony. . . . Therefore, no soul is without guilt, because none is without the seed of good."

He considered every part and power of man's nature as the work of God, as something intrinsically good; and hence, all that is contrary to reason in it, only as the consequence of that first rent produced in man by transgression; and he acknowledged the justice of Plato's division of the soul into the λογικόν and ἄλογον, not in reference to the original nature of man; but only in regard to it in a state of corruption.‡

* De Anima, c. 41.

† [Ita bonum in anima a malo oppressum, pro qualitate ejus, aut in totum vacat, occultata luce, aut qua datur radiat, inventa libertate.]

So auch ist das von dem Bösen, wie dessen eigenthümliches Wesen mit sich bringt, unterdrückte Gute in der Seele ganz wirkungslos, &c.

It would seem, although it is rather ambiguous, from this, that Neander refers pro qualitate ejus to the nature of evil, as opposed to good, and oppressing it where it can; but (if Rigalt's reading is correct,) it seems to me to belong to good, which being like light in its nature, suffers either partial or entire obscuration.]

‡ De Anima, 16. Naturale enim rationale credendum est, quod animæ a primordio sit ingentum a rationali videlicet auctore; irrationale autem posterius intelligendum, ipsum illud trans-

With regard to the Gnostic doctrine of essential difference in the natures of men, in consequence of which they maintained that no Pneumaticus [or Spiritual man] could be formed from a Hylicus or Choicus [a man of a low, material or earthly nature] or vice versa—Tertullian contrasted with this doctrine the omnipotence of grace, and the changeableness of the human will. When the Gnostics appealed to the declaration of Christ, that no good tree brings forth evil fruit, and no evil tree good fruit, Tertullian answered them thus,* "If this be so, then God cannot raise up children to Abraham out of stones, nor could the generations of vipers bring forth fruits of repentance, and the apostle was in error when he wrote as follows: 'And we too once were darkness, and we also once were the children of wrath, among whom ye were once also, but ye are washed.' But can the declarations of the Holy Spirit stand in contradiction to each other? No! for the evil tree will never bring forth good fruit, until it be grafted, and the good tree will produce evil fruit, if it be not cultivated; and the stones will become the children of Abraham, when they are fashioned into the faith of Abraham, and the generation of vipers will bring forth the fruits of repentance, when they have vomited out the poison of wickedness. This, the grace of God may effect, which is certainly more powerful than nature, and to which the freewill of man is subordinate in us But as this will is also a part of our nature, and changeable, whithersoever it turns, thither our nature leads us also." This remarkable passage may be taken by some, as if Tertullian ascribed to grace an irresistible and attractive power in reference to the corrupted will of man; and it might be said, that he maintained the freewill of man only in opposition to the doctrine of a necessity of fate, and against the opinion of an entire moral incapacity in certain natures: but that he did not maintain it in reference to the nature-reforming principle of grace. Montanism might easily lead to this result, that the overpowering influence of the Divine nature should be exaggerated, and the freewill of man made only a blind passive instrument. But still this view would be by no means

gressionis admissum atque (quod) exinde inoleverit in anima, ad instar jam naturalitatis, quia statim in nature primordio accedit.

* De Anima, c. 21.

supported by the context, according to which Tertullian only wishes to make out, that grace by its Divine influence on our corrupted nature, in virtue of its freewill can communicate to it a higher power than that which resides in itself; and we are bound to take that explanation, which best accords with the rest of Tertullian's declaration about freewill. And even supposing that Montanism necessarily exalts especially the doctrine of Divine grace, yet the doctrine of an irresistible grace is any thing but established by it, [Montanism,] for the very circumstance that Montanism attributes such an influence to the case of prophets only, proves that it does not maintain it in ordinary cases.

The other disposition we find in the Alexandrian Church. Clement, without intending it, opposed the North African Church doctrine, while he had in view only the Gnostic doctrine, that birth is a work of the evil Spirit. "As children may have sinned, and fallen under the curse of Adam, while as yet they have never done any action of their own."* Clement was particularly anxious to maintain this point; that all the Divine operations of grace went on the condition of the independence [*lit.* self-determination, self-choice] of the freewill, as the ground of all moral development. No doubt he went too far, (as any man is likely to do, who always follows a single point of view,) in endeavouring to define too accurately the limits which separate [in these operations of grace] the Divine from the human; but at the same time he did it only out of a wish to maintain the practical importance of the moral independence of man; though it is still quite certain that he was far from ascribing to the will of man, a self-sufficiency that was independent of the reforming power of Divine grace. In one passage he expresses himself thus, with respect to the mutual relation of these two:† "When man seeks to free himself from passions by his own discipline and his own endeavours he does not succeed. But if he shows a right earnest desire and endeavour after this end, he will attain it by the assistance of God's power, for God communicates his Spirit to those souls that desire it. But if they relax from their desire, then also the Spirit of God which

had been bestowed upon them, withdraws itself For the kingdom of God does not belong to those who sleep and are lazy, but the 'impetuous seize upon it.'"

The system of Origen in respect to this matter is altogether peculiar to himself. We observed above, that he was attached to an Emanation-scheme, spiritually conceived; but while the Gnostics tried to explain the difference between reasonable creatures, partly by a natural law deduced from the gradual development of life from God, and partly by their descent from two fundamentally different principles, Origen, on the contrary, endeavoured to deduce all differences *from moral freedom*. "God," he maintained, "as the absolute unity can be the source of nothing but unity; inasmuch as all being is derived from him, the unity of its nature must be shown therein. From him no difference and no variety [*lit.* multifariousness] can arise, and it would be contrary to his love and his justice, not to bestow on all his creatures the same measure of perfection and blessedness. Thus God is to be conceived originally as the first source of a spiritual world, allied to him, and rendered blessed by communion with him, and the members of this world were all similar to each other. In the second book of his work *περί ἀρχῶν*, he expresses himself as if he not only considered all differences in the measure of powers and of blessedness, but also generally all differences of proper and peculiar being, no original difference, but as something which had proceeded in the first instance from a difference in the moral direction of the will. According to this, Origen will have considered the original creation to have been only one that consisted of beings altogether alike, but only numerically distinct, and all peculiarity to have been the consequence of alienation from God. This was, to say the truth, a very limited representation of the creation, in relation to the infinite Being of God; but in contrast to Gnosticism and to the Platonism by which Origen is usually directed, the predominance of the Christian point of view in his mind (although this was conceived by him in a one-sided way) is here shown in a characteristic manner, because he opposes the moral view as the highest, and as that which shall determine every thing, to the scheme of a natural necessity or fate.

It may, at the same time, be the case

* III. f. 453, 469. [p. 541, 556-7. Ed. Pott. p. 194. 201. Ed. Sylb.]

† Quis dives salvetur? c. 21.

that Origen in later days retracted this notion, as he did many other crude ideas, which he had brought forward in that work of speculative doctrine. He says, nevertheless, in a passage of later date,* that the Son of God is the general reflection of the glory of God, but that in part, the beams of this general reflection spread themselves over the rest of the reasonable creation; for no created being can contain the whole of the glory of God, and the inference to which this would seem to lead is, that what is One in the Logos, in the rest of the spiritual world develops itself into a variety of individual properties, of which every one reflects and represents the glory of God in some mode peculiar to itself, and thus the collected totality of these individualities, which mutually supply the deficiency of each other, would correspond to the collected revelation of the glory of God in the Logos. That would certainly be a just conclusion, if Origen had unravelled to himself with a clear consciousness the full meaning of the thought, which he expressed; but one is led to inquire whether this was the case. He appears, in a passage of the same Commentary of St. John, from which the first passage was quoted, to determine it as the final aim of all this development, that all reasonable beings, in attaining to God through the Logos, might have only one employment, [Thätigkeit, activity] namely, the employment of the contemplation [Anschauung, perception or intuition] of God; and that being fashioned through the knowledge of the Father, might thus become perfectly, that which the Son is, as now none but the Son hath known the Father.† As now according to this last doctrine of Origen, by means of this last completion,‡ every thing will return again to its original condition, it appears also to follow as a consequence that according to this same doctrine such an equality and unity also *originally* existed.

Origen still farther concluded that God alone is good by his very nature; but on the contrary, that all created beings are, and remain good, only by means of their

communion with the original source of all good, the Logos. As soon as ever the desire exists in any being gifted with reason, of being any thing for itself, there evil is sure to exist. "The good, which has become so," says Origen,* "cannot be like that which is good by its nature; this, however, will never be wanting to him, who receives in himself for his own preservation the bread of life, as it is called. But wherever it is wanting to any one, it arises from his own fault; because he has neglected partaking of the living bread and the true drink, by which his wings being nourished and moistened will grow."† Evil is the only thing which has the foundation of its being in itself and not in God, and which is, therefore, founded in no being, but is nothing else than an estrangement from the true Being, and has only a subjective and no objective existence at all, and is in itself nothing.‡ Therefore, he says: "The proposition of the Gnostic, that Satan is no creature of God,§ has some truth for its foundation, namely this, that Satan in respect to his nature is a creature of God, but not as Satan."||

When the will of the Spirits, who were blessed in a Divine life, estranged itself from God, the original unity became dissolved, there arose a disharmony, which needed now again to be brought to unity by means of a process of purification and improvement. The soul of the world is nothing else than the power and wisdom of God, who knows how to bind up

* c. Cels. vi. 44. [p. 305 Ed. Spencer. The two expressions are, το οὐσιώδες ἀγαθόν, and ἀγαθὸν το κατὰ συμβεβηκός ἀγαθόν καὶ ἐξ ἐπιτηρημάτων ἀγαθόν. The "this," in the text refers to this last; the adventitious good.—H. J. R.]

† An allusion to the Platonic myth of the wings of the soul in the Phædrus. [We must observe that Origen himself continues the sentence by alluding to the wings of the eagle mentioned by Solomon, Prov. xxiii. 5, which Origen rather alters. But see Plat. Phæd. § 56.—H. J. R.]

‡ Origen gave a more ethical meaning to the metaphysical Platonic idea of the *μεν ἐν* (according to which [namely, the Platonic notion] if we make the idea clear to our own minds, evil is necessary as the limit to the development of life, and, therefore, the idea of evil according to its moral import is really superseded.) With him [i. e. Origen,] the *μεν ἐν* is here rather a privative than a negative. See t. ii. Joh. § 7. αἱ μετὰ τῆς τοῦ ὄντος, μετὰ τῆς δὲ αἱ ἀγλαί, εὐλογίας ἀν ὄντος χρηματίζων αἱ δὲ ἀποστερηθέντες τῆς τοῦ ὄντος μετὰ τῆς ἐστιασμένης τοῦ ὄντος, γρηγοροῦν οὐκ ὄντος.

§ See above in the account of the Gnostics.

|| In Joh. t. ii. c. 7.

* T. xxxii. Joh. c. 18.

† T. i. Joh. c. 16. Also the passage in Matt. 207, "Then will the righteous no longer shine after a different manner, as in the beginning, but all will shine as one sun in the kingdom of their Father." Matt. xiii. 43. But still this passage of Origen may be understood to apply only to an equality of moral condition and blessedness.

‡ The ἀποκαταστάσις.

these great moral differences in one living whole; and which, subjecting all these dissonances to a higher law, penetrates and vivifies the whole.* We see before us only a fragment of the great course, which the world will run, which embraces all moral differences with all the consequences that develop themselves from them, until their entire removal; and hence our imperfect *Theodicea*.†

It follows necessarily from the doctrines of Origen, that even human souls were originally altogether of a similar frame with all higher Spirits, and that all differences between the former and the latter, and between individuals of the former, proceeded only from differences of the moral disposition of the will of all individuals, and that, consequently, all souls are fallen heavenly beings. The whole temporal conscience moving itself between opposites, the understanding, directed to what is finite, proceeded only out of estrangement from that unity of the Divine life, the life of immediate intuition, and it is the destiny of the soul that it should, being purified, again raise itself up to that life, in the pure immediate intuition of God; or, that, just as through the cooling of that heavenly fire, the life of spirit degenerated into the life of the soul, so also the soul should again be elevated to the rank of spirit.‡

Origen set this theory of the pre-existence of souls in opposition to Creationism, which supposed individual souls to arise from the immediate act of creation on the part of God; for this theory appeared to him irreconcilable with the love and justice of God, which maintains itself equally towards all his creatures; and also in opposition to the Traducianism of Tertullian, for this theory appeared to him too sensuous. Thus, as he in order to be able to maintain his theory of a creation which preceded this temporal world, without prejudice to the Church doctrine, appealed to the circumstance that the Church doctrine defined nothing concerning this point; so also did he appeal

to the same circumstance, in regard to his own peculiar speculative theory of the origin of souls.

In the doctrine, however, of a corruption and guilt that cleaved to human nature from the beginning, he might, exactly as the North African Church-teachers expressed themselves,—he might speak of a mystery of a birth,* according to which every one who comes into the world needs purification, and he might quote in favour of this view the passages of the Bible, which were quoted by others in favour of the doctrine of original sin [Erbsünde—inherited iniquity—original, or birth-sin.] But he felt himself obliged to deduce this condition of human nature from another source; namely, from the proper guilt of every individual fallen heavenly Spirit, contracted in a former state of existence: and hence, according to the theory of Origen, this corruption could not be alike in all, but its degree would depend on the degree of the former guiltiness. Although he accounted Adam as a historical person, yet he could be nothing else in his view, than the first incarnate soul that sunk down from the heavenly state of existence: he must have looked upon the history of paradise, like the Gnostics, as being symbolical, so that it [paradise] was to him the symbol of a higher spiritual world, and Adam was to him at the same time, the type [image or form] of all mankind, of all fallen souls.†

Origen in his work *περι ἀρχων*, agreeing also here with the Platonists, and many Gnostics, had considered‡ the doctrine, that the fallen souls might, through entire decomposition, sink into the bodies of animals, as at least something which was not to be exactly rejected. But as his system was essentially distinguished from the Neoplatonic by the predominance of the Christian, morally-teleological point of view; so this point of view, always becoming more and more fully formed, necessarily would lead to the following result; namely, at last entirely to throw away§ the doctrine of such an incorpora-

* Π. ἀρχ. l. ii. c. i.

† Homil. iv. in Jer. § 1. [Theodicea is, perhaps, a new word in English, although known as the name of the essay of Leibnitz.—H. J. R.]

‡ Παρά την ἀπύπτωσιν καὶ τὴν φύσιν τὴν ἀπο τοῦ ζῆν τοῦ πνεύματος γέγονεν ἡ νῦν γινώσκουσα ψυχὴ νῦν πῶς οὖν γέγονε ψυχὴ, καὶ ψυχὴ καταβάδισα γίνεται νῦν. Lib. ii. c. 8. *περι ἀρχων*. Compare the similar view entertained by the Gnostics, for which see page 238.

* Μυστήριον τῆς γενέσεως.

† c. Cels. l. iv. § 40, οὐχ οὕτως περιέως τῆς, ὡς ἐπεὶ ὅλου τοῦ γένους ταῦτα φασκιντος τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου. It is not inconsistent with this, that Origen should speak of Adam, quite in accordance with the Church view, as in t. i. Joh. § 22. t. xiii. § 34; he might place his own sense upon this; especially in *Homilies*, where Gnosis was out of place. H. 14. in Jerem.

‡ See the Greek Fragment, π. ἀρχων, lib. i. Origen. Ed. de la Rue, t. i. p. 76.

§ See c. Cels. iii. c. 75; ii. 16, in Jerem.

tion of souls, as inconsistent with the final purpose of the purification, which presupposes a continuity of consciousness. According to the same point of view, he opposed his theory of the process of purification of souls, which was to continue to the last limit of the restoration, to the doctrine of a *cycle* in the wanderings of the soul.

Origen, like the Gnostics, supposed three principles* in human nature in its fallen state, the *σαρκικόν*, the *Ψυχικόν*, and the *πνευματικόν*, and also three different conditions of human nature, corresponding to these principles. But he separated himself from them in an essential point; namely, that as he recognised all human souls as similar, he accordingly supposed the same principles in every one of them, and that he, therefore, considered their different conditions to proceed, not from an original difference of nature in them, but from the predominance of one or other of those [three] principles in them, dependent on the different directions of their will. The *πνεύμα* is that portion of man's nature properly called the Divine, the power of the higher inward intuition of that which is Divine, which originally formed the essential nature of the Spirit, and is synonymous with *νοῦς*; this *πνεύμα* can have no connection with evil, and nothing evil can proceed from it.† But by the predominance of sensuousness, and of the lower powers of the soul, which conduce to selfishness, the activity of this *πνεύμα* becomes depressed. Those, in whom, on the contrary, this highest principle of human nature is the predominant and animating one, are the *πνευματικοί*.‡ He by no means, as follows immediately from his general ideas on the relation of human nature to God, ascribed an independent self-existence to this principle of human nature; but he considered it as the organ destined to receive in itself the operations of the *θεῖον πνεύμα*.§ The *Psychici* are, in the view of Origen,

the more refined egotists, the men-of-understanding,* among whom a more refined selfishness prevails, which does not manifest itself in open outbreaks of sinful conduct and passions; who are, as he expresses himself, neither hot nor cold; and he throws out the inquiry, whether the *σαρκικός* cannot attain† more easily than the *Ψυχικός* to a consciousness of the misery of sin, and hence to a true conversion; an inquiry which may be changed into that other, whether the publicans often might not be more easily converted than the Pharisees. With this is connected the idea of Origen, that, just as a skilful physician sometimes calls forth the sources of disease, which are lying hid in the body, and produces an artificial evil, in order that this source of disease which threatens to destroy the whole fabric may by this means be driven forth out of the body; so also God places men in such a condition, that the evil hidden within them is called forth into open activity, in order that they may thereby be led to a consciousness of their moral guilt and its destructive consequences; and then may be able to be healed more easily and more completely.‡ And in this way he explained the Scriptural phrase "God hardened the heart," and others similar to it.

It is clear from the remarks we have made above on the Anthropology of the Church-teachers of this period, that the need of redemption for human nature was generally recognised in their system, and thus the *Doctrine of the Redeemer*, which forms the peculiar essence of Christianity found in it [their system, or anthropology] a point on which it would naturally engraft itself. As far as the development of *this doctrine* is concerned, its essential import, the idea of a God-man, was deeply implanted in the Christian conscience; but the different portions of which it consists, which belong to the perfect development of the full contents of this idea, could not come forward at once and immediately with clearness in the Christian conscience. It was only through the opposition called forth in controversy that the full impression of what was comprehended in this idea, could be obtained

where he speaks of a Metempsychosis in a parabolic sense, and guards himself carefully against any misunderstanding, which could lead to taking this literally.

* [I have used the word "*Principle*" throughout this passage, as *Princip* is the word in the original. Perhaps, to an English reader the word "element" would better convey the idea intended.—H. J. R.]

† T. xxxii. Joh. c. 11. ἀπεκρίθη τῶν χριστιανῶν τὸ πνεύμα.

‡ Πνεύμα το θεοῦ ἐστιν, οὗ κατὰ μέτρον ἐνέχεσθαι τὸν χριστιανὸν ὁ πνευματικὸς. In Joh. i. ii. c. 15.

§ Origen Comment. in Matt. Ed. Huet. p. 306.

* [Verstandes-menschen; where *Verstand* is opposed to *Vernunft*.—H. J. R.]

† Περὶ ἐξέχων, l. iii. c. 4.

‡ See de Orat. c. 29; and the fragment of the Commentary on Exod. c. 10, 27; in the 26th chapter of the *ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ*, and in the 2d Part [Band] of de la Rue's Edition, p. 3.

in definite conceptions; namely, the clear and definite consciousness of that, which we have to conceive in the assumption of human nature on the part of the Divine Logos. In the development of this doctrine, *realistic Christian views* would be peculiarly called forth by the opposition to all Gnostic attempts to set aside, or to mutilate the one side of [the doctrine of] the God-man, that is the human part of it, to do away with the human nature of Christ, or, at least either more or less to deprive it of the proper attributes of humanity,—and especially by the opposition to *Docetism*. The consciousness of the objective reality of the human nature of Christ, and his appearance in the flesh, the idea of the form of a servant taken upon him by Christ, was declared during this opposition [to Gnosticism] strongly and clearly. Thus, Ignatius of Antioch can find no words sufficiently strong in his opinion, to express the confidence of the Christian persuasion on this point, and he says in an original manner of the Docetæ. that they who would make Christ only an apparition, were themselves only like apparitions.* “How comes it that thou makest Christ half a lie?” says Tertullian† to a Docetist: “he was wholly truth!” And the same writer in another place,‡ “It is offensive to you to think that the child is taken care of in swaddling clothes and caressed! Dost thou despise this reverence shown to nature? and how wert thou born thyself? Christ, at least, loved man born under these conditions [and charged with these infirmities]. . . . For his sake he came down, for his sake he let himself down to every humiliation, even unto death he loved, together with man, both his birth and his flesh.” In opposition to Docetism, the idea of the form of a servant, taken upon him by Christ, as it peculiarly suited this primitive Christian spirit,§ which opposed itself to heathenism

with all its rival show of beauty, was worked up so as to present a contrast between the hidden Divine glory of Christ, and the wretchedness of his outward form and appearance. Tertullian says,* “This was the very thing which makes the rest about him wonderful; for they said, ‘Whence came this man to such wisdom and such works?’ That is the outcry of those who despised also his form.”†

In Clement of Alexandria, pure Christianity was on this point disturbed by intermixture with Neo-Platonic ideas. The Neo-Platonic philosopher wished to have a Christ, freed from the wants and imperfections of sense, and utterly unaffected by it, and this Christ was to represent to him the Ideal of ἀπαθεια; and therefore, he must not be subjected to hunger and thirst, to the sensations of pain, to pleasure or displeasure. But in this case, how could the form of the *historical* Christ of Scripture be maintained? The forced explanation was to be used, that Christ, although not subject to those affections by his nature, had subjected himself to them voluntarily (κατ’ οἰκονομίαν) with a peculiar view to the salvation of man.‡ Nevertheless, Clement in a remarkable manner with this view, which does not accept the servant’s form of Christ in its full extent, united the other view, which carried it to the extreme. But even this suited his philosophical ideas; “the unsightliness and formlessness of Christ’s appearance ought to teach men to look upwards towards the invisible, incorporeal and formless nature of God.”§

But while from the beginning, the true and real humanity of Christ was maintained; yet at first, the distinction between the different parts which belong to the completeness of man’s nature, was either not brought at all, or only brought forward in individual cases, and even then with only a dim consciousness about them. Under the notion of an assumption of man’s nature nothing was thought of but the assumption of a human body, as in Irenæus we find this only clearly spoken of. Justin, on the formation of

* αὐτοὶ τοὶ δεικνύοντες ὁσώματος καὶ σαρκινικοῦ.

† De Carne Christi, c. 5.

‡ L. c. c. 14. [c. 4. Ed. Rigalt. In the passage as it is found at length in Tertullian, the infirmities attendant on the birth and infancy of a child are enumerated and mentioned, as things which Marcion looked upon with horror or contempt; and the argument appears to be, “though you consider these things derogatory to the dignity of man’s nature, our Saviour did not; he loved the race of man, though encompassed with all these weaknesses,” &c. In the portion selected by Neander, this, perhaps, is not sufficiently apparent.—H. J. R.]

§ See Part II.

* De Carne Christi, c. 9.

† Nec humanæ honestatis corpus fuit, nedum celestis claritatis.

‡ Clemens, Strom. vi. 649-50. [Pott. 775. Sylb. 276. Klotz iii. 140.]

§ Strom. iii. 470, ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν σαρκὶ ἀνθρώπου γεννηθεὶς καὶ ἀμορφὸς, εἰς τὸ ἄνθρωπος καὶ ὁσώματος τῆς θεῆς αἰτίας ἀπ’ ἐλευθερίαν ἡμᾶς διδάσκει [Pott. 559. Sylb. 202. Klotz ii. 271.]

whose mind the Platonic philosophy had some influence, appears to have formed to himself the following peculiar chain of ideas: Christ, as the God-man, consists of three parts, like every other man—of the body, the animal soul (the inferior principle of life,) and the thinking reason; only with this difference, that the place of the fallible human reason, which is only a beam of the Divine reason, of the *λογος*,* is supplied† in him by the general Divine reason the *λογος* itself;‡ and hence in Christianity alone could the universal revelation of religious truth be given, without being obscured by any one-sidedness.§

Tertullian was the first who definitely and clearly proclaimed the doctrine of a proper human soul in Christ, being led to this by his view of the relation of the soul to the body in general, and by the direction taken by his controversy about the person of Christ in particular. He did not assume, like others, that there are the *three* above mentioned parts in human nature, he only acknowledged two parts in it; he maintained that we must not consider a mere animal soul distinct from the rational soul in man to be the animating principle of the body, but that in all living beings the animating principle [*literally*, being] is one only, but in the case of man's nature that this is furnished with higher powers, and that the thinking soul itself is also the animating [soul] of the human body.|| When Tertullian acknowledged only *one soul* as the means of communication between the Divine Logos and the body in Christ, he must necessarily have thought here of a proper reasonable human soul. And farther, he was in controversy with a Valentinian sect, which taught that Christ, instead of investing his soul with a gross material body, had so modified the *ψυχη*, that it might become visible to the senses of man [*literally*, to the sensuous man] like

a body. Against this sect he maintains, that we must necessarily, in the person of Christ, as in the case of every other man, distinguish between soul and body, and the attributes of each, and that he [*i. e.* Christ,] in order to redeem man, must place a proper human soul in union with himself, and indeed, so much the more, inasmuch as the soul composes the proper nature of man.*

Origen, however, had greater influence than Tertullian on the development and the settlement of this doctrine in the doctrinal system of the Church. His struggles to attain an inward living intuition into the doctrines of the faith, his peculiar philosophical education, and his spirit that longed after a systematic connection of ideas, led him to an erudite and scientific development of this doctrine. The communion of believers with Christ afforded him an analogy for the union of the Divine Logos with the human nature in Christ. From the derived Divine life of believers, which is to appropriate to itself and penetrate by degrees more and more their whole human nature, even to the completion [of this process] at the general restoration, from this Origen reverted to the original source of this Divine propagation of life in man's nature, which, in his view, was Christ as the God-man. If, as St. Paul says, believers become one spirit with the Lord; this has happened [according to the view of Origen] in a far higher manner with *that* soul, which the Logos has received into an indissoluble union with himself. According to the theory of Origen, it is the original destination of the soul, to be wholly spirit (*πνευμα*) and to find its life only in communion with the Logos. That which happened with other souls only in the highest concerns of the inward life, namely, that they enter wholly into communion with the Logos, and wholly forget themselves in the intuition of the Divine, this had become with that soul something constant and uninterrupted, so that its whole life had passed into the communion with the Logos, and it had become itself entirely made Divine.†

As Origen, still farther, in every man distinguished the *πνευμα* from the *ψυχη* in the stricter sense of the word: so also he applied this distinction to the human nature of Christ. Christ [in his view]

* The *σπέρμα λογικόν*, the *λογος σπερματικός*, the *λογος κατά μορφην*.

† Apol. II. § 10. And yet one might suspect that the words *καὶ σῶμα καὶ λόγον καὶ ψυχὴν* were interpolated by a later hand, with the intention of making Justin orthodox on this point, because this more precise determination on the matter does not occur any where else in Justin, and does not seem altogether in its place here. But, to say the truth, the first reason cannot be a very striking proof; nor indeed, the second either, in the case of a writer, whose works are like those of Justin.

‡ *λογικὸν το ὄν*.

§ Justin is the predecessor of Apollinaris

|| De anima, c. 12.

* De carne Christi, c. 11, et seq.

† *ὅτι οὐ μόνον κινήσας ἀλλ' ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ ἀναγκασίᾳ, τῆς ἑκείνου θεότητος κακωσθησάντων, εἰς Θεὸν μεταβέβηκεν.*

represents the Ideal of human nature *in the very circumstance*, that all activity, all conduct, and all suffering in him proceeded from, and was surrounded in, that supreme [source,] which was in his whole human nature the animating principle. "As the holy man," says Origen, "lives in the *πνευμα*, as that from which his whole life, every action, every prayer, and the praise of God proceeds, thus he does all which he does, in the Spirit; yea, when he suffers, he suffers also in the Spirit. If this be so in the case with the holy man, how much more must we affirm this of Jesus, the forerunner of all holy men, with whom, when he took upon him the whole of man's nature, the *πνευμα* set all the rest of his human qualities into movement."*

But as we observed, it was a chief point in the system of Origen, that all in the world of Spirits must be limited and subjected to conditions dependent on the differences of the moral direction of the will. From this general law of the order of the world he was able to allow of no exception in the case of this supreme dignity, to which a soul attained. That soul, through the faithful direction of its will towards the Divine Logos, and by affection to him, through which it had always remained united with him, had deserved that it should after such a manner become altogether One with him.† Thus all here corresponds with the destination conformable to his nature; the soul, which the Logos received into personal union with himself, has obtained the highest destination attainable by any Spirit, and it is, therefore, become the *instrument*, through which the communication of Divine Life by inward communion with the Logos, shall extend itself also to all other souls. And again it suits the nature of the soul, that it should unite itself with a body, and become the intermediate

connecting principle between this and the Logos.

As Origen supposed a peculiar connection to exist between every soul, and the body which serves it as an instrument—(considering that every soul does receive such a body, which corresponds to its condition as derived from a former state, either an instrument which will willingly lend itself to spiritual activity; or such an one, as will specially impede and oppose it)—thus he applied this principle to the relation between *that* soul and the body which was bestowed upon it as an instrument. The noblest soul was to appear in the noblest body, which was the purest and most free instrument of the Spirit. But this dignity of the body of Christ was, like the glory of the Logos at his appearance here, a hidden glory. Here also the earthly life of Christ is an image of the spiritual activity of the Logos. As the Logos (see above) reveals himself in different ways to men, according to their different capabilities; thus Christ appeared to the greatest number in the unattractive form of a servant, but to those who had eyes to perceive it, he showed himself in an ennobled form. Thus Origen was able to unite with his theory of the correspondence between the soul and body of Christ, even the common representation of the unattractiveness of the outward appearance of Christ, in fact to reconcile Ps. xliii. 2, [xiv. 2?] and Isaiah liii. 3; the passage on which that common representation was founded. This glory of the body of Christ, which was usually hidden here below, and only shone forth on particular occasions to those who were worthy of it, was to come forth fully after his glorification, the body was then to be freed from the imperfections of sense, and be ennobled into an ethereal nature more analogous to the spirit. This change would be entirely conformable to the nature of matter, which in its own nature is wholly indefinite, and capable of receiving different forms and qualities.*

By means of Origen, who wrought out this doctrine so systematically, the idea of a proper reasonable soul in Christ received a new dogmatical importance. This point, which up to this time had

* T. 32. Joh. c. xi. This is a just doctrinal remark, but it is one which Origen, with whom this often happens, when he inserts his own doctrinal distinctions of ideas into Scripture, wishes to support by a passage to which it is altogether foreign, if we look at the meaning of the words: viz. Joh. xiii. 21, *ἐταρῶσθι τῷ πνεύματι*.

† *περὶ ὧν*, L. ii. c. 6. c. Cels.; L. ii. c. 9. and c. 23; L. liii. c. 41. In Joh. t. i., 33; t. xix. 5; where he says altogether after a Platonic fashion, *ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐμπεποιημένη τῷ ὅλῳ κόσμῳ ἐκείνῳ*—the *κοσμοὶς νοῦς* τῶν ἰδίων being synonymous with *νοῦς* or the *λογος* itself—*καὶ πάντα αὐτὸν ἐμπεπρωχμένον καὶ χωρηζομένον ἐπ' αὐτῶν τοὺς μαθήταις*. In Matt. 341, 423, H. 15, in Jerem. f. 147.

* See c. Cels. i. 32; iv. 15; vi. 75. et seq.; ii. 23; iii. 42. On the Ubiquity of the glorified body of Christ, see in Matt. iv. Ed. de la Rue, p. 887.

been altogether untouched in the controversy with the Patripassians, was now for the first time expressly brought forward in the Synod held against Beryllus of Bostra, A. D. 244; and the doctrine of a reasonable human soul in Christ settled as a doctrine of the Church. But as Origen was the first who so completely carried out the theory of this distinction, as he found in the spiritual communion of believers with the Redeemer an analogy for the union of that soul with the Logos in Christ, so he drew upon himself from those, who maintained the old mode of conceiving the matter, the reproach that he, like many Gnostics, made a distinction between a higher and a lower Christ, or between a *Jesus* and a *Christ*; or that he made Jesus to be a mere man, who only differed from other holy men by a higher degree of communion with the Logos, that is, differed from them only in degree.* Thus, we perceive also here the germ of a difference, which entered into the following period of the Church.

As far as relates to the *work of redemption* itself, we find already existing in this period all the fundamental elements of the development of this doctrine as held in the Church; only, however, not so precisely defined and not so sharply separated. For the most part the Church-teachers spoke, without striving after any very sharp distinction of doctrinal conceptions, out of the fulness of the Christian feeling, and the Christian intuition, which had accrued to them from the lively appropriation of the doctrines of the Bible. The doctrine of Redemption has two sides, a *negative* and a *positive* side, in relation to the condition from which mankind was set free, and in relation to the new condition into which it is to be placed—the assumption of man's nature with all the consequences of sin, which had hitherto prevailed in it, and with the guilt which burdened it [thus making] a communion, with sinful humanity, weighed down with a consciousness of its own guilt—and the perfection of an ideal holiness [*literally*, of the Ideal of holiness,] in this human nature, hitherto under the dominion of sin, [thus effecting] a communication of a Divine life to this nature and ennobling it. Both these important points, although at first they were not so sharply separated from

each other, were to be specially maintained against Docetism and similar Gnostic views, through which Christ was more or less withdrawn from communion with the real and true nature of man. Irenæus brings forward especially the latter point of view with great strength, although the first is not wholly wanting [in him.] We will now present a connected view of his ideas on this subject: * “Only the Word of the Father could reveal the Father to us, and we could not learn from him unless the Teacher himself had appeared to us. Man must accustom himself to receive God into himself, God is to accustom himself to dwell in human nature. The Mediator between the two must restore the communication between them, by means of his affinity to both, and he must pass through every age of life, in order to sanctify every age (i. e. human nature according to all its several degrees of development) [by means of] the perfect likeness of God, which is perfect holiness.† In a human nature, which was that very nature that was bound captive by sin, he condemned sin, and banished it, as now being condemned, out of human nature, Rom. viii. 3, but he required of man to become like him. Men were the prisoners of evil, and of Satan, Christ gave himself up for the redemption of the prisoners. Evil reigned over us, who belonged to God, God redeemed us not with might, but in a manner consistent with justice, as he redeemed those who were his.‡ If he had not, as man, conquered the adversary of man, the enemy would not have been conquered in a right manner; and, on the

* [*Literally*, we will represent his ideas according to their inward connection.—H. J. R.]

† *ἡμετέρις τῷ Θεῷ*, according to the views [*literally*, the connection of ideas] of this Father is different from the *σύνων τῷ Θεῷ*, which latter expression denotes only the *framework* [Anlage] for a likeness to God, which has its foundation in the reason and in the freewill. [N. B. In the text I have supplied the words [‘by means of’] which seem to be necessary, from Irenæus, lib. ii. c. 22, Ed. Massuet, (39 in other editions,) which appears to me the passage referred to here.—H. J. R.]

‡ This thought often occurs in the Church-teachers [the Fathers!] under different forms. The just notion, which is the foundation of it, is this, that redemption is no act of caprice; but a method consonant to law and order, and answering the conditions required by the moral order of the world, a method, by which God freed the beings, who belonged to him by their original nature, from the dominion and consequences of evil, and led them back to himself.

* See many of the passages cited and referred to, and the Apology of Pamphilus for Origen, t. iv. p. 35.

other side, if he had not, as God, given this salvation, then we should not have it in a secure manner. And if man had not been united with God, then he could not have participated in an incorruptible life.* Through the obedience of one man, must many be made righteous, and obtain salvation, for eternal life is the fruit of righteousness. What that means, that man is created after the image of God, was hitherto not revealed,† for the Logos was still invisible; and, therefore, man easily lost even the likeness to God. But when the Logos became man, he sealed both. He revealed truly the image, while himself was that which his image was, and he represented in a secure manner the likeness of man to God, while he made man like the invisible God.‡ The other side is brought forward by Justin Martyr, when he says,§ “The law pronounced the curse upon all men, because no man can fulfil it in its whole extent, Deut. xxvii. 26; Christ freed us from this curse, by bearing it for us.” The author of the *Letter to Diognetus* joins the two together: “God, the Lord and Creator of the universe, is not only full of love to man, but also full of long suffering. He was, and *always* is such a one, and always will be such a one, the benevolent, the angerless, and the true, the only good! He made a great and inexpressible resolution, which he communicated only to his Son. As long as he kept this resolution, as a secret one, to himself, so long he appeared to have no care for us. During the time past, he suffered us to follow our own lusts, as we chose, not as if in general he had any pleasure in our sins, but in order that we, after we had proved ourselves during that time through our own works unworthy

of life, might now become worthy through the grace of God, and in order that we, after we had revealed our own inability to enter into the kingdom of God, might become capable of that through the power of God. But when the measure of our sins had become full, and it had been fully revealed that punishment and death, were before us as our recompense, he hated us not, but he proved his long suffering. He himself took our sins upon him, He himself gave his own Son as the ransom price for us, the Holy One for sins, for what else could our sins discover, but his righteousness?”

Now Origen, according to the exposition of his views, given above, considered that the highest object of the appearance and operations of Christ on earth, was the following; *to set forth* the Divine operation of the Logos, limited neither by time nor space, for the healing and purification of the fallen beings, in order that sensuous men, who were unable to lift themselves up to the intuitive perception of the everlasting spiritual operation of the Logos, might be able to raise themselves to [the consideration of his] spiritual nature from his appearance in the flesh;* but according to his theory, the individual actions of Christ, besides this object of setting forth [these truths] have also, considered in themselves, a special and salutary operation. And thus, also, about the relation of the passion of Christ to sin, he might express that, which was acknowledged in the common consciousness of Christians although he might point it out in a manner peculiar to himself.

Thus, he says,† “He took upon himself our transgressions, and bore our diseases, the transgressions of the soul, and the diseases of the inner man; on account of which transgressions and diseases which he bore away from us, he said his soul was troubled and disturbed;” and in another place he says,‡ “This man, the purest among all creatures, died for mankind; he, who took our sins and diseases upon himself, as he was able to take upon himself and abolish the sins of the whole world. His passion was the means of

* The communication of a Divine Life to man through Christ, the *ἡνωσις πρὸς ὁμοῦσιν*.

† Two ideas are here to be taken together, which were already in existence in Philo, that man, as the image of God, had been created after the image of the Logos, and that God had already had for his aim as the original form of human nature, the Ideal of the whole nature of man, represented in the person of the God-man. *Imus ille jam tum imaginem induens Christi futuri in carne, non tantum Dei opus, sed et pignus filii, qui homo futurus certior et prior.* Tertull. de carne Christi, c. 6. adv. Praxeam, c. 12.

‡ See Iren. lib. iii. 20. Massuet. (al. 22.) lib. iii. 18, (20.) 31; v. 16. [I have not been able to verify and compare all these quotations, and I think there is some error in the references.—H. J. R.]

§ Dial. c. Tryph. Jud. c. 30, p. 322, Ed. Col.

* [Literally, ‘from the sensuous appearance to the spiritual Being,’ von der sinnlichen Erscheinung zum geistigen Wesen. This appears ambiguous. I have, therefore, supplied what is requisite in English.—H. J. R.]

† In Joh. tom. ii. c. 21.

‡ In Joh. tom. 28. c. 14.

purification for the whole world, which would have gone to destruction if he had not died for it.*

As far as relates to the particular opinion of Origen, he thought, that according to secret causes in the nature of things, the suffering of a holy Being for the guilty had a sort of magic power, in crippling the power of evil spirits, and freeing the former [the guilty] from the evils that impended over them, and he appealed to the belief existing even among the heathen, that innocent individuals by a voluntary sacrifice of themselves had saved nations and cities from heavy calamities.*

As the whole nature of Christian life depends upon a living appropriation of the redemption through Christ, as all depends upon this, *viz.* that Christ should through faith become in man all in all, a life-giving and a forming principle for his whole nature; as, therefore, in Holy Scripture, the whole life of the Christian is set forth as a fruit of faith, a superstructure raised upon the foundation of faith in Christ, as the whole of practical Christianity is nothing else than faith working by love, so every thing required for the genuine conception of practical Christianity, both in theory and in life, depended on this circumstance, that the right relation of Life to the appropriation of the work of redemption in faith should be set forth in a clear manner. It had, for the essential nature of Christian doctrines, and for the true power of Christian morals, and thereby, at least in its consequences, for the Christian life itself, the most prejudicial consequences, when this intimate connection between the objective and subjective in Christianity was not rightly brought forward. It is, therefore, of great consequence, that, while we observe, how that intimate connection was bestowed upon the original condition of the Christian conscience, we should also recognise the seed of the errors of later times, adhering to this connection, and troubling this conscience. The whole mode of conception of the doctrine of redemption in this period, pledges for the recognition of this intimate connection.

* See Origen, in Joh. t. vi. c. 34; t. 28, c. 14. Origen was certainly right in one respect; that is, instead of deducing for himself a system of religious truth *a priori* from abstract conceptions, he inquired after the voice of the universal religious conscience of man, and quoted this as a witness for the Christian doctrine, although he did not understand this testimony rightly in one of its bearings [*literally*, on one side.]

Men recognised Christ as him who had communicated an inward Divine Life* to human nature; through faith in Christ this Divine Life was to be received by man into himself, and to be appropriated to himself, and his whole nature to be constantly more penetrated by it.—(It is only unfortunate, that men bound this belief up too much with the outward things, which Christ, in consideration of the necessities of the mixed nature† of man, had appointed as tokens to represent the Invisible and the Divine, which faith apprehends, and it is unfortunate also that men did not sufficiently separate from each other the operations of faith, and of those outward things.)—Men acknowledged Christ as the destroyer of the kingdom of Satan, and they assigned all evil to this kingdom, and through communion with Christ, by means of faith every one also was to appropriate to himself the victory of Christ over the kingdom of Satan; the Christian must, therefore, (see above,) from a *miles Satanae*, become a *miles Christi*. The idea, also, of the general calling of all Christians to a priesthood, has its root here.

We might here bring forward separate living [contemporary] witnesses to the original Christian conviction and consciousness of the intimate connection between redemption and sanctification. Faith and Life. A man, of whom it cannot be said, that he distinguished himself by any peculiar power of mind in the elaboration of Christian doctrine, *viz.* Clement, the bishop of Rome, after he had strongly expressed that no man could be justified by his own righteousness and his own works, but that all could be justified only through the grace of God and faith, says, "And what shall we do then, brethren? Shall we be slack in doing good, and neglect love? The Lord would in no wise suffer this to happen with us, but he induces us to endeavour to fulfil all goodness with unabating zeal, for the Creator and Lord of all delights himself in his works."‡ The author of the epistle to Diognetus, after the beautiful passage quoted above [page 40,] says of the redemption: "With what delight wilt thou be filled, when thou recognisest this; or how wilt thou love him, who

* The *ἀσφαλισμα*, about which see above.

† [*Literally*, 'the spiritually-sensuous nature,' *i. e.* a nature consisting partly of spiritual, partly of sensuous elements.—H. J. R.]

‡ See Ep. i. ad Corinth. § 32 and 33.

hath first loved thee so much? But if thou lovest him, thou wilt be a follower of his goodness." Irenæus thus contrasts the free obedience that flows from faith with the servile obedience under the Law: "The Law given to servants formed the soul through that which is outward and sensuous, by attracting it to obedience to the commandments, as it were by chains but the Word, that makes free, taught a free purification of the soul, and through that of the body. After this had happened, it was necessary that the chains of slavery, to which man had become accustomed, should be taken away, and he must follow God without chains. The requirements, therefore, of liberty must be extended more widely,* and obedience towards the king must become greater, that no one may turn back and appear unworthy of his liberator for God hath not set us free, in order that we may run away from him, as no one, who severs himself from the source of all goodness in the Lord, can find the nourish of salvation for himself, but in order that we should love him the more; because we had obtained more To follow the Saviour, is to partake of salvation; and to follow the Light, is to partake of the Light."†

It cannot, however, be denied that the genuine Pauline notion of faith was soon obscured. In the stead of faith, in that peculiarly Christian sense (*viz.* the living appropriation of that, which Christ has effected for human nature, as a fact of the inward Life, by means of which something altogether different results from that [Life,] men placed the notion of a mere belief-upon-authority, which could only mediately introduce a new direction of Life, but could not immediately produce it. And from this error, the second necessarily followed, that men, instead of considering all good as the necessary revelation of the new Divine Life planted with faith, spoke of good works which were to be added to faith, and that they added to that belief-upon-authority, the doctrine of a moral law that incited man to good; both of these being more Jewish than Christian. Here, also, as well

as in the history of the formation of the Church, and of Christian worship, a great source of the corruption of Christianity appears in the intermixture of the Jewish and the Christian position, and the Apostle Paul cries out to all ages, "Ye have received it in the spirit, will ye fulfil it in the flesh?"

The Gnostics, and in part, the Alexandrians had that false notion of faith before them, when they overprized Gnosis in respect to it. Marcion (see above) appears here clearly and deeply to have conceived the Pauline idea of faith, and on this side, not without reason, to have fought against the intermixture of Jewish and Christian things; we may here cite the heretic as a witness for Catholic truth.

The idea, indeed, of that Divine communion of Life with Christ, as is clear from what has been said above, was a fundamental idea of the whole Church system of doctrine; but the right point of view was thrown into the background by the circumstance, that men were accustomed to annex this Divine communion of Life, not to the inward facts of faith, but to the outward things, which were meant to be for faith, only the outward tokens of that which was present in the inward Life—a confusion between the Inward and the Outward, of which we have already had occasion to speak several times.

This shows itself particularly in the *doctrine about the Church and the Sacraments*.

In the *doctrine concerning the Church*, we have nothing to add to that which we have said in the history of the formation of the Church; we have already there pointed out the origin of the confusion of the ideas and the predicates of the invisible and the visible Church, and its prejudicial practical consequences. But in regard to the *doctrine of the Sacraments*, as standing in close connection with the history of the doctrine of the Church, we have still much to add to that which we have already said in the history of the Christian worship.

The source of the interchange between the Inward and the Outward* was here the same as in the case of the doctrine concerning the Church. Of that, which is the Divine matter in the Sacrament, the teachers of the Church had a lively perception from their own Christian ex-

* [That is (see the context in the original,) the law of freedom must even require more of man than that of servitude, *e. g.* where the latter forbids murder, the former must prohibit even fornication, &c.—H. J. R.]

† Lib. iv. c. 13, 14. [In the last sentence Mas-suet reads *percipere lumen*, instead of *participare lumen*.—H. J. R.]

* See the section relating to the Sacraments in the history of the Cultus (or worship), Section II.

perience; but the relation of this Divine matter to the outward token was not so clear to them, and with most of them the Spiritual and the Sensuous easily glided into each other.

At first, as far as *Baptism* is concerned the predominant idea with most of them was this—the idea of a spiritual and sensuous communion with the whole Christ, for the salvation of the whole spiritual and sensuous nature of man. “As out of the dry wheat,” says Irenæus, “neither one mass of dough, nor one mass of bread could be made without moisture, so neither could we all become One in Christ without the water, which is from heaven. And as the dry earth brings forth no fruit, if it receives no moisture; so neither could we, who are at first dry wood, ever bring forth the fruit of Life, without the rain, which sheds itself freely from heaven, for our bodies by Baptism, but our souls through the Spirit, have received that communion with the incorruptible Being.* Tertullian says, beautifully, in respect to the operation of Baptism,† “If the soul comes to faith, and is formed again by regeneration from the water and the power from above, there she beholds, after the scales of the old corruption are removed, her whole light. She is received into the communion of the Holy Spirit, and the soul which unites itself with the Holy Spirit, is followed by the body, which is no longer the servant of the soul, but the servant of the Spirit.” But even Tertullian here was unable rightly to distinguish between the Inward and the Outward. While he defends the necessity of outward Baptism against the sect of *Caians* (see Sect. II.) he ascribes to the water a supernatural sanctifying power. And yet, even in the case of Tertullian, we see the pure evangelical idea making its way through the midst of this confusion of the Inward and the Outward, and standing forth in contradiction to it—when he says, that *Faith* receives the forgiveness of sin in Baptism, and when he says, while combating against haste in Baptism, that, where a right faith is present, that faith is sure of salvation.‡

We have observed already in the history of the Christian worship [Cultus,] the practically injurious consequences of

that confusion between the Inward and the Outward in Baptism. While a confusion between baptism and regeneration, regeneration was considered as a magical thing completed at once, and while a magical purification and abolition of sin was supposed to take place at Baptism, it became usual to refer the forgiveness of sins obtained through Christ, *only especially to sins committed before baptism*, instead of maintaining, as they ought to have done, that, as that which is objective in baptism retains its power during the whole life of man; so also, the subjective appropriation of it, by means of penitence and faith, must, as well as regeneration, continue to develop itself more and more through the whole life, until the Objective, and the Subjective, justification and sanctification have become wholly blended into each other (which does not happen in our life below.) But according to that false conception, since it could not fail to be remarked that even in Christians the old corrupt nature preserved its power, the question would necessarily arise: Whence do we obtain forgiveness of sins committed after baptism? And the answer was: “Since we have once for all obtained a satisfaction for the sins committed before baptism, in the merit of Christ, so in order to obtain satisfaction for those after baptism, voluntary penances [exercises of repentance,] and good works must be added.”* This point of view is clearly presented to us in the following words of Cyprian:† “When the Lord came and healed the wounds of Adam, he gave to the convalescent a law, and he commanded him to sin no more, lest something worse should befall him. By the condition of innocence being pre-

* Iren. iii. 17. The Divine principle of Life, soul and body in Christ, the *ἡνωσις πρὸς* for *ἀσφαλισμὸν*.

† De Anima, c. 41. Compare the passage above cited on the corruption of human nature.

‡ Fides integra secunda de salute.

* See Tertullian's Book de Pœnitentia. This writer introduced the expression, *satisfactio*, into the doctrine of repentance from his system of jurisprudence; but we must not on that account ascribe so great an influence in the formation of the Church doctrinal notions on this point, to his mode of representing the doctrine derived from his jurisprudence—nor indeed, generally ought we [to ascribe so great influence] to the idea of any individual—for when once the *πρᾶξις ἡθελος* was in existence, all the consequences contained in it would necessarily, of their own accord, develop themselves; and more especially, as these consequences find so many points in human nature, on which to attach themselves.

† De Opere et Eleemosynis. [This passage is found, though not quite continuously, in the first two pages of the Treatise. To judge, however, quite accurately of the force of this passage we must compare it with the context.

—H. J. R.]

scribed to us, we were limited to a narrow range; and the infirmity of human weakness knew not what it should do, if the grace of God had not come again to its assistance, and showing to it the works of mercy, had opened to it a way for the preservation of its health, so that we might hereafter cleanse ourselves by alms from all the uncleanness that afterwards cleaved to us. Since the forgiveness of sins has once been bestowed in baptism; so also, by the constant performance of good, which is like the renovation of baptism, man obtains anew for himself the Divine forgiveness.*

With regard to the *Doctrine of the Lord's Supper*, upon the whole, the same remark may be made, as those made above upon the doctrine of Baptism, only with the difference, that here, in reference to the relation between the thing represented and the outward sign, three different gradations may be observed in the representations made of it. The most predominant representation was that, which we find as early as the time of Ignatius of Antioch, as well as in Justin M., and in Irenæus; namely, that of a supernatural penetration of the bread and wine, by the body and blood of Christ, in virtue of which those who partook of the Lord's Supper were penetrated by the Divine principle-of-life of Christ in their whole nature, so that their body even then, became thereby even now, a partaker of the power of an imperishable life, and hence was prepared for the resurrection.* In the North African Church, on the contrary, in Tertullian and Cyprian we find no representation at all implying such a penetration. Bread and wine are represented rather as the symbols of the body and blood of Christ, but not as symbols without efficacy; a spiritual communion with Christ in the holy Supper of the Lord is brought forward, and at the same time a certain sanctifying association with the body of Christ is also supposed.† The practice also of the North African Church proves that the belief in a supernatural

sanctifying power in the outward tokens of the Holy Supper prevailed in it, and hence came the daily communion,* and hence also, together with infant baptism, came infant communion.† While Joh. vi. 53, was improperly understood, of the outward [sinnlich, corporeal, or sensuous,] participation in the Holy Supper, it was concluded that no one could attain to salvation without such a participation in it,‡ just as it had been concluded from a misunderstanding of Joh. iii. 5, that no one could be saved without outward baptism.

Among the Alexandrians, and especially in Origen, the distinction is brought forward, even in his doctrine about the Sacraments, as well as in his whole system of doctrine, between the inward Divine thing, the invisible spiritual operation of the Logos,§ and the sensuous sign|| which represents it. "Just as the miracles of Christ," says Origen, "as far as their highest object is concerned, represent the healing power of the Logos, which operates invisibly, but also at the same time an utility was annexed to the outward deeds as such, because they led men to believe: so also is outward baptism, in regard to its highest object, a symbol of the inward purification of the soul through the Divine power of the Logos, which is the preparation for the general restoration; by the beginning of that in enigmas, and in a mirror, which will be perfected face to face; but at the same time, in virtue of the words of consecration then uttered, there is united with the whole transaction of baptism, a supernatural healing; it is the beginning of the operations of grace, which are bestowed upon believers; but nevertheless, this is only for those who through their disposition of heart are capable of receiving such operations."¶

The same distinction he also makes in respect to the Lord's Supper. He distinguishes between that which in a metaphorical sense is called the body of Christ,** and the true spiritual eating of the Logos;†† between the *more Divine promise* and the *more common understanding* of

* Therefore, in Ignatius, Ep. ad. Ephes. c. 20, the Holy Supper is called, *φάρμακον ὑγιασιμας, ἀντίδοτον τοῦ μὴ ἀποθάνειν, ἀλλὰ ζῆν ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ διαπαντός.*

† Tertull. c. Marcion. iv. 40, corpus meum, i. e. figura corporis mei. * De Res. Carn. c. 8, anima de Deo saginatur, De orat. c. 6. The perpetuitas in Christo, is a constant spiritual communion with him, and individuitas a corpore ejus.

* See page 213.

† See Cyprian, Sermo de Lapsis.

‡ See Cyprian lib. iii. testimon. c. 25.

§ Compare what is said above of the *ἰσθημα αἰσθητόν*, and the *ἰσθημα νοητόν*.

|| The *νοητόν*, or *πνευματικόν*, and the *αἰσθητόν*.

¶ See in Joh. vi. c. 17, and Matt. xv. c. 23.

** *τὸ σῶμα Χριστοῦ τυτικόν καὶ συμμέλικον.*

†† The *ἀληθινὴ βρῶσις τοῦ Λογίου.*

the Lord's Supper, as it was suited to the more simple.* The first bears reference to the spiritual participation in the Logos that became flesh, who is the true heavenly bread of the soul. The outward supper of the Lord can be enjoyed by the unworthy and the worthy, but not that true heavenly bread, for it could not otherwise have been said, that he who eats that bread will live eternally. Origen, therefore, says, that Christ in the true sense has designated as his flesh and blood *the word* which proceeds from the Word, and the bread from the heavenly bread, the living word of truth, through which he communicates himself to the soul, just as the breaking of the bread and the division of the wine is a symbol of the multiplication of the word, through which the Logos communicates itself to the soul. Even in the outward supper of the Lord, as well as in the outward baptism, he supposes a higher sanctifying efficacy in virtue of the words of consecration then uttered, but in such a manner that with the earthly elements considered by themselves nothing Divine can unite itself; and, as in baptism, no one without the inward capability of heart can become partaker of this higher efficacy. As it is not that which enters into the mouth, that can defile a man, although it might be held to be unclean by the Jews, so also nothing, which enters into the mouth, *sanctifies* the man, although by the simple the bread of the Lord, as it is called, is held to be something that sanctifies. Nor, indeed, considered by itself is any thing wanting to us by the not eating the bread consecrated by prayer, and yet by the mere eating it, considered by itself, we have somewhat more; but the cause of our receiving less is the evil heart of each individual [partaker,] and the cause of his receiving more is his good heart and disposition. The earthly bread, in itself, is nothing different from all other food. Origen was, however, desirous only of contradicting in particular the fanciful notions of some magical advantage in the Lord's Supper, independent on the heart of the recipient, which also the other Church-teachers were far from maintaining; and yet his contradiction touches every representation which supposes any higher

signification and efficacy whatever of the outward token, even such an one as that which was received in the North African Church.*

As the Old Testament contains a forecast of the things of the New, so Christianity also gives hints of a higher condition of things, which is to be prepared by means of Christianity itself; but faith must necessarily be inferior to actual knowledge and perception of that condition. The Divine revelations permit us only to catch some isolated glimpses of that higher state of things, which do not present a complete picture of it. As prophecy is always obscure before its fulfilment, so also the last prophecies of Christ about the fate of his Church must be obscure, until the introduction of that higher condition of the world. Although so many indications were made by our Saviour as to the gradual activity and efficacy of Christianity in penetrating human nature, yet these could not be understood by the first Christians. They had no presentiment of the different kinds of contests, which the Church had yet to encounter, before it could attain to its victorious completion. They were accustomed to consider the church only in its opposition to the heathen state, and it was far from entering their thoughts, that by the natural development of circumstances under the guidance of Providence, this opposition should hereafter cease. They believed that the struggle of the Christian Church with the Heathen state would continue on, until the victory should be conceded to it through the immediate interposition of God, and through the return of Christ. It was natural enough that the Christians should willingly employ their thoughts on the prospect of this victory, during the seasons of persecution. It was thus that many formed a picture to themselves, which had come to them from the Jews, and which suited with their then condition. This was *the idea of a millennial reign*, which the Messiah should establish on earth as the close of the whole career of the world, during which all the saints of all ages were to live together in holy communion with each other. As the world was created in six days, and according to Ps. xc. 4, a thousand years in the sight of God is but as one day, so the world was

* *Τὰ κινύμενα παρὲς τῆς ἐχρηστικῆς ἐκδ' ἑν τῶν ἀπλουστερίων, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν βυσσοῦν ἐν ἡγέλειαν, which correspond to the two conditions of γαστρικὴ καὶ πνευματικὴ.*

* The passages in Origen are found in l. xi. Matt. c. 14; l. 32, Joh. c. 16. In Matt. 698, v. iii. Opp.

supposed to endure six thousand years in its present condition; and as the Sabbathday was the day of rest, so this millennial reign was to form the seventh thousand-year period of the world's existence at the close of the whole temporal dispensation connected with the world. In the midst of persecution it was an attractive thought for the Christians to look to a period when their Church, purified and perfected, should be triumphant even on earth, the theatre of their present sufferings. In the manner in which this notion was conceived by many there was nothing unchristian in it. They imagined the happiness of this period in a spiritual manner, and one that corresponded well with the real nature of Christianity; for they conceived under that notion only the general dominion of God's will, the undisturbed and blessed union and intercourse of the whole communion of saints, and the restoration of harmony between man as sanctified, and all nature as refined and ennobled.* But the gross images, which the carnal sense of the Jews had made to itself of the delights of the millennial reign, were transferred in part also to the Christians. Phrygia, the dwelling-place of a spirit,† which took a fanciful turn, and would embody religious ideas in sensuous images, was also inclined to the propagation of this gross Chiliasm. In that region, in the first half of the second century, Papias was living, as the bishop of the Church at Hierapolis, a man of plain piety, but, as the fragments of his writings and historical notices tend to prove, of a very limited mind, and a very uncritical credulity. He collected together, out of oral traditions, certain notices about the lives and sayings of Christ and the apostles;‡ and among these he received much which was misunderstood and false, and thus he was the means of propagating many unfounded notions about the enjoyments of the millennial reign. The injurious consequence of this was, that a relish for sensual enjoyment, which was in contradiction to the Gospel, was farthered, and that much prejudice against Christianity might be engendered by it among educated and civilized heathens.§

* So Barnabas, c. 15.

† [*Lit.* 'of a religious-sensuous fanciful spirit?'] where fanciful is used for indulgence in the dreams of an uncurbed imagination—*Schwarmerische*. H. J. R.]

‡ In his book entitled *λογαν κυριακων ἐξηγησις*.

§ See Orig. Select. in ψ . p. 570, vol. ii.

In the mean time we must also be very careful not to pronounce sentence about the Divine life itself from such isolated representations, which are, perhaps, nothing but isolated admixtures of the carnal and sensuous mind, not thoroughly penetrated and ennobled by the hidden Divine life. If we find in an Irenæus vital Christianity, and an elevated idea of blessedness, which he made to consist in communion with God, notwithstanding the accompaniment of those rash and speculative representations, we must conclude that such sensuous representations might very well exist in conjunction with, and be engrafted upon, an essentially Christian habit of thought in those times, when the new creation of Christianity had not yet been able thoroughly to penetrate and imbue all things. With Irenæus the millennial kingdom was only a stage of preparation for the saints, who were thus to be adapted gradually to a higher state of heavenly existence, and to the perfect revelation of the Divine glory.* It was also exactly under this form that Christianity might be able to find access to a class of sensuous men, whose habits of religious thought would afterwards gradually continue to be more and more spiritualized, by the practical influence of the Gospel, and the inward change constantly produce in them its outward effects.

If we find, that Millenarianism [*Chiliasmus*] was then extensively propagated, and are able to explain this by the circumstances of that period; yet, we are not to understand by this, that it ever belonged to the universal doctrines of the Church. We have too scanty documents from different parts of the Church in those times, to be able to speak with certainty and distinctness on that point. When we find Chiliasm in Papias, Irenæus, J. Martyr, all this indicates that it arose from one source, and was propagated from one spot. The case is somewhat different with those Churches which had—as for instance, the Romish Church (see above)—an anti-Jewish origin. We find, afterwards an antimillenarian feeling in Rome; and might not this feeling have existed from the very first, and only been called into greater publicity in the opposition which was made against Mon-

* Iren. v. 35. *Crescentes ex visione Domini, et per ipsum assuescent capere gloriam Dei et cum sanctis Angelis conversationem—Paullatim assuescent capere Deum.* cap. 32.

tanism? The same may also be said of an antimillenarian feeling, which Irenæus combats, and which he expressly distinguishes from the common antimillenarian feelings of Gnosticism. But it was natural enough that the zealots for millenarianism should at first be willing to represent every opposition to it as a Gnostic feeling.*

Two causes co-operated together in causing a more general repression of millenarianism; on the one hand, the opposition to Montanism, and on the other, the influence of *the spirit*, which proceeded from the Alexandrian school. As the Montanists laid much stress on Millenarian expectations, and, although they did not entirely conceive them after a gross and sensuous manner,† still propagated in accordance with their fanciful dreams, many extravagant representations‡ of what should take place during the millennium, the whole doctrine of Chiliasm lost all respect and authority. An antimillenarian party, which had been in existence considerably earlier, obtained an opportunity by this means of attacking Chiliasm more violently; and the most vehement opponents of Montanism appear to have combated millenarianism as one of the Montanistic doctrines. The Presbyter Caius, at Rome, in his treatise against the Montanist Proclus, endeavoured to brand Chiliasm as an heretical doctrine, propagated by the abominable Gnostic, Cerinthus; and it is not improbable, although not quite certain, that he declared the Apocalypse to be a book forged by Cerinthus for the promotion of that doctrine.

The more spiritual and more learned character of the Alexandrian school, which had so great a general influence on the spiritualization of the doctrines of our faith, would also tend to farther the spiritualization of the ideas about the kingdom of God and Christ. Origen was a peculiarly zealous opponent of the sensuous representations of the millennial kingdom, and endeavoured to give a different meaning to the passages of the Old and of the New Testament, on which the Chiliasts relied, and

in which they understood every thing quite literally. And besides this, the allegorical interpretation of Scripture in vogue among the Alexandrian school, was in general very widely opposed to the literal and sensuous interpretation of the Chiliasts. The more moderate Alexandrians, who were not inclined to extreme opinions in criticism, did not reject the Apocalypse at once, as altogether an unchristian book, in order to take away this support from the Chiliasts; but they only combated the literal interpretation of it. At the same time, it was natural that the spirit of the Alexandrian school should not extend itself very easily from Alexandria into the other regions of Egypt, which were so far behind this flourishing seat of learning, as to spiritual advancement and culture. A pious bishop of the Arsenoite Nomos, in Egypt, named *Nepos*, was a zealous partisan of the sensuous millenarianism, and he wrote a defence of it against the Alexandrian school, under the title, 'a Refutation of the Allegorists' (*ἐλεγχος τῶν ἀλληγοριστῶν*), in which he appears to have thrown out a theory of Chiliasm, according to his own anti-allegorical mode of deciphering the Apocalypse. This book appears to have been very popular among the clergy and laity of this region as it usually happens that men are better pleased to apply themselves to things which busy and charm the powers of the imagination, than to those, which sanctify, warm, and animate the heart, and take the will into their government. They expected to find here great mysteries, and explanations relative to the future, and many occupied themselves more with the book and theory of *Nepos*, than with the Bible and its doctrines. As it usually happens, by their zeal for such favourite opinions, which had no connection with the true nature of the Gospel, men became led away very far from that which is the chief business of practical Christianity; that is, the Spirit of Love. Those who would not enter into these opinions, were denounced as heretics, and things went so far, that whole regions separated themselves from communion with the mother church of Alexandria. After the death of *Nepos*, *Korakion*, the pastor of a country place stood at the head of this party. If *Dionysius*, the bishop of Alexandria, had now chosen to exert his ecclesiastical authority, and condemned these erroneous doctrines by an authoritative decree, the seed of a lasting schism

* Iren. v. 32. *Transferuntur quorundam sententiæ ab hæreticis sermonibus.*

† Tertullian at least places the happiness of the millenarian kingdom in the enjoyment of all spiritual goods—*spiritalia bona*.

‡ Such as that in Tertullian, of the wonderful city, the heavenly Jerusalem which was to descend from heaven.

would have been sown, and the Chiliasm, which they hoped to subdue by decrees, would probably have become only more wild and fanatical in consequence of such a proceeding. But Dionysius, the worthy disciple of the great Origen, showed here, how charity, moderation, and true freedom of spirit, which cannot consist except with charity, may attain, what cannot be effected by any power, or any law whatever. As he did not, like others, forget the Christian in the bishop, his love for souls induced him to repair in person to those Churches, and to call the clergy, who defended the opinions of Nepos, together to a conference, and he permitted all the laity of those Churches, who were desirous of instruction in these subjects, to be present at the conference. The book of Nepos was laid before them, and the bishop discussed its contents with those clergy for three days, from morning to evening; he listened quietly to all their objections, endeavouring to answer them out of Scripture, and conducting the discussion by quoting fully from Scripture on every point; and the consequence was a result which seldom, indeed, proceeds from theological disputes; namely, that the clergy were thankful for the instruction they had received, and Korakion himself, in the presence of them all, honestly retracted his former opinions, and declared himself persuaded of the truth of the contrary to them, A. D. 255.*

After Dionysius had thus restored unity of faith among his Churches, he wrote his work about the Promises (*περί ἐπαγγελίας*) for the confirmation of those, who had been persuaded by his arguments, and for the instruction of others, who still held the opinions of Nepos. Here also the Christian mildness and moderation with which he speaks of Nepos deserves to be remarked. He says, "In many other respects I reverence and love Nepos, for his faith, his diligence, his intimate acquaintance with Holy Scripture, and on account of the many hymns composed by him, in which many of the brethren still delight,† and I honour the man the more, because he is already

entered into his rest. But the truth is dearer and of more value to me than aught besides: we must praise him, and agree with him, when he says any thing which is right; but we must examine and set him right, when he writes what does not appear to be true."

In respect to the *doctrine of the resurrection*, the teachers of the Church had to defend this doctrine especially against the Gnostics, who, in part, explained the passages of Holy Scripture relating to it in a very arbitrary manner, and made them mean only the spiritual renovation effected by Christianity. In this controversy they felt strongly how essentially this doctrine was bound up with Christianity, inasmuch as Christianity brought with it, not the annihilation, but the ennobling and the glorifying of that which peculiarly belongs to human nature; and the de-humanizing idealism of the Gnostics was wholly incompatible with this fundamental principle of Christianity. But the opposition between these two often seduced them into conceiving this doctrine of the resurrection after too carnal a manner, and into making to themselves too confined a representation of the identity between the body after the resurrection, and the earthly body. Origen endeavoured here also to find out a middle way between these two opposite tendencies, by making more use of what St. Paul (1 Cor. xv.) says of the relation between the earthly and the glorified body, and by distinguishing the proper essential substance of the body [*das eigentliche Grundwesen des Körpers*,] which remains the same during all the changes of earthly life, and is not annihilated even in death, from the changeable form under which it appears at different times. This essential substance of the body was to be awakened again by the influence of Divine Omnipotence to a new and glorified form, such as would be answerable to the glorified quality of the soul; so that, as the soul had communicated its own peculiar impress to the earthly body, it should communicate it to the glorified one also.*

* Euseb. vii. 24.

† *τῆς πολλῆς ψαλμοδίας, ἣ μέχρι νῦν πολλοὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐνθουσιάζονται.* This passage may be taken in two ways; either as it has been translated above, which suits well with the custom of those times (see Part II.) or else it may be translated, "in consequence of the constant custom of Psalmody diligently introduced by him into the Churches," &c.; the first appears the most natural.

* The *εἶδος χαρακτηρίζον* in the *σῶμα πνευματικόν*, as in the *σῶμα ψυχικόν*. In part, he here made use of his doctrine of an *ὕλη* [or substance; matter] which, undeterminate [as to *form* and *qualities*, &c. Transl.] of itself, was capable of receiving higher or lower qualities through the fashioning power of God: and in part he makes use of the doctrine of a dynamical essential substance of the body, a *λογος σπωματικός* (ratio ea

It follows from what we have said above of the doctrine of the Alexandrians about the Divine justice that the Alexandrian Gnosis must have considered, as the final aim of all things, a final general redemption, the removal of all evil, and a general return to the original unity of the Divine Life, from which all proceeded. (This would be the general ἀποκαταστασις.) But Origen, in consequence of his theory about the necessary changeableness of the will in created beings, was seduced into supposing, that evil, which is forever sowing new seeds, would render necessary new processes of purification, and new worlds destined for the purification of fallen beings, until all shall have returned again from multiplicity to unity; and thus, that there would be a continual alteration between fall and redemption, unity and multiplicity. To such a comfortless system did a notion, carried to the extreme, lead this profound man! This doctrine he has expressed with confidence in his work *περὶ ἀρχῶν*; but still it is open to question, whether this be not one of the subjects on which he afterwards changed his views; but still there are even in his later writings traces of this opinion, though not, perhaps, any which are altogether certain and definite.*

§ III. *The history of the most celebrated Fathers.*

THE next ecclesiastical writers who come after the apostles, are the so-called apostolical Fathers (*Patres Apostolici*), who come from the apostolic age, and must have been the disciples of the apostles. The remarkable difference between the writings of the apostles and those of the apostolical Fathers, who are yet so close upon the former in point of time, is a remarkable phenomenon of its kind. While in other cases such a transition is usually quite gradual, in this case we find a sudden one. Here there is no gradual transition, but a sudden spring; a remark, which is calculated to lead us to a recognition of the peculiar activity of the Divine Spirit in the souls of the apostles.

The time of the first extraordinary operations of the Holy Spirit was followed by the time of the free development of human nature in Christianity; and here, as elsewhere, the operations of Christianity must necessarily be confined, before it could penetrate farther, and appropriate to itself the higher intellectual powers of man.

The writings of the so-called apostolical Fathers are, alas! come down to us, for the most part in a very uncertain condition; partly, because in early times writings were counterfeited under the name of these venerable men of the Church, in order to propagate certain opinions or principles; partly, because those writings which they had really published were adulterated, and especially so to serve a Judæo-hierarchical party, which would fain crush the free evangelical spirit.

We should here in the first place, have to name Barnabas, the well known fellow traveller of St. Paul, if a letter, which was first known in the second century in the Alexandrian Church under his name, and which bore the inscription of a Catholic Epistle,* was really his composition. But it is impossible that we should acknowledge this epistle to belong to that Barnabas, who was worthy to be the companion of the apostolic labours of St. Paul, and had received his name from the power of his animated discourses in the Churches.† We find a different spirit breathing throughout it, than that of such an apostolic man. We perceive in it a Jew of Alexandrian education, who had embraced Christianity, who was prepared by his Alexandrian education for a spiritual conception of Christianity; but who set too high a value on his Alexandrian and Jewish Gnosis, who looked for especial wisdom in a mystical and fanciful‡ interpretation of the Old Testament, more resembling the spirit of Philo than that of St. Paul, or even that of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and who indulged himself in such interpretations in a silly manner. We cannot at all find in this epistle that view of the Mosaic ceremonial law, as a means of religious education for man in

quæ substantiam continet corporalem, quæ semper in substantia corporis salva est.) See *περὶ ὁρχ.* l. ii. c. 10, c. Cels. iv. 57.

* Origen, *π. ὁρχ.* l. ii. c. 3, c. Cels. iv. c. 69. He says merely, *ὡς μετὰ τὴν ἀφανισμόν τῆς κακίας λυγρὴν ἔχει τὸ πάλιν αὐτῇ ὑπιστάσθαι ἢ μὴ ἐν προσηγουμένῳ λογεῖν τὰ τελευτὰ ἐξισταθῆναι.* There is an obscure expression in Matt. f. 402, to this effect, "After the ἀποκαταστασις is fulfilled in certain Æons, πάλιν ἄλλῃ ὁρχῇ."

* *Ἐπιστολὴ καθολικὴ*, that is to say, an epistle general in its destination and contents, an hortatory piece, destined for many Churches; a description, which corresponds to the contents of this letter.

† *ὡς παρὰκλητικὸς ὡς προσηγουμένως.*

‡ [*Spielemend, literally, playing*; a mode of interpretation, which caught at fanciful resemblances, &c., and plays on words &c.—H. J. R.]

a certain stage of his development, which we perceive in Paul; but such a view, as gives evidence altogether of an Alexandrian turn of mind, such a view as does not meet us again in the later Fathers, and which proceeds from the most extravagant idealists among the Alexandrian Jews;* “Moses spoke every thing *ἐν πνεύματι*, that is to say, he has only enveloped general spiritual truths in a symbolical form; but the carnal-minded Jews, instead of penetrating into the meaning of the symbols, had understood every thing literally, and believed that they must obey it to the letter; and thus the whole ceremonial religion had proceeded from a misconception of the carnal-minded multitude.” It is said,† that an evil angel guided them to this misunderstanding, just as we find in the Clementine, and other similar writings, the supposition that the original Judaism had been adulterated by foreign admixtures, introduced by evil spirits. The writer of the epistle will not allow it to be true, that circumcision is a seal, or token of a covenant; because, he says, on the contrary, it is found among the Arabians, the Syrians, and an idolatrous priesthood (in Egypt.) But he argues that Abraham, by the circumcision of 318 men, (Gen. xvii., and xiv. 14,) had prefigured the crucifixion of Jesus, and makes it out thus,—IH (18) the beginning of the name of Jesus, and T (300,) which stands as the token of the Cross;—an explanation founded on Greek letters and numerals, which can only suit some Alexandrian Jew, unaccustomed to, perhaps, unacquainted with, the Hebrew language, who was only at home in the Alexandrian translation, but certainly cannot suit Barnabas, who assuredly was not such a stranger to the Hebrew language, even if we could attribute such a spiritless play on words to him. And yet the man, who could fall into such trifling, held it for something extraordinary, and he adds these pompous words, which are characteristic of the mystery-mongering of the Jewish Alexandrian Gnosis: “No one hath received a more authentic doctrine from me, but I know that ye are worthy of it.”‡

The prevailing tendency of the epistle

is directed against carnal Judaism, and carnal Judaism in Christianity. We recognise a controversy against the latter, which had extended its doctrinal influence even to the views entertained of the person of Christ, when in chap. xii. it is particularly insisted upon, that Christ is not only the son of Man, and the son of David, but also the Son of God.

We find also nothing to induce us to believe, that the author of the epistle was desirous of being considered Barnabas. But since its spirit and its mode of conception corresponded to the Alexandrian taste, it may have happened, that as the author's name was unknown, and persons were desirous of giving it authority, a report was spread abroad in Alexandria, that Barnabas was its author.

After Barnabas, we come to Clement, perhaps, the same whom Paul mentions, (Phil. iv. 3;) he was at the end of the first century bishop of Rome. Under his name we have one epistle to the Church of Corinth, and the fragment of another. The first was read in the first centuries aloud at divine service in many Churches, even with the writings of the New Testament; it contains an exhortation to unity, interwoven with examples and general reflections, addressed to the Church at Corinth, which was shaken by divisions. This letter, although, on the whole, genuine, is, nevertheless, not free from important interpolations; *e. g.* a contradiction is apparent, since throughout the whole epistle we perceive the simple relations of the earliest forms of a Christian Church, as the bishops and presbyters are always put upon an equality, and yet in one passage (§ 40 and following) the whole system of the Jewish priesthood is transferred to the Christian Church. The second epistle, as it is called, is evidently only the fragment of a homily.

Under the name of this Clement, *two* letters have besides been preserved in the Syrian Church, and they were published by Wetstein in an appendix to his edition of the New Testament. They are two circulars, especially addressed to Christian men and women living in celibacy. It cannot be adduced as a proof against the Clementine origin of these epistles, that this state of life is held in special esteem in them, because this high estimation of celibacy found admittance in early time.* The high antiquity of these epis-

* See page 34. † c. 9.

‡ οὐδὲς γνωσιώτερον ἔμαθον ἂν ἐμεν λόγον ἄλλα οἶδα ὅτι ἔχεις ἴσαστε ὑμῶν. [On the subject of this interpretation of the number 318, the reader is referred to the Rev. S. R. Maitland's “Letter to a friend on the Tract for the Times, No. 89,” 1841.]

ties is in some degree testified by the nonappearance of any endeavour to support the pretensions of the hierarchical party; and by the circumstances, that the ideas of the priesthood belonging to the Old Testament are not here introduced into the Christian Church, as is the case in similar writings of this kind; that neither the separation of the priesthood from the laity, nor the distinction of bishops and presbyters occurs here; and that the gift of healing the sick, and especially demoniacs, is considered as a free gift, and not as a gift belonging to one peculiar office. And yet this is no certain proof of the high antiquity of the epistles; because, even if it were of later origin, all this might be explained from the idiosyncrasy of certain regions of the East.

As these epistles must have been admirably suited to the ascetic disposition of the western Churches, especially the North African, and as in similar writings of practical import (against similar abuses to those which are censured in these epistles) occasion to make use of them must often have arisen, it is the more remarkable that they were never quoted before the fourth century,* which certainly must create a suspicion against their genuineness.

These epistles altogether bear the character of having been counterfeited in the latter years of the second, or in the third century, partly in order to enhance the value of celibacy, partly in order to counteract the abuses which rose up under the cover of a life of celibacy, especially the introduction of the *συνεσ-αυτοι*.† (See above.)

Many writings were counterfeited under the name of this Clement, to serve a hierarchical or a doctrinal purpose; such, for instance, are the writings which relate the history of Clement himself, who is supposed there to be converted by the Apostle Peter, and meets again with his father, whom he had lost,‡—the Clementine, the peculiar Ebionitish character of which we have before remarked,—as well as the collection of the Apostolic Con-

stitutions (*διαταξεις*, or *διαταγαι* 'Αποστολικαι,) and the *κανονες* 'Αποστολικοι.

The same thing may have occurred in regard to the origin of these two collections, as took place with regard to the origin of the Apostles' Creed, as it is called. As it was usual originally to speak of an apostolical tradition, without its being supposed, that the apostles had published a confession of faith; so in the same manner, in regard to the constitution and customs of the Church, an apostolical tradition was spoken of, without its being thought that the apostles had given laws in writing on the subject. And when people had once become used to the expressions, "Apostolical traditions," "Apostolical ordinances," the pretence, or the belief, at last attached itself to them, that the apostles had written down a collection of ecclesiastical laws, as they had a confession of faith. And hence, under the influence of different interests, different collections of this kind may have existed, as those which Epiphanius quotes in many places, are evidently not identical with our Apostolical Constitutions. These latter appear to have arisen gradually in the Oriental Church, out of different pieces, whose ages extend from the latter part of the second to the fourth century.

Hermas would follow here, if he, as many of the ancients thought, were the same with the Hermas mentioned in the 16th chapter of the epistle of the Apostle Paul to the Romans. We have a work under his name, which bears the title of the Shepherd (*ποιμην*.) so called, because in the second book, an angel is represented as a shepherd, to whose guidance Hermas is entrusted.

It cannot be ascertained with certainty, whether the author really believed that he had the visions, which he represents, or whether he supposed them, in order to gain a more ready entrance for the doctrines, especially those of a practical kind, inculcated by him. The work was originally written in Greek, but it is preserved to us in great measure, only in a Latin translation; and it was held in great reverence by Greek writers of the second century, to which the name of Hermas and the renowned visions may have deeply contributed. Irenæus quotes the book under the name of "the Scripture:" and yet there are strong reasons to doubt of its being derived from that Apostolic Hermas, although the other tradition, (supported by the poem against

* The first traces of them are in Epiphanius and Jerome.

† This abuse had spread itself in the Antiochian Church, as well as in the North African. See the Synodal Epistle against Paul of Samosata. Euseb. vii. 30.

‡ Hence comes the name of the edition of this work, preserved to us in the translation of Rufinus,—*αναγνωρισμοι*, Recognitions.

Marcion ascribed to Tertullian, and the fragment on the canon of the New Testament published by Muratori,)* that the brother of the Roman Bishop Pius, who obtained this office about the year 156, was the author, is also very doubtful, because we cannot determine what credit is due to these two writings, and because the high reverence entertained for the book in the time of an Irenæus and a Clement of Alexandria, can hardly be reconciled with so late an origin of the work.†

Ignatius, bishop of the Church at Antioch, in the time of the Emperor Trajan, it would appear, was carried as prisoner to Rome, where he expected to be exposed to wild beasts. On the journey, it would seem he wrote seven epistles, six to the Churches of Asia Minor, and one to Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna. Certainly, these epistles contain passages which at least bear completely upon them the character of antiquity. This is particularly the case with the passages directed against Judaism and Docetism; but even the shorter and more trustworthy edition is very much interpolated.

The epistle to Polycarp, the bishop of Smyrna, appears the most like a diligent compilation; and that to the Church of Rome bears, the most, the stamp of individuality upon it.

We have already spoken before of Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna. An epistle to the Church at Philippi is ascribed to him, the genuineness of which there are no sufficient grounds to deny.

We shall now, after considering the apostolic Fathers, notice the Apologists, who follow immediately after them in chronological order. The defence of Christianity against the heathens first led the way to an union between Christianity and the knowledge and cultivation of those days. As under the government of Hadrian, Christianity began to extend itself more among the more cultivated classes, as heathens of a certain philosophical and literary character came over to the Christian Church, they felt themselves obliged to defend their faith against the accusations which were spread abroad

against it by false reports, and they used their comprehensive and scientific education and knowledge in order to represent the Christian doctrine to the more cultivated heathens in a point of view more agreeable to their turn of mind.

Among these we must first name Quadratus, who was known as an evangelist,* and celebrated for his prophetic gifts. We must not confound him, as Jerome has done, with a Quadratus who was bishop of a Church at Athens in the days of Marcus Aurelius. His Apology, alas! has not reached us, and Eusebius has preserved to us only the following remarkable words: "The works of our Saviour were always present, because they were real and true; those who were healed by him; those, who were raised from the dead, who were to be seen, not only when they were being healed and raised, but constantly; not only during the lifetime of our Saviour, but after his departure they were present a considerable time, so that some of them have reached even to our time."†

The second Apologist, Aristides, even as a Christian, still retained the gown of the philosopher, (τριβων,) in order to be able to represent Christianity to the educated classes as the new heavenly philosophy.‡

Justin Martyr is remarkable, as the first among these apologists whose writings have reached us, and as the first of those better known to us, who became a teacher of the Christian Church, in whom we observe an approximation between Christianity and the Grecian, but especially the Platonic philosophy; and in this respect he may be considered as the precursor of the Alexandrian Fathers. We can obtain, for the most part, only from his own writings any account of his life and education; and here also we feel most certainty at first, by restricting ourselves to his two Apologies, because these are the undoubted work of Justin, and bear upon them the stamp of a peculiar character of mind which cannot be mistaken; and the

* We must understand this word in a sense agreeable to the New Testament, i. e. a teacher, not appointed to *one particular Church*, but a missionary travelling for the purpose of propagating the Gospel.

† Euseb. iii. 37; iv. 3; v. 17.

‡ Hieronym. de Vir. Illust. c. 20. Ep. 83, ad Magnum: *apologeticum contextum philosophorum sententiis*. The traveller de la Guilletière says, that in a convent about six miles from Athens they profess to have a copy of this Apology.

* Murat. Antiq. Ital. Jud. Ævi, t. iii.

† It may be the case, that the Roman Bishop Pius really had a brother of this name; and that those, who wished to destroy the reverence paid to this work, for that very purpose assigned to it so late an author.

rest of his writings, on the contrary, must in the first place prove their genuineness by a comparison with these.

Flavius Justinus was born in the town Flavia Neapolis, formerly Sichem, in Samaria; it was then a Roman-Greek colony, in which the Greek language prevailed. It was, probably, not a predominantly speculative character of mind, which was not the case with him, but an endeavour after a satisfactory religious persuasion, which led him, as well as so many others of those days, to the study of philosophy; and for this very reason, the Platonic philosophy would have peculiar attractions for him. Since it was rather a religious than a speculative interest which led him on, it is possible, although some isolated and elevated Platonic notions, like those of the relationship of the human soul to God, and of the intuition of Divine things, animated him, that he was not so taken by the system of the school, that his heart should thence become incapable of those higher impressions, which passed the bounds of the empire of this system. How he became a Christian he relates himself: * "While I still found my delight in the doctrines of Plato, and heard the Christians calumniated, but yet saw them fearless towards death, and all that men account fearful; I learned that it was impossible, that they should live in sin and lust.† I despised the opinion of the multitude; I was proud of being a Christian, and I endeavoured with all my powers to remain one."

Justin retained as a Christian, the philosopher's cloak,‡ which he had borne as a heathen philosopher and ascetic; and he used this garb and mode of life, in order easily to be able to introduce conversations on religious and philosophical subjects, and thus to prepare a passage for the Gospel into the hearts of men; and he was, as it were, a travelling evangelist in the philosophic garb.§ It has been unsoundly concluded|| that he

was ordained to the priesthood, from his own language in his representation of the Christian faith in the second Apology, "We conduct the convert, after we have baptized him, to the assembled brethren." There was at that time no such separation of the clergy from the laity, that Justin might not have been able to say this from his position, as sharing the priesthood common to all Christians. But whether he was solemnly ordained to the calling of an evangelist in the name of the Church or not—an inquiry of no importance—it is hardly to be supposed that his gifts were left idle, whether for the propagation of the Gospel among the heathen, or for the instruction of the Churches themselves. If the account of the martyrdom of Justin were worthy of credit, it would prove, that when he was resident in Rome, a part of the Church, which understood the Greek language, used to assemble in his house, in order to hear his discourses.

We observed in the first part of this history,* that after the death of the Emperor Hadrian, persecutions arose against the Christians in the beginning of the reign of Antoninus Pius. Thereby Justin, who was then resident at Rome, was induced to address a writing in defence of the interests of the Christians to the emperor. Since, however, in the superscription of this work, he does not give the title of Cæsar to M. Aurelius, it is probably to be inferred, that it was written before his adoption into that dignity, which took place A. D. 139.†

* See page 60.

† The superscription is Αὐτοκράτει Τίτῳ Αἰλίῳ Ἀδριανῷ Ἀντιπῶνι Εὐσεβίῳ Σεβαστῷ Καίσαρι καὶ Οὐμνιστῶν υἱῶν φιλοσόφῳ καὶ Λοκίῳ φιλοσόφῳ (according to Eusebius φιλοσόφῳ) Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ υἱῶν καὶ Εὐσεβίου: εὐστρωτῶν ἱερῶν παίδων ἵνα τε συγκατα καὶ δοῦναι παντὶ Ῥωμαίων. The first named is Augustus Antoninus Pius, who had then entered on his reign, the second M. Antoninus, philosophus, to whom the Emperor Hadrian (in compliance with whose wishes Antoninus Pius adopted him) had given the name Annus Verissimus, the third is Lucius Verus Antoninus, afterwards the associate of M. Aurelius in the government, the son of Lucius Elius Verus, whom Hadrian had adopted and nominated as Cæsar; after the early death of the latter, he (the son,) as Hadrian wished, was adopted in the same manner by Antoninus Pius, who had stepped into the place of his father. The reading found in Eusebius is most likely the true one, for it is hardly to be supposed that Lucius Verus should have had two epithets. The name of Philosopher is utterly out of character for a boy of nine years of age, who might yet very well be called ἱερῶν παίδων. It is more likely that the name of Philosopher should have been given to

* Apolog. i. p. 50-1.

† See Part I.

‡ See Part II.

§ Even if the *Dialogus cum Tryphone* were not genuine, we might, nevertheless, use the account given in it; for we might presuppose that the author of it had an accurate knowledge of Justin's life.

|| By Tillemont. [The conclusion of Tillemont may be unwarranted by the expression of Justin, but surely at that time there was a separation of clergy and laity. See note, p. 102.—H. J. R.]

There are greater difficulties in the determination of the time, at which the first Apology, as it is called, was written. The occasion, which moved him to write for the Christians (an occasion full of instruction, with regard both to the history of the active efficacy of Christianity, and to that of the persecutions) was this,—a woman in Rome, who had led a vicious life with her husband, was converted, and refusing any longer to share the vices of her husband endeavoured to bring about his reformation. As, however, she was unable to effect this, and was unable, if she remained any longer in union with her husband, to withdraw herself from participation in his sins, and as she had, according to the doctrines of our Lord, grounds sufficient to justify a separation, she separated herself from him. In order to revenge himself, the divorced husband accused her as a Christian. The accused woman presented a petition to the emperor, that she might be allowed first to arrange her family concerns, and then she was willing to undergo her judicial trial. When her husband found his revenge against his wife thus delayed, he turned his rage against her instructor in Christianity, named Ptolemaeus. He was arrested by a centurion, and carried before the Præfectus urbis. As he openly declared before him, that he was a Christian, he was condemned to death. Another Christian, by name Lucius, who heard this sentence, said to the Præfect, “Wherefore have you sentenced to death this man, who has committed no murder, no theft, no adultery; but only because he is a Christian? You are acting in a manner, which is not becoming either to the pious emperor, or the philosopher the son of the emperor.”* The Præfect concluded from this declaration that he was a Christian, and when he confirmed this, the Præfect sentenced him in like manner to death. A third person shared the same fate.

The question is, therefore, Whether this event suits best with the reign of Antoninus Pius, or that of M. Aurelius? We find here nothing that would be *absolutely* inconsistent with the former; for,

Ælius Verus, who was dead, whom Spartianus calls “eruditus in literis.”

* οὐ πρεποντα Εὐσεβίῳ αὐτοκρατορὶ οὐδὲ φιλοσοφῷ (according to Eusebius the common reading is φιλοσοφῷ.) [N. B. This expression is ambiguous, —the meaning is, that Eusebius reads φιλοσοφῷ, and the common editions of Justin read φιλοσοφῶν. See the note of Valesius.—H. J. R.]

as we remarked,* the law of Trajan was by no means abolished by the rescripts of Hadrian and of Antoninus Pius, in accordance with which law, the open avowal of Christianity might be punished with death, although the mildness of the emperor† permitted a governor favourably disposed to Christians, to pass over a great deal. But is it *probable* that a Christian should have spoken thus to the Præfect, if the reigning emperor had himself issued a severe law against the Christians, as Christians? Even in the Apology itself, there is no trace of the existence of a new law against the Christians, for the abolition of which Justin entreated the emperor. It may be said, that it suits only the time of M. Aurelius; for Justin says, that confessions had been extorted from the servants, women, and children of the Christians, by which the popular reports about unnatural practices in the assemblies of Christians were declared to be true. It is certainly† in the reign of M. Aurelius that we first find examples of such conduct towards the Christians quoted; but as popular fanaticism had, ever since the reign of Nero, spread abroad such reports against the Christians, that fanaticism may easily have found at an earlier time many magistrates who gave credit to it, and ministered to it. Even in the Apology, which according to the common supposition is placed in the time of Antoninus Pius, Justin at that time is anxious, that people would only not give credit to the blind reports of the people against Christians. But he says, that the same things which happened at Rome under Urbicus, commonly took place elsewhere also; that the other Governors acted as unreasonably; that every where, if any one was improved by Christianity, one of his nearest relations or friends came forward as his accuser; and this seems to agree better with the general persecutions under M. Aurelius. But even in the time of Antoninus Pius, many violent popular assaults had taken place against the Christians, which moved him to issue the rescript, which was calculated to allay the irritations of men’s minds. This is also still farther remarkable in the above quoted designation of the reigning princes through Lucius, that the title of philosopher, peculiarly appropriated to M. Aurelius, is not bestowed upon him, but transferred to Verus, whom it does not suit, and to whom it is not elsewhere

* See Section I.

† See Section I.

attributed, while the title of Antoninus Pius is bestowed upon M. Aurelius, who is no where spoken of during his lifetime by this name. Even if we throw away the reading of Eusebius we have quoted, the difficulty is not removed, for the same titles are attributed at the end of the Apology to both the emperors.* These grounds are an argument to place this Apology, not according to the common belief, which has, however, great names, e. g. Pagi, Tillemont, Mosheim, in its favour, but with Valesius and Longuerue in the time of Antoninus Pius.

It is also a striking circumstance,† that Justin, twice‡ in this Apology, appeals to *that which he has before said*, which yet does not occur in this Apology, but in the first. He uses the same formula, ὡς προσφημεν, which he uses in other places, where he quotes passages out of the same writing.

We do not, however, wish to deny, that the authority of Eusebius is opposed to our supposition, because he certainly appears to consider the first mentioned Apology as written in the reign of Antoninus Pius, and to place the second in that of M. Aurelius;§ but still the authority of this historian is not decisive here, for the proper relation of the second Apology, as it is called, to the first, might be lost and forgotten in the time of Eusebius.

An idea, which afterwards re-appears among the Alexandrians, is altogether peculiar to these two treatises; namely, that in Christianity there is to be found the unclouded and unbroken revelation of Divine truth, while on the contrary, in all human systems, there are only to be found fragments of a revelation of truth, clouded through the partial views of man. What Clement says of the revelation of

the Logos, torn in pieces like the body of Dionysius (see above,) had already been said by Justin in other words. He supposes that there is in human nature something akin* to the Divine Logos, that universal and absolute Divine reason, from which the partial recognition of religious and moral truth in the heathen philosophers proceeded. The revelation, however, of truth, which here is in broken fragments, and is disturbed by the intermixture of what is human, was first shown in its clearness and perfection, by the appearance of the Logos itself in human nature. The same relation which exists between it and the clouded, partial reason of man, exists also between Christianity and all other systems of religious truth. Certainly, this was an idea, extremely calculated to seek for points in the common religious conscience of man, for Christianity to attach itself upon, as well as to set forth the elevation of the Gospel above all previous systems containing religious matter. He hence says,‡ that all good, which has ever been spoken by any, belongs to Christianity. He hence concludes, that in all times those who have followed the inward revelation of the Logos, and lived in accordance with it, were Christians; although they were called Atheists, as Abraham and Socrates, and that such men were always persecuted by the enemies of the Logos (those who live without reason.) We certainly need not suppose that Justin delivered these notions at Alexandria, and that they have passed from him to the Alexandrian Fathers, or on the other hand, that Justin has borrowed them from a previously-existing Alexandrian theology. For certainly, every Platonist,—accustomed to the ideas of the relation of the νοερον in man to the supreme ιους,—who was converted to Christianity, while he was seeking for some medium between his former Platonic notions and his newly acquired Christian ones, might easily be led to these notions.

But it is, indeed, remarkable, that in the other writings of Justin, we find no trace of the notions, which prevail so completely in the Apologies, as to the relation between that which is divine in man to the self-revelation of the Divine Logos,

* Εἰν οὖν καὶ ἡμᾶς ὁμοίως εὐσεβείας καὶ φιλοσοφίας ταδικαία ὑπερ ἑαυτῶν κρινάμεν. That in the beginning of the Apology of Athenagoras the title φιλοσοφος is attributed, whether it be to L. Verus, or to Commodus, cannot be alleged to remove this difficulty, because it is easy to understand that the titles, properly belonging only to one emperor, should be attributed to two in common, as is the case here.

† As the Benedictine Editor has already observed.

‡ In the Benedictine Edition, § 4, where he speaks of the enmity with God; § 6, where he speaks of the incarnation of the Logos; and § 8 where he speaks of Heraclitus.

§ If we compare ii. 13, and iv. 16, (for iv. 11, is somewhat obscure,) and ch. 17, with the preceding, we cannot doubt, that either the reading προτιγνῆ is faulty, or that Eusebius himself has only written thus from some oversight.

* The σπέρμα του λογου, or the λογος σπέρματικός.

† Apolog. ii. (commonly called i.) Ὅσα περὶ πασι καλὰ ἰσχύεται, ἡμῶν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἴστί. [In Grabe's Edition [Oxford. 8vo. 1700—1703.] this is printed as the second Apology.]

and the notions that are connected with these; namely, in regard to the relation between the scattered traces of truth found among the heathen and Christianity. It may, indeed, be said, that he has attributed these notions to himself only in furtherance of his object, that by this means he might dispose the philosophical emperor to be favourable to his proposals; but this is, nevertheless, not a natural supposition. We may especially remark, that judging of Justin from his writings, we can hardly give him credit for the adroitness of moving so freely in a circle of ideas, taken up by him in appearance only. And besides, in his Apologies he makes no scruple of blaming the religious doctrines of the Stoics, although the stoicism of M. Aurelius was well known. We may thence conclude, that he pretended also to no milder opinion of the Grecian philosophy in general, than he really held. And in other writings also, intended to facilitate the conversion of the heathen, he might just as well have used this method, as in the Apologies. Why, therefore, does he never use it in those other writings? This circumstance would be still more striking, if we suppose, according to the common view of the matter, that Justin wrote these Apologies at such different times.

We have under the name of Justin a treatise, with the title of "An exhortation to the heathen" (*παραίνετικός προς Έλληνους*), the object of which is, to persuade the heathen of the unsatisfactory nature of their popular religion, and their philosophical doctrines of religion, as well as of the necessity of some higher and Divine instruction. It is, most probably, the same writing as that which is quoted by Eusebius and Photius, under the title of "The Confutation" (*ιλεγχος*), which suits its contents well enough.

In this treatise we find no trace of that mild and liberal thought, which we remark in the Apologies, and no trace of that *peculiar circle of ideas*, but far rather a contrary mode of thinking. All knowledge of God is here deduced from outward revelation only; but there were many misunderstood accordances with truth, recognised among the heathen; but these are all deduced from a misunderstood and falsified tradition, according to the Judæo-Alexandrian notion, that a knowledge of the doctrines communicated to the Jews by Divine revelation, was conveyed to the Greeks from Egypt. While in the Apologies men are acknow-

ledged to have existed among the heathen, who, following the revelation of the *λογος σπερματικός*, were witnesses of the truth before the appearance of Christianity; here, on the contrary, it is said: "Your teachers also are compelled to say much for us about Divine Providence, even against their will, and especially those who dwell in Egypt, and have received benefit from the religion of Moses and his ancestors."*

It is impossible to suppose, that this treatise can have proceeded from the same cast of thought, as the two Apologies of Justin. But if it is determined to attribute it to him, then we must at least not consider it, in accordance with the common supposition, as the first of his writings after his conversion; but far rather as one of the later. We must suppose that his original more liberal and milder habits of thought had latterly become narrower and harsher, that the views which originally prevailed with him, and proceeded from his own disposition, those views of the connection between the revelations of the *λογος σπερματικός* to the revelation of the absolute *λογος*, which we find as the predominant views in the Apologies, were latterly entirely driven into the background by the views imparted to him by the Alexandrian Jews, of outward Revelation as the source [of this knowledge among the heathen.]† Such a change is no doubt possible, and examples of such changes are certainly to be found, but one is led to inquire whether this treatise contains sufficient evidence of the authorship of Justin, to drive us to this explanation.

We have also under the name of Justin a short address to the heathens (*λογος προς Έλληνους*) which none of the treatises enumerated in the list of Justin's writings among the ancients suits, but which, even if it does not proceed from him, as the style is somewhat more rhetorical than his, yet bears the stamp of that time upon

* Cohortat. p. 15.

† It cannot be denied, that this view occurs even in the Apologies, only that it is more in the background, while the other is the predominant view. *Apol. ii. p. 81.* "All which philosophers and poets have said of the immortality of the soul, of the contemplation of Divine things, or of doctrines like these, they may have learnt and developed, while they received the first hints from the prophets. There seems, therefore, to be among all a Sun of truth, and it is clear, that they have not understood it properly, because they contradict themselves." So also, p. 92, Plato's doctrine of the Creation is deduced from Moses.

it. It is a rhetorical exposition of the untenableness of the heathen doctrines about the gods, in which the most beautiful part is the conclusion: "The power of the Logos makes neither poets nor philosophers, nor accomplished orators; but, while it forms us, it turns mortal men into immortal, mortal men into gods. It lifts us from the earth above the bounds of Olympus. Come, suffer yourselves to be formed. Become as I am, for I was also like you; for this, even the divine nature of the doctrines, the power of the Logos, has overcome me; for as a skilful serpent-charmer entices and frightens away the terrible animal from its lurking-place, so the Word banishes the terrible passions of sensuality out of the most hidden corners of the soul. And after the desires are banished, the soul becomes tranquil and cheerful, and turns back to its Creator, freed from the evil that adhered to it."

We have also under the name of Justin a treatise on the unity of God (*περὶ μοναρχίας*) containing, for the most part, passages collected from the ancient literature of the Greeks, especially from the poets. The object of the treatise is to convert the heathen by means of their own literature. This writing is, perhaps, only the fragment of a larger work, as the work which Eusebius knew by this name contained more, and consisted of arguments for the unity of God, taken partly from the Holy Scriptures, and partly from Greek literature.

The greatest and most important work of Justin's which we possess, after his *Apologies*, is his *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew*, the business of which is to prove that Jesus is the Messiah promised in the Old Testament, and to confute the then usual accusations of the Jews against Christianity. Justin meets, apparently at Ephesus, with Trypho a Jew, whom the war, undertaken by Barchochab, had driven out of Palestine, and who was travelling about in Greece, and had there studied the Grecian philosophy, and was much beloved. The garb of the philosopher, worn by Justin, induces Trypho to address him in a retired walk, and a conversation arises between them about the knowledge of God, which conversation Justin turns to Christianity, and the treatise consists of this conversation set down in writing.

The concordant testimony of antiquity assigns this piece to Justin; the author gives himself out as Justin, who wrote

the Apologies, for he quotes a passage from the *second* (as it is called,) as coming from himself.* The author describes himself in the Introduction, as one who had left Platonism for Christianity, which exactly suits Justin. No unprejudiced man can deny that the treatise must have been written by a contemporary of Justin, or at least by a man, the time of whose life approached nearly to that age; now one cannot imagine any reasonable cause, why a man, who could bear so much weight by his own personal qualities, as Justin could, if we judge of him from this book, instead of writing it in his own name, should have allowed this book to appear under the mask of a contemporary. Besides, we find in this book no trace of the endeavour, elsewhere so apparent in such counterfeited pieces, to bring certain favourite notions into vogue. Its principal feature is controversy against the Jews and Judaists, and this could obtain no new support with either party by the name of the heathen from Samaria, the former Platonist.†

The same circumstance will, perhaps, strike us here, as in the above mentioned controversial treatise against the heathen ; but the case is altered here. We saw there that Justin was endeavouring to show on the one hand, the affinity between Christianity and the best of Grecian philosophy ; and on the other, the unsatisfactoriness of the latter in regard to religion. If, therefore, the former point of view was likely to be most prominent in the Apologies addressed to the philosopher M. Aurelius, it would on the contrary, be wholly suppressed in a treatise directed against the Jews, who sought in Grecian philosophy a completion of the religious instruction of the Old Testament. There appears also, nevertheless, an affinity of ideas between the Dialogue and the Apologies, even in the favourite

* S. Simon Magus in Dial. Tryph. 349.

† The reasons against the genuineness of this work are given by Wetstein, Prolegomena in Nov. Test.; and Semler in his Edition of Wetstein, 1764. p. 174. (see an answer to their arguments from the mode in which the Alexandrian version is cited, in Stroth Repertorium für bibl. und Morgenländ. Literatur. Bd. ii. § 74.) and Koch in his Justin Martyris dial. cum Tryphone secundum regulas criticas examinatus et rebus suis convictus, 1700 (a work which I have never seen); and Lange in the first book of his History of Opinions. There is an admirable confutation of them by Munscher. See Commentationes Theologicae, Ed. Rosenmüller, Fuldner and Maurer, t. i. pt. ii.

notion of the Apologies, that of the *λογος σπερματικός*. As he says in the first Apology, that men would have been able to excuse themselves in their sins, if the *Λογος* had revealed himself to human nature, for the first time, only an hundred and fifty years ago, and if he had not been in operation in all ages by means of the *λογος σπερματικός*; he says the same thing here in regard to the natural ideas (*φυσικαὶ ἐννοιαι*) inseparable from human nature, which compelled man universally to acknowledge sins as sins; and which might have been extinguished and overwhelmed rather than annihilated by the operations of the evil spirit, and by bad education, customs, and laws. What he here says of that, which has revealed itself in all ages, and in accordance with its own nature, as Good, by which alone men could please God, is said in opposition to the Ceremonial Law, which was only calculated as a means of discipline and education for the hardheartedness of the Jews; or as a system of typical prophecy.* This leads us to the idea of that *λογος σπερματικός*, through which a moral conscience was given to all mankind.

There is, indeed, in the Apologies no trace of Chiliasm (Millenarianism,) but the spiritual ideas of eternal life, and of the reign of Christ, which shine forth in the Apologies, are by no means contradictory to this doctrine (see above;) but we must certainly consider, that the Chiliasmists themselves, only considered the reign of a thousand years as a point of transition to a higher grade of life. It may easily be explained, why he should not quote this doctrine, which was peculiarly offensive to the heathens; because, although important in his estimation, it did not belong to the chief and fundamental doctrines of Christianity, which latter he certainly brought forward without disguise, even when they were offensive to the heathens. In a dialogue, intended to justify the doctrines of Christianity against the reproaches of the Jews, he had, on the contrary, particular occasion to bring forward this doctrine, in order to show that Christians were orthodox, even in this point, according to the Jewish notions. In both these works an anti-Gnostic and anti-Marcionitish spirit is prominent, on which Chiliasm would in those times easily be engrafted.

In the doctrine of the *Logos*, and the

Holy Spirit, (see above,) there is a striking similarity between the Dialogue and the two Apologies. There are exhibited besides in thoughts and expressions, which occur in both works, even more significant marks of the identity of the author.*

We cannot at all determine with certainty whether Justin really held such a disputation with a Jew named Trypho; but at least it is most probable, that many disputations with Jews gave him an opportunity of writing such a dialogue, as he would by that means have acquired such an acquaintance with the Jewish theology of that day. He was always ready to give a reason of his faith, both to Jews and to heathens. As we cannot ascertain what is mere ornament, and what is real fact in this dialogue, we cannot find any sufficient marks in it for a chronological decision; but it is certain, by the quotation from the first Apology, that this dialogue was written later than that work, and apparently, from what we have above said, than both the Apologies.

Justin in this dialogue speaks of the power of the Gospel from his own experience, as he does in the Apologies: "I found in the doctrines of Christ," he says, "the only sure and saving philosophy, for it has in itself a power which commands reverence, which restrains those, who depart from the right path, and the sweetest tranquillity is the lot of those who practise it. It is clear that this doctrine is sweeter than honey, because we who have been formed by it, even to death, never deny his name."

We have to lament the loss of a work of Justin against all the heretical sects of

* See the mystical explanation of the Messianic passage, Gen. xlix. 11, in Apol. ii. 74. "το γαρ πλυναν την σελην αυτου εν αιματι σταφυλης;" προαρχητικον εν του παθους, ου πασχειν ιματι, δι' αιματος καθυμνω τους πιστευοντας αυτω· η γαρ καλημενη υπο του θεου πνευματος δια του περιφρητου στολη, οι πιστευοντες αυτω εισιν ανθρωποι, εν ος οικει το παρα την Θεου σπερμα, ο λογος, το δε εισημανεν αιμα της σταφυλης, σηματοεικον του εχων μεν αιμα τον φαντισμενον, αλλ' ουκ εξ ανθρωπου σπερματος, αλλ' εκ θεικης δυναμως. Compare with this the passage in Dial. Tryph. 273, which betrays the same author, who only in that passage made use of such expressions, which were rather borrowed from the language of the Platonic philosophy, as his object required. το τω αιματι αυτου σπαπληνεν μελαιν τους πιστευοντας αυτω· εδηνεν· σπιλιν γαρ αυτου εκκαλει το εργον πνευμα του; δι' αυτου αφισιν ομαρτην λαβοντας εν ος οι δυναμι μεν παρσσι και ενερως δε περσσαι εν τη δαυτερα αυτου περσσια· το δε αιμα σταφυλης ειπεν τον λογον, δηλωσεν, οτι αιμα μεν εχει ο Χριστος ουκ εξ ανθρωπου σπερματος, αλλ' εκ της του Θεου δυναμως.

* τα φυσι και αι και δι' ολου κηλα και δικηια και αγαθα. See § ? p. 247, 264, 320.

his own day, as well as of his work against Marcion. It is a matter of very great doubt, whether the fragment of a work on the resurrection, which John of Damascus, in the eighth century, has imparted to us under the name of Justin, really belongs to him; Eusebius, Jerome, and Photius knew nothing of such a work by him.

Among the most beautiful remains of Christian antiquity, is a letter which is found among the works of Justin, on the characteristics of Christian worship in relation to heathenism and Christianity. It contains that splendid portraiture of the Christian life, from which we have already quoted some passages. Its language and thoughts, as well as the silence of the ancients, prove that the letter does not proceed from Justin. But the Christian simplicity which reigns in this letter bespeaks its high antiquity, which is farther supported by this circumstance, that the author classes Judaism and heathenism together, and does not appear to deduce the Jewish cultus from a Divine origin, and yet there is nothing properly Gnostic in the treatise,—a phenomenon which could only exist in a very early age.

We cannot, however, from the author's speaking of the sacrifices of the Jews as an existing thing, show that he lived before the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem; for in a lively description he might very well present in such a manner what really did not exist any longer. Nor does his calling himself the disciple of the apostles, give us any sure chronological mark, because he might name himself thus as a follower of their writings and doctrines; *even if* this passage in the beginning of § 11 really belongs to the *genuine* letter.

The part which follows it is clearly from another hand; that which is there said of the Jewish people, of the Divine authority of the Old Testament, and of orthodoxy, which fixes itself on the determinations of the Fathers, by no means corresponds with the character of mind and thought, which prevail in this letter.

Justin, as he himself says in the last quoted Apology, expected that his death would be compassed by a person, from one of the then notorious classes of hypocritical professors of holiness,—a Cynic, as he was called, named Crescens, who was much esteemed by the people, and excited them against the Christians; for he had peculiarly attracted the hatred of this man to himself by exposing

his hypocrisy. According to Eusebius, Crescens really accomplished the purpose, with which he had threatened Justin; but Eusebius in support of this quotes a passage from Tatian,* the scholar of Justin, which can by no means be used to prove it; for Tatian there says only, that Crescens *had endeavoured* to compass the death of Justin, from which it does not follow, that he succeeded in that endeavour.†

Eusebius may, however, be quite right in affirming, that Justin suffered martyrdom during the reign of M. Aurelius. This account is in accordance with the relation of the martyrdom of Justin and his fellow-traveller, which, although it does not come from a source entitled to our confidence,‡ yet bears upon it many internal marks, which speak more in favour of, than against its authenticity.§

The next to Justin in order of time is Tatian of Assyria, his disciple, of whom we have already spoken in the history of the Gnostic sects.|| He himself in the only writing which we have of his, which we are about to mention, gives an explanation of the progress of his religious development. He was brought up in heathenism; and frequent travels gave him an opportunity of learning the multifarious sorts of heathen worship, which at that time were existing together in the Roman empire. None, among them all, could recommend itself to him as reasonable: not only did he observe how religion in them was used to the service of sin; but even the highly wrought allegorical interpretations of the ancient myths, as symbols of a speculative system of natural philosophy, could not satisfy him, and it appeared to him a dishonourable proceeding for a man to attach himself to the popular religion, who did not partake in the common religious belief, and who saw nothing in its doctrines about the gods, but symbols of the elements and powers of nature. The mysteries

* § 19 orat. contra Græcos.

† *ἀναγοὶς πρὸς τὴν τελευτῇ.*

‡ In the collection of Symeon Metaphrastes.

§ These marks and grounds are the following: that it contains no miraculous tales, and nothing exaggerated, nothing that contradicts the simple circumstances of Christian Churches in those days, and that one reads nothing at all about Crescens in it; for one would expect a Græculus, who invented the history of such a martyrdom, setting out from the supposition, that Crescens compassed the death of Justin, would have made him an important personage, and told many tales about him.

|| See page 285.

into which he suffered himself to be initiated, appeared to him also in the same manner, not to correspond to the expectations, which they awakened, and the contradictory systems of the philosophers offered him no sure grounds of religious faith. He was rendered mistrustful of them, by the contradiction which he often observed in those, who gave themselves out as philosophers, between the seriousness which they exhibited for the sake of appearances in their dress, mein, and language, and the levity of their conduct. While he was in this condition, he came to the Old Testament, to which his attention was drawn by what he had heard of the high antiquity of these writings, in comparison of the Hellenic religions, as might easily be the case with a Syrian. He himself says of the impression which the reading of this book made upon him: "These writings found acceptance with me because of the simplicity of their language, the unstudiedness of the writer, the intelligible history of the creation, because of the prediction of the future, because of the wholesomeness of their precepts, and because of the doctrine of the One God which prevails throughout them."* The impression which the study of the Old Testament made upon him, would appear from this to have been with him the preparation for a belief in the Gospel.† Coming in this state of mind to Rome, he was converted to Christianity by Justin, of whom he speaks with great reverence.

After the death of the latter, he wrote his "Address to the Heathen," in which he defends the φιλοσοφία των βαρβάρων against the contempt of the Greeks, who had, nevertheless, received the seeds of all knowledge and arts originally from the Barbarians. In his view of the relation of the philosophy as well as the religion of the Greeks to Christianity, we recognise far more the *later* than the *earlier* Justin. We have already observed (page 285,) that even as early as in this treatise, the seeds of a speculative and ascetic turn of thought are to be seen, which he probably brought from Syria with him,

as also its obscure style betrays the Syrian. He says to the Heathen: "Wherefore will ye excite your state religion to battle against us? And wherefore should I be hated as the most goddess of men, because I will not follow the laws of your religion? The Emperor commands taxes to be paid, I am ready to pay them. The Lord commands me to serve him; I know how I have to serve him, for we must honour men as becomes men, but fear God alone, who can be seen by no human eye, and comprehended by no human art. It is only when I am commanded to deny him, that I refuse to obey, but prefer to die, that I may not appear ungrateful and a liar."

Next to Tatian comes Athenagoras, who addressed his Apology (πρὸς τοὺς Χριστιανῶν) to the Emperor M. Aurelius, and his son Commodus.* We have no distinct account of this man's personal history. Only two among the ancients mention him, Methodius and Philip of Sida, who was the last president of the school of Catechists at Alexandria, the only person who relates any thing of the history of the life of Athenagoras;† which, however, deserves no credit at all, because this writer is known to be undeserving of our confidence, and because it contradicts other creditable documents, and because of the suspicious circumstances under which the fragment from him has come down to us. Neither what Athenagoras (see above,) says of a second marriage, nor what he says of the ecstasy of the prophets, who served as the unconscious instruments of the operations of the Holy Spirit, suffices to prove him a Montanist; because, as we remarked above, the Montanists in this case said nothing altogether new, but only carried an already existing mode of thought on religious and moral matters to the extreme.

We have also a writing in *Defence of the Resurrection*, by the same Athenagoras.

Together with the Apologists we may mention a writer who is not otherwise known to us, Hermias, who wrote a short treatise in ridicule of the heathen philosophers (διασκευὸς τῶν ἐξω φιλοσοφῶν.)

* Tatian had already learned the untenableness of Polytheism, and was already come to the persuasion that none but a Monotheistic religion could be a true one.

† It would in this case be remarkable, that Tatian should afterwards have become an anti-Jewish Gnostic; but we have remarked above, that we are by no means justified in this supposition. See page 286.

* See the Essay of Mosheim on the time at which this Apology was written, in the first part of his *Commentationes ad hist. eccles. pertinentes*.

† Published by Dodwell, (*Dissert. in Irenæum*.) He relates that Athenagoras lived in the time of Adrian and Antoninus Pius, to whom he presented his Apology, and that he was Catechist at Alexandria, before Clement.

He seeks to collect together a multitude of foolish and mutually contradictory opinions of the Grecian philosophers, without advancing any thing positive himself,—a proceeding, which could scarcely be of any utility; for in order to persuade those who had received a philosophical education, more would be required than this declamation, and with the ignorant there was no need either of such a caution against the errors of the philosophers, or of such a negative preparation for the Gospel. We see in this Hermias, an example of one of those passionate enemies of the Grecian philosophy, against whom Clement of Alexandria contends, (see above,) who in accordance with Jewish fables, deduced the Grecian philosophy, from the communications of fallen angels. This Hermias is called a philosopher in the superscription of his book; it may be the case, that before his conversion he went about in the garb of the philosopher, and then after his conversion he passed over from enthusiasm for the Grecian philosophy to passionate hatred against it. According to the different constitution of men's minds, on a change of opinions, their new habits of thought may be engrafted on their former, as in the case of Justin and Clement of Alexandria, or they may produce a violent and harsh abomination of their former sentiments.

The Church in the great metropolis of the Eastern part of Roman Asia—a flourishing seat of literature—could not be at a loss for teachers *gifted with a learned education*, and their intercourse with well educated heathens and Gnostics would evidently spur on their activity as authors. Theophilus was bishop of this Church in the time of M. Aurelius. After the death of this Emperor, he wrote, during the reign of Commodus, an apologetic work in three books, addressed to Autolycus, a heathen, through whose reproaches against Christianity he was induced to write this work, in which he shows himself a thinking man, and full of knowledge. We have already quoted some parts of this work. It is remarkable that this Theophilus, who wrote against Marcion and Hermogenes, composed also a commentary on the Holy Scripture. We see here the seed of that exegetic disposition of the Antiochian Church, of which we shall speak again at the end of this section.*

During the course of the second century a peculiar turn of mind in theology was formed in the Church of Asia Minor. It was here that the anti-Gnostic, practical and realistic spirit (which we have described in the general introduction to this section,) first took a definite form. The practical Christian spirit, which had resulted from the long activity of the Apostle John in these regions, often alloyed here, we freely confess with a mixture of a carnal tendency, opposed itself to the speculative caprice and license of the Gnostic sects and schools, which made especial progress in these places. A firm dependence on the doctrines and declarations, which the oldest of the leaders of the Church remembered to have heard from the mouth of St. John himself, opposed a counterbalancing weight to Gnosticism; and these men, of simple spirit and childlike piety, performed this service towards the development of the Church, that through them the extension of the pure fundamental principles of the Gospel was secured, and the practical spirit of Christianity preserved unalloyed, although from the impure source of tradition, in which the Divine and the Human were often mingled together, they received and attached importance to many accompaniments which were foreign to the essential nature of Christianity. But then, if only the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, and the genuine documents of the original, pure communication of the word of God, were propagated, provision was by that means made, that Christianity should be able to cleanse itself by its inward divine power from such dross, as in the stream of its temporal development it must constantly

note the whole corpus evangeliorum,) and on the Proverbs, but he adds: "qui mihi cum superiorum voluminum elegantia et phrasi non videntur congruere." But in his preface to his Commentary on St. Matthew, he distinctly quotes Commentaries of Theophilus; and in his letter to Algasia, t. iv. p. 197, he quotes, as it appears, an explanatory harmony, or synopsis of the Gospels by him (qui quatuor Evangelistarum in unum opus dicta compingens.) All this may certainly be only notices of the same work. We have nothing more of his (as the Latin fragments under the name of Theophilus do not belong to him,) unless the Catene contain fragments of his. The specimen which Jerome gives of his mode of interpretation is far from the spirit of the late Antiochian school, for it shows a fanciful mode of allegorizing, which might suit well enough with the Alexandrian cast of mind, which betrays itself in the work first quoted.

* Jerome c. 25. de vir. ill. quotes a commentary of his in evangelium, (which may de-

contract. But could the spirit of Gnosticism have obtained the victory; then, inasmuch as it destroys the essential foundations of Christianity, the collection of the holy original documents would have been sacrificed to caprice, and the possibility of such a process of purification would thus have been cut off.

It was the endeavour of these teachers of the Church to oppose to the caprice of the Gnostics the concordant tradition of the Christian Churches, especially of those of apostolical origin. From this endeavour, apparently proceeded the first beginning of an Ecclesiastical History, the work of Hegesippus, a Jew of Asia Minor, converted to Christianity, who lived during the reigns of Hadrian and the Antonines, and who, perhaps, in order to reconcile differences between the usages of the Jewish and heathen churches, or to persuade himself by ocular demonstration of the harmony of all old Churches in the essentials of Christianity, undertook a journey to Rome in the days of Antoninus Pius, and remained there for a season. The result of his inquiries and collections was his "Five Books of Ecclesiastical Events" (πέντε ὑπομνηματα ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων). He may, perhaps, here have inserted much impure tradition of Jewish origin, and have been influenced by many errors, proceeding from a Judæo-Christian carnal mode of thought. The picture of James, who was called the brother of the Lord, is painted by him entirely in the taste of the Ebionites.* From a quotation, however, made by Stephanus Gobarus,† a monophysite writer of the latter part of the sixth century, it may be concluded, that he was, as a proper Ebionite, an opponent of the Apostle Paul; for in the fifth book of his Ecclesiastical History, after citing the words of 1 Cor. ii. 9, "That which no eye hath seen, nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of any man;" he says that this is false, and that those who said such things belied the Holy Scriptures and the Lord, who said, "Blessed are your eyes, for they see, and your ears, for they hear." Matt. xiii. 16.‡ If we refer these words of Hegesippus to the above cited passage of St. Paul, it appears to follow, that he accused him of false doctrine; nay, ac-

cused him of having quoted something under the name of Scripture, which is not to be found there. But the contentment of Hegesippus with the general tradition of the Church, and his connection with the Church of Rome, oppose this supposition. According to this supposition, he must have been an opponent of both. As far as we can judge, (without knowing the context that belongs to these words of Hegesippus,) we should, therefore, far rather conjecture, that he said this not in opposition to St. Paul, but in his angry zeal against the opponents of carnal Chiliasm, who might probably enough quote the above passage of St. Paul, and similar ones in order to oppose sensual representations of the happiness of the world to come.

The contests about the time of Easter, (see above,) and concerning the Montanistic spirit of prophecy, gave afterwards, as well as the controversies against the Gnostics, and the Apologies against the heathens, another circumstance to exercise the activity of these Church-teachers, as authors. The list of the writings of Melito, bishop of Sardis, whom we have already mentioned as the author of an Apology addressed to the Emperor M. Aurelius, shows with what matters the Church-teachers of Asia Minor then occupied themselves. We find among them the following treatises: on *Right Conduct*, on the *Prophets*, of *Prophecy*, of the *Church*, of the *Revelation of St. John* (which writings may collectively refer to the circumstances of the Montanistic controversy,) the *Key* (ἡ κλεῖς,) (perhaps this also refers to the keys of the Church,* in reference to the controversies about penitence,) a treatise on *Sunday* (perhaps in reference to the controversies between the Jewish and heathen Christians about the festival of the Sabbath, or Sunday,) on the *Corporeality of God*, a defence of that sensuous anti-Gnostic conception.† The contents of the following treatises may also refer to the controversies against Gnosticism: on the *Nature of Man*, on

* [The *Power* of the *Keys* is the more usual English phrase, but this would include more than the subject of Penitence.—H. J. R.]

† περι ἑνσαματου Θεου. These words might be taken to mean, concerning the appearance of God in the flesh; or, concerning the incarnation of God. But a comparison with the account of the trustworthy Origen, on the contents of the book, (fragment. Commentar. in Gen. vol. ii. Opp. fol. 25,) compels us to the explanation we have given.

* Euseb. ii. 23.

† In Photius, Cod. 235.

‡ ματῆν μὲν εἰρῆσθαι ταῦτα, καὶ καταλαβεῖσθαι τοὺς ταῦτα φασκένους τῶν τε θείων γραφῶν καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου λόγουτος, &c.

the Creation of the Soul, or on the Body, or on the Spirit, on the Birth of Christ, on Truth, on Faith, on the Senses of the obedience of Faith.* The importance of the subjects, and their deep hold upon the life of the Church in those times, make us regret the more the loss of these writings.

Claudius Apollinaris, whom we mentioned above, bishop of Hierapolis, in Phrygia, was a contemporary of Melito; his writings, although not so numerous, were occupied with several similar matters.†

From the school of these Church-teachers of Asia Minor, proceeded Irenæus; who, after the martyrdom of Pothinus, became bishop of the Church of Lyons and Vienne (see above.) He remembered, even in his advanced age,

* The list of writings is to be found in Eusebius, iv. 26. [The expression in Neander is, "*von den Sinnen der gläubigen Gehorsams*," which appears to me to be only capable of the above translation, or of this, "about the senses of faithful obedience;" i. e. about the senses, by which we perceive and accede to the doctrines of the faith; meaning, perhaps, our inward means of perception, &c. On referring, however, to Eusebius, I see that the title of the works is, ὁ περὶ ὑπακουῆς πιστεως αἰσθητηριων, on which in Heinichen's edition, I find the following note extracted (I believe) from Vallesius. "Ὁ περὶ ὑπακουῆς, &c. Apud Nicephorum legitur ὁ περὶ ὑπακουῆς πιστεως καὶ ὁ περὶ αἰσθητηριων, ut duo fuerint Melitonis libri; alter de obedientia fidei, alter de sensibus, idque confirmant Hieronymus et Rufinus. In omnibus tamen nostris codicibus legitur καὶ ὁ περὶ ὑπακουῆς πιστεως αἰσθητηριων absque distinctione, quam R. Stephanus post vocem πιστεως addidit. Fuit igitur hic Melitonis liber ita inscriptus. De obedientia sensuum fidei, seu quod idem est, de obedientia fidei, quæ fit a sensibus. Quidam enim hæretici aiebant, animales quidem seu psychicos sensuum opera, spirituales vero per rationem. Ita Heraclæo explicabat locum illum ex Joannis evangelio: *Nisi signa et prodigia videritis, non credetis*. Quæ Christi verba aiebat Heraclæo dici proprie ad eos, qui per opera et sensus naturam habeant obediendi, non autem credendi per rationem. Refert hæc Origines enarrationem in Joannis Evangelium tomo xiii., ubi id refutat, doctetque tam spirituales quam animales non posse nisi per sensum credere." This title is, therefore, differently understood by others, and made to mean on the acceptance of the faith by means of the senses. On Heraclæon, see Grabe Spicil. vol. ii. p. 80, N.B. The titles of the works are altogether uncertain, from the various lections in this passage.—H. J. R.]

† If in the Catena, especially in the Catena of Nicephorus on the Octateuchus, published at Leipzig, 1772, the fragments which belong to this Apollinaris were properly separated from those which belong to Apollinaris of Laodicea, and the fragments in Eusebius, and the Chronicon Paschale Alexandrinum, were compared with them, the character of this Church-teacher might be drawn more definitely.

what he had heard in his youth from the mouth of Polycarp, about the life and doctrine of Christ and the apostles. In a piece addressed to Florinus, an heretical teacher, with whom he had been in his youth with Polycarp, he says, "These doctrines, the Elders, who preceded us, and were in habits of intercourse with the apostles, have not delivered to you; for when I was a boy, I saw you* with Polycarp in Asia Minor, for I remember what then happened better than things of the present day; what we have learnt in childhood grows up with the soul, and becomes one with it, so that I could describe the place in which the holy Polycarp used to sit and talk, his outgoing and his incoming, his mode of life, his personal appearance, the discourses he addressed to the multitude, and his own account of his intercourse with John, as well as with the rest of those who had seen the Lord; and how he remembered their conversations, and the account they gave of the Lord's miracles and doctrines. While he related all from the accounts of eyewitnesses of his life, he related it in entire accordance with the Scripture. This I heard at that time with earnestness by reason of the grace of God imparted to me, writing it down, not on paper, but on my heart, and I am able by the grace of God, constantly to bring it with freshness into my memory. I can also testify before God, that if that blessed and apostolic Presbyter had heard any such thing, he would have cried out at once, and stopped his ears, and have said, according to his custom, 'O! good God! for what a time hast thou preserved me, that I should endure this!' and he would have left the place, where he was sitting or standing, when he heard such language."† The spirit, which here speaks out, was inherited by Irenæus. We have already spoken of his peculiar practical disposition in his conception and mode of handling the doctrine of Faith, his zeal for the essentials of Christianity, and his moderation and liberality in controversies about external, nonessential things. We observed above (see p. 335,) that he apparently came forward as a peacemaker between the Montanists and their most violent adversaries. This supposition suits best with the spirit of his writings; for his having many opinions

* [Neander has here omitted a part of the sentence. λαμπρὰς πρῶτον ἐν τῇ Βασιλικῇ αὐλῇ, καὶ περιωμον εὐδοκῶν παρ' αὐτῶν.—H. J. R.]

† Euseb. v. 20.

and dispositions, which agreed with the spirit of Montanism, and which would, therefore, contribute particularly to endear him to a Tertullian, cannot, after the observations we made above, about the relations of Montanism and the opinions of the Church, at all serve as a proof that he was a Montanist. Had he been a zealous Montanist, whenever he touched upon a darling theme of Montanism, he could scarcely have omitted to appeal to the new explanations communicated by the Paraclete; but he always appeals only to Scripture, or to the traditions of those elders of Asia Minor. But we cannot possibly suppose, that where he speaks of the condemnation of false prophets, he means by that the Montanistic prophets, for he was probably too favourable to the Montanists for this; but as a zealous Montanist, he would hardly have omitted to mention, with the false prophets, also the opponents of the true prophets; because he is here reckoning up every thing deserving of condemnation. Instead of this, a passage follows, which far more characterizes the peace-loving spirit of Irenæus, which endeavoured to prevent a schism between the Montanistic and other Churches, as it made peace in the controversies about Easter: "The Lord will also judge those, who create schisms, who have not the love of God, and seek their own advantage, not the unity of the Church; who, for slight reasons, cut in pieces the great and glorious body of Christ, and, as much as in them lies, destroy it, who really do strain out a gnat and swallow a camel. But no advantage which they can offer, can counterbalance the evil of schism."* These were the principles on which he acted also in the controversies about Easter (see above.)†

The chief work of Irenæus, which for the most part has only descended to us in the old literal Latin translation, with important fragments of the original Greek, is his *Confutation of the Gnostic Systems*, in five books, which has preserved to us the most graphic picture of his mind.

Many of the writings of Irenæus we know only by name. He himself cites

a writing in which he has treated of a matter, which seems to be quite foreign to the Father's turn of mind; viz. of the *peculiarities of St. Paul's style*, the *hyperbata* which so often occur in his writings.* It is probable that this treatise was not *expressly* upon the peculiar language of this apostle, but that Irenæus incidentally touches upon this subject, while he is combating the capricious nature of the Gnostic exegesis, which, no doubt, despised with theosophic contempt (see above) the simple rules of all just interpretation. He justly observes, that the origin of this peculiarity in St. Paul's style lies in the overwhelming press of thoughts that arise in his ardent spirit;† a remark which, as it presupposes a recognition of the natural peculiarities of man's character while under the influence of the Holy Spirit, is founded upon a more liberal and just conception of inspiration, although Irenæus may not have been aware of it.

It will besides, be seen by this example, as we have before observed, that the opposition to Gnosticism promoted the growth of sound hermeneutical principles, although they were not always justly used, but their application was sometimes led astray to serve the purpose of a moment in regard to some doctrinal controversy, as was the case with Irenæus in the passage we have quoted.

Among the writings of this Father, which we find named by the ancients, we shall only mention two letters, which have an historical importance in consequence of their subject, because schisms in the Romish Church were to be healed up by them. One is addressed to Blastus, who was probably a presbyter of the Romish Church. The account in the additions to Tertullian de Præscriptione‡ is likely enough to be true, viz. that Blastus had introduced a schism into the Romish Church by his adherence to the usage of Asia Minor in regard to the time of the Paschal festival. This suits perfectly well with the time of Victor, bishop of Rome; and perhaps, also many other Jewish notions were interwoven with this opinion about Easter.

The other letter was addressed to a

* L. iv. c. 33, § 6. [L. iv. c. 62. Ed. Bill. and Feuard. Paris, 1675.]

† It may be concluded, also, from the manner in which Tertullian adv. Valentinian, c. 5, speaks of Irenæus, that he was no Montanist, for otherwise he would have called him "noster" as he does call Proculus immediately after.

* L. III. c. 7. quemadmodum de [ex al. edit. II. J. R.] multis et alibi ostendimus eum utentem. † Propter velocitatem sermonum suorum et propter impetum, qui in ipso est, spiritus.

‡ [Ita Neander. I find the passage he alludes to in the addition found in the MS. of Agobardus to the treatise de Præscriptione Hæreticorum, § liii.]

presbyter, named Florinus, with whom Irenæus in early youth had lived with the aged Polycarp; and who, it would seem, carried Monarchianism, or the doctrine of one God, as the Creator of all Being, to such an extreme, that he made God the origin of evil.*

Hippolytus is named as a disciple of Irenæus by Photius,† and took a prominent place among the ecclesiastical wri-

* It is difficult to judge from the title of the book, as it is quoted by Eusebius, v. 26, in what the peculiarity of the opinions of Florinus consisted. The title is *περί μοναρχίας ἡ πρὸς τοῦ μη εἶναι τὸν Θεὸν πρώτην κακῶν*. The first part of this title may be taken to mean that Florinus, as a Gnostic Dualist, had denied the doctrine of the *μοναρχία*; but then this will not suit the second part, for in this case the title must have run thus, *περί τοῦ μη εἶναι Θεὸν τὸν πρώτην κακῶν*.* It can, therefore, only be understood to mean, that Irenæus wished to show how we must maintain the doctrine of the Unity (the Monarchia,) without making the *μία ἐρχη* the *ἐρχη* τῶν κακῶν, and also that Florinus had made God the creator of evil, whether it was in accordance with a doctrine of absolute predestination, which many uninformed Christians had imagined from passages of the Old Testament, which they understood too literally, (according to Origen, Philocal. c. i. p. 17. *ταυτὰ ὑπολαμβάνοντες; περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅτι καὶ οὗτος τοῦ δημιουργοῦ καὶ δημιουργοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, forming such opinions of God as they would not of the most unjust and cruel of men,) or whether it was, that he made God the creator of an absolute evil principle, whether a conscious or an unconscious one (an *αὐτὸν*.) But farther, had Florinus only held one of the common Gnostic doctrines about the origin of evil, Irenæus would not have said, that no heretic even had ventured to bring forward such a doctrine. Since Eusebius says, that Florinus afterwards allowed himself to be carried away by the Valentinian doctrines, and that Irenæus was in consequence induced to write his book *περί ὁμοδοξίας* against him (see above in the account of the Gnostic systems,) it would seem to follow from this, that the earlier doctrines of Florinus *were no Gnostic doctrines*. One is inclined, therefore, to think that, while Florinus acknowledged the untenableness of a theory, which placed the cause of evil in God, he fell into the opposite extreme, and supposed a self-existent independent principle of evil out of God.

* [See Middleton on the Greek Article, p. 50, in the edition of 1833, by my late brother. This is only in accordance with the well known rule, that in such propositions the subject has the article, and the predicate has not. The translation of the first title would be on the Unity of God, or an essay to show that God is not the creator of evil. Of the second it would be—to show that the creator of evil (i. e. the Demiurgos, or whosever it may be whose existence is assumed as creator of evil) is not God.—H. J. R.]

† Cod. 121.

ters of the first half of the third century; but unfortunately only a very small portion of his works has remained to us. The testimony, however, of Photius, taken by itself, is not sufficient to establish the account that he was a disciple of Irenæus; but since, as appears from his quotation, expressions of Hippolytus himself about his connection with Irenæus lay before his eyes, and since in the turn of mind of Hippolytus, so far as we can judge of it from the fragments and titles of his works, (in as far as these give us any means of drawing conclusions as to their contents, and the tendency of his exertions as an author,) there is nothing to oppose such a supposition, but rather, on the contrary, much to favour it, we may fairly give credit to this account.

Hippolytus was a bishop. But since neither Eusebius nor Jerome was able to indicate the city in which he was bishop, we cannot state any thing definite on the subject, nor do the later accounts, which place his see in Arabia,* nor the others, which place it in the neighbourhood of Rome,† deserve consideration. Certainly there is much to prove that the sphere of his exertions was in the East, and much, on the contrary, to fix it in the West. Both these points may be reconciled by introducing the supposition of different times; and this very circumstance, that he was occupied at different times in different countries, may have given rise to the indistinctness of the ancient accounts of him.

We may obtain a perfect catalogue of his writings, by comparing together the citations of Eusebius and Jerome, the specification of his works found upon the marble statue‡ to his memory, which was dug up at Rome, on the road to Tivoli, A. D. 1551, the account of Photius, and the catalogue of Ebedjesu,§ the Nestorian writer of the thirteenth century. We see from these indications, that he wrote various exegetical, doctrinal, polemico-

* According to one supposition it was Portus Romanus, or Aden, in Arabia, to which report, perhaps, only a misunderstanding of the passage in Eusebius, vi. 20, may have given rise.

† Portus Romanus—Ostia.

‡ In which he is represented as sitting on his Episcopal seat, *καθίστα* or *ἐπίστος*, and underneath him is the sixteen-year Cycle of Easter, prepared by him, *καὶ τὸν ἑκατομνηστήριον*, of which there is a full investigation in the second part of Ideler's *Handbuch der Chronologie*, p. 214, &c. The monument itself is published in the first part of the edition, by Fabricius, of the works of Hippolytus.

§ In Assemani *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, t. iii. p. I.

doctrinal and chronological works, and homilies.

We shall mention only those of his writings, the subject of which gives them an historical importance. In regard to Exegesis, Jerome hints that he preceded Origen in giving an example of an accomplished interpretation of Scripture, and that Ambrosius, (see below,) the friend of Origen, had urged him to follow this example. He must somewhere, whether it was at Alexandria, in Palestine, or in Arabia, have met with Origen, because Jerome cites a homily by Hippolytus in praise of our Saviour, which he had delivered in the presence of Origen.* His Exegesis, judging from the few fragments that remain, was of the allegorizing kind.

In the enumeration of his writings on that old monument, a work occurs *ὑπερ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίου καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως*. This can hardly be a commentary on these two books of the Bible, although Jerome seems to quote a commentary of Hippolytus on the Revelations; but this title would far more indicate a piece written in defence of those two books. This is also in accordance with the title, which Ebedjesu gives to this work. We must, therefore, suppose it a defence of the genuineness of these scriptural books, and a justification of them from the reproaches of the Alogi. If Hippolytus in this appears as an opponent of the Ultra anti-Montanists, this agrees with the fact, that he wrote a book on the Charismata.† We may here refer to the circumstance that Stephanus Go-barus, in Photius, l. c., opposes to each other the opinions of Hippolytus and Gregory of Nyssa, about the Montanists, from which we may conclude, that the former belonged to the defenders of the Montanists. We have no means of determining with certainty whether the *κεφαλαια πρὸς Γαίον*, which Ebedjesu ascribes to him, are to be brought into the account in this matter. (If, in fact, this Caius was the violent opponent of Montanism.)

A work of Hippolytus is quoted *against the two and thirty heresies*, which (ac-

cording to Photius,) closed with the heresy of Noetus. He declares, as Photius has quoted him, that he has in this work made use of the contents of a series of discourses by Irenæus against these heresies.* We have already quoted his writing against Noetus, which is still preserved, which probably formed the conclusion of this work.

We have also an unimportant piece by him *on the Antichrist*, which was also known to Photius. The same writer mentions a commentary on Daniel by him, out of which he quotes the remarkable circumstance,† that he placed the end of the world at 500 years after the birth of Christ. His placing this event later than it was usual to represent it in the earliest ages of the Church, may be attributed to the season of tranquillity, which the Church was then enjoying, under Alexander Severus.

In the list of the writings of Hippolytus on the monument, a *πρὸς Σεβηρίναν* occurs. It is hardly to be doubted that this is the very treatise, from which Theodoret, in his *ἱερανοητής*, quotes several passages under the title of a *Letter to the Queen or Empress* (*πρὸς βασιλίδαν*), which Fabricius has collected in his edition of Hippolytus. Its contents answer to the title, which the writing mentioned in the monument bore; it is a discussion of the doctrines of the Christian faith, for the advantage of a heathen woman. That Severina must also have been a queen or an empress. But the name Severina can hardly be correct; it must be Severa, and it is in the highest degree probable to suppose it addressed to Severa, who was wife of the emperor Philippus Arabs. (See above.)

An entirely peculiar character marks the theological development of the North African Church, whose theological spirit was constantly taking a more definite form from the time of Tertullian to that of St. Augustine, and afterwards obtained the greatest influence over the whole Western Church by means of St. Augustine.

Tertullian is a writer of peculiar importance, both as the first representative of the theological character of the North African Church, and as the representative of the Montanistic opinions. He was a

* Had this discourse been preserved, it would perhaps, have given us a great deal of information on the history of the festivals of the Epiphany and Christmas.

† It cannot be entirely ascertained with certainty whether this work bore the title *ἀποστολικὴ παραδοσις περὶ χαρισμάτων*, or whether the work on the Charismata, and the exposition of the Apostolical Tradition, were two separate works.

* The words of Photius are as follows: ταυ-
τας (τὰς αἵρεσεις) δε φησιν ἐλεγχέας ὑπεβλήθηεν ἱερο-
κυντός Εἰρηναῖος. ὧν καὶ συνοφιν ὁ Ἱππολύτος πεποιημένος
τεδὲ τὸ βιβλίον φησι συντάττασθαι.

† Cod. 202.

man of ardent mind, warm disposition, and deeply serious character,* accustomed to give himself up with all his soul and strength to the object of his love, and haughtily to reject all which was un congenial to that object. He had a fund of great and multifarious knowledge, but it was confusedly heaped up in his mind, without scientific arrangement. His depth of thought was not united with logical clearness and judgment: a warm un-governed imagination, that dwelt in sensuous images, was his ruling power. His impetuous and haughty disposition, and his early education as an advocate or a rhetorician, were prone to carry him, especially in controversy, to rhetorical exaggerations. When he defends a thing, of the truth of which he is persuaded, one often sees in him the advocate who only collects together all the arguments by which his cause may be advanced, both just arguments and sophisms, that deceive by a mere dazzling appearance; his very richness of fancy at times leads him astray from the perception of the simple truth. The circumstance which renders this man a phenomenon of so much importance to the Christian historian, is this, that Christianity is the soul of his life and thought, that by Christianity there was opened to him an entirely new and fertile interior world, but not until the leaven of Christianity could wholly penetrate and ennoble his ardent, powerful, and somewhat rugged nature; we find the new wine in an old cask; so that the taste, which it has received in that cask, might easily deceive one that is not a connoisseur. Tertullian had often more within him, than he could express; an adequate form was wanting to the overflowing spirit. He was compelled first to create a *language* for the new spiritual matter (and that, too, out of the rough Punic Latin,) without the advantage of a logical and grammatical training, and to create it just as he was carried on in his ardour by the stream of his thoughts and feelings. Hence come the difficulties and obscurities to be found in his mode of writing, but hence also come its originality and liveliness. Hence, this great Father, who united great gifts with great faults, has been often misunderstood by those who could not acquaint themselves with his spirit through the rough and uncultivated,

unassisted form in which it is presented to us.

Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus was born in the latter years of the second century, probably at Carthage, and was the son of a centurion in the service of the Proconsul at Carthage. He was at first an advocate or a rhetorician, and arrived at manhood before he was converted to Christianity; and he then obtained, if the account given by Jerome is correct, the office of a Presbyter. It is doubtful, however, whether it was at Rome or Carthage. The latter is, in itself, the most probable; because in different writings, composed at different times, he speaks as if he were settled at Carthage; although* the accounts of Eusebius and Jerome may be taken to favour the former supposition. The accession of Tertullian to Montanism may be sufficiently explained from its affinity to the early character of his mind and disposition. His writings relate to the most varied points of Christian doctrine and of Christian life: it is here a matter of great importance, to separate those among them, which bear the stamp of Montanism, from those which contain no trace of it.†

* The words of Eusebius, ii. 2. τῶν μακίστην ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃ λαμπρῶν, do not exactly assert, that as a Christian he obtained an important place in the Roman Church, but taken in conjunction with the context they may very well imply, that before his conversion to Christianity he was in great estimation at Rome, as a juris-consultus (for the arbitrary translation of Rufinus, 'inter nostros scriptiores admodum clarus,' must at all events be rejected;) but we might then also conclude, that if Tertullian lived at Rome as a heathen, and was so much esteemed, it is also probable that he was there also first invested with a spiritual office. Jerome says that the jealousy and injuries of the Romish clergy moved him to change to Montanism. But such stories, which the ancient Church-teachers used to set about, are always very suspicious, because men were universally too much inclined to attribute to external causes a conversion from the Roman Church to heretical opinions,—and Jerome in particular, although he revered the Cathedra Petri in the Roman Church, was notwithstanding inclined to speak evil of the Roman clergy, who did him so much injury during his residence at Rome, especially after the death of Damasus, and to accuse them, in particular, of jealousy against great talents.

† I have given a more elaborate investigation of this subject in my treatise on Tertullian. [anti-Gnostikus, Geist des Tertullian. Berlin, 1825.—H. J. R.] I shall here only add something in regard to the objections made by Dr. Cölln to my conclusions. He finds a mark of Montanism in what Tertullian says, de Patientia c. l. "bonorum quorundam, sicuti et malorum

* [Literally, of a fiery and deep spirit, of a warm and deep disposition.—H. J. R.]

It is difficult to decide the question, whether Tertullian remained always in the same connection with the Montanistic party; or whether he afterwards again inclined more to the Catholic Church, and endeavoured to form a middle way between the two parties. The narratives

intolerabilis magnitudo est, ut ad capienda et præstanda ea, sola gratia divinæ inspirationis operatur." I must here certainly retract the declaration made in my Tertullian, p. 161, that there is nothing contained in this passage but the common Christian doctrine, which attributes to the Holy Spirit the operation of all good in believers. The following is the idea contained in the passage: 'But for all good, we need not only human exertions, but the communication of the Holy Spirit. The higher the grade of goodness is, the more man needs the operation of the Holy Spirit. But there are grades of goodness so exalted, qualities and gifts of such elevation, that man can do nothing whatever towards attaining them. They are entirely the free gift of the Holy Spirit, and man in these cases is only passive, in regard to the work of the Holy Spirit. Such are the Charismata, which are to be separated from the common Christian virtues.' I acknowledge that there is something here besides the doctrine, which every Christian must deduce from the Bible; but it need not, therefore, be called Montanistic. Such a view might proceed from the original character of Tertullian's mind. We have already observed above, that the Montanistic notion of *certain* operations of the Holy Spirit, under which man is only passive, was by no means a new view; but that it engrafted itself on a mode of representation which had long been in existence.

The passage about fasts and abstinence cannot in any way be looked upon as a proof of Montanism, for a voluntary *σκηνοί* had already found acceptance with many, who were no Montanists, (see above.) The words, 'jejunia conjungere,' might indeed, although not necessarily, be understood of a *superpositio*, by no means Montanistic (*superpositio* is a continuation of the Friday's fast to Saturday, on which day no Montanist fasted. See above, page 188.) And besides, the whole manner in which penance is here treated, the whole spirit of mildness which breathes here, is not Montanistic.

As far also as regards the work de Præscriptione, I find myself by no means induced to change my opinion of its non-Montanistic origin. The words 'alius libellus hunc gradum sustinebit,' contr. Marcion. l. i. c. 2, might be used by Tertullian of a piece already written, whether by himself or another, by representing it (the book,) personified as a defender. It does not at all follow, from his particularly bringing forward the doctrine of a creation out of nothing, in his quotation of the Creed, c. 13, that he had already had to sustain a contest with Hermogenes; because even in the controversy against the Gnostics this definition must have been brought forward; and the connection in which these words there stand, far more favours the supposition that he was thinking of the Gnostics, than that he had Hermogenes in his thoughts. It is, indeed, quite certain, from c. 30, that before Tertullian wrote

of Augustine,* and of Prædestinatus,† as well as the account given by the latter‡ of a Montanistic work of Tertullian, in which he endeavours to lessen the number of points of difference between the two parties, are favourable to the latter notion, and on this supposition, many of the writings of Tertullian, which are moderately Montanistic, or border upon Montanism, might be assigned to a different epoch. But these accounts are not sufficient to challenge our belief in them. From the disposition of Tertullian one is led to think, that he was not unlikely to keep to his opinions, when they were once formed, and when opposed, constantly the more to harden himself in them. The peculiar sect of the *Tertullianists*, which is found at Carthage in the fifth century, is no proof of the supposition we have mentioned; because it is possible, that this sect, which adhered closely to the peculiar opinions of Tertullian, was first formed in later times, when it was cut off from communication with the Montanistic Churches in Asia.

The study of the writings of Tertullian had plainly a peculiar influence on the doctrinal development of Cyprian. Jerome relates, after a tradition, supposed to come from the secretary of Cyprian, that he daily read some part of Tertullian's writings, and was accustomed to call him by no other name than that of *Master*.§

this book, Hermogenes had brought forward his peculiar views; but it cannot at all be proved, that Hermogenes had not already published his doctrines a long time before Tertullian wrote his book against him. From the very cursory manner in which Tertullian mentions him in the treatise de Præscriptione, we might be inclined to suspect, that Hermogenes was, at that time, by no means a person of such importance in his eyes, and that it was his additional interest in the matter as a Montanist in later times, which moved him to enter into an elaborate refutation of the doctrines of Hermogenes. The manner in which he speaks of the emanation of the Logos, cannot be called Montanistic, for he represents it in the same manner in the Apologeticus, c. 21,—a treatise acknowledged not to be Montanistic. [Those who are desirous of seeing a condensed statement of Neander's views on Tertullian's writings may consult the able preface to Bp. Kaye's work on Tertullian, 2d edition, 1826. —H. J. R.]

* Hæres. 86. † Hæres. 86. ‡ Hæres. 26.

§ He would say to his secretary, Da mihi magistrum. Hieron. de Viris illustribus, c. 53. In order to see how he used the writings of Tertullian, the treatises of Cyprian *de Oratione Dominica*, and *de Patientia*, in particular should be compared with those of Tertullian on the same subjects, and that *de Idolorum vanitate* with the *Apologeticus*.

We have already spoken sufficiently in various places of the character, the activity, and the most important writings of Cyprian. We shall here mention only one more remarkable writing of Cyprian, his three books of *Testimonia*, a collection of the most important passages of Scripture, to prove, that Jesus is the Messiah promised in the Old Testament, and to form the foundation of Christian faith and morals. The collection was destined for a certain Quirinus, who had entreated the bishop to make him such an abridgment of the essential contents of the Bible in regard to faith and morals, for his daily use and for the assistance of his memory. Since Cyprian addresses him as "my son," he cannot have been a bishop or a presbyter, for whom Cyprian threw together this collection in order to assist him in communicating religious instruction.* By comparing the introduction to the second and third books, it will appear extremely probable, that the person, to whom Cyprian wrote, was a layman belonging to his Church, to whom he wished to give the means of making his own the important practical truths, and the most important rules for all the chief relations of Christian life.† This collection then will give us a proof of the intimate union subsisting between the bishop and the members of his Church, who were troubled about the salvation of their souls, and show how much he had it at heart, to lead every individual to an intimate acquaintance with the Divine Word,—a wish, which peculiarly breaks forth in the beautiful words with which he closes the preface to the first book: "More strength will be granted to thee, and the view of the understanding will constantly be more and more fully formed, if thou searchest more perfectly the Old and the New Testament, and runnest

through every part of the Holy Scripture; for I have only poured out a little to thee from the Divine fountains, in order to satisfy thee for a time. Thou canst drink more plentifully and satisfy thyself, if thou also comest with us to the same fountains of the Divine fulness, in order to drink as we do."

The particular rules, which Cyprian brings forward and supports by passages from the Bible, show how anxious he was to counteract the notion, that a mere outward confession, and a compliance with the forms of Christian worship, would satisfy the demands of the Gospel, and serve to obtain salvation; but at the same time, we freely acknowledge that they show also, how important he thought it, to impress upon the laity a veneration for the priesthood, according to the notions of the Old Testament.

We must here cursorily mention a person, who is of importance in many respects for the history of Christian morals and worship; particularly in the North African Church, that is to say Commodianus, who is known by his "*Instructions adapted for heathens, and all classes of Christians,*" (*Instructiones. Exhortations and Reproofs,*) and written in verse. He was born of Christian parents, who troubled themselves but little about giving him a Christian education, and hence he joined in the heathen worship, without their being aware of it, until he was led away from heathenism, and to Christianity, by means of *reading the Bible*, (*Ego similiter erravi tempore multo | Fana prosequendo, parentibus insciis ipsis | Abstuli me tamen inde, legendo de lege.*) This passage would, no doubt, bear another interpretation, if we were to put a stop after *prosequendo*, and connecting the words immediately after it with what follows; but this is not so natural a supposition as the other.

In his Christian notions, and the picture of manners painted by him, as well as in his latinity, we recognise a North African who lived not long after the time of Cyprian. The Christians at that time, after some persecutions had taken place, (apparently under Decius and Valerianus,) were enjoying a state of outward prosperity under Gallienus; but outward prosperity had also exercised again a prejudicial influence on the inward life, both among the clergy and laity. The Christians participated in the pleasures of the heathens, and many teachers of the Church gave in too much to them, being

* It might be concluded that this was the case, from the words at the beginning: *quibus non tam tractasse, quam tractantibus materiam præbuisse videamur.* We could then only suppose, that he had composed this book as an aid to a deacon, or a catechist, a doctor audientium. But the words which follow show, that the collection was also intended to infix upon the memory the chief passages and doctrines of the Bible, by constantly reading them over. The collection must, therefore, in this case have been intended at the same time as a guide for the teachers of religion, and a book of aid for the Catechumens; but the view taken above is more natural.

† *Quæ esse facilia et utilia legentibus possunt, dum in brevitarium pauca digesta et velociter perlegantur et frequenter iterantur.*

influenced by presents, or by fear of giving personal offence. (57. Si quidam doctores, dum expectant munera vestra | Aut timent personas, laxant singula vobis.)

Commodian shows great zeal for the strictness of Christian morals, and he speaks against the delusion of a false estimation of martyrdom, as of an *opus operatum*; he declares, on the contrary, that every man might become a martyr, even in a season of peace, by genuine Christian virtue; and that on the contrary, many who were proud of having vanquished Satan by their blood, and did not remember that Satan is always Satan—had afterwards suffered themselves to be conquered by him. But with all this, Commodian held a very gross system of Chiliasm, which bears upon it the colouring of carnal Judaism. The chiefest princes of the world were, in the first place, to become the slaves of the pious in the kingdom of the Millennium; and all the vanity of the world under the influence of an unchristian imagination is transferred to that kingdom. (See *Instruct.* 80.)

We have here also to mention Arnobius, as belonging to the same Church, although he showed a more peculiar doctrinal turn of mind, and the spirit of the North African Church appears, at least in the time that he came forward as a Christian writer, to have exerted no influence upon him,—a fact which is apparent, from the liberal and independent manner in which he seems to have come to Christianity through the reading of the New Testament, especially the Gospels. He was a rhetorician at Sikka, in Numidia, during the reign of the Emperor Diocletian.* His writings give testimony to the literary acquirements, which a rhetorician in so respectable a town would be required to have. Jerome, in his *Chronicle*, relates that Arnobius, who had previously always opposed Christianity, was moved by dreams to a faith in it, but that the bishop, to whom he applied, did not trust him, because he knew his former enmity against Christianity; and that Arnobius, in order to prove the sincerity of his intentions, wrote his *Apologetic work*, (*the septem libros disputationum contra gentes*.) This narrative has been suspected of being a mere interpolation by another hand,—for it is, at all events, not in its proper place; it is an evident anachronism to suppose that all this

should have taken place in the twentieth year of Constantine, A. D. 326. And farther, Arnobius appears to have been a man who would be led to believe by a detailed examination, and not one who would have been thus influenced by the sudden impression made by dreams. In his work, we recognise, not the novice who was still a Catechumen, but the man already matured in his conviction, although not one who was orthodox in the sense the Church would affix to that word.

And yet one is not led by these arguments entirely to reject the narrative. We have already observed (p. 264, et seq.) how the conversion of many was facilitated by such impressions; but in saying this, it is not declared, that his whole conversion proceeded from these impressions, for his work would certainly contradict such a supposition. But if Arnobius, as will clearly appear from a passage we are about to quote, was devoted to blind heathenish superstition, it is on that account less unlikely that many more outward impressions were needed, to lead the zealous heathen to an inquiry into Christianity. It may, indeed, have been the case, that he had been convinced some time before he offered himself for baptism, which is easily to be explained by the circumstances of those times. His *Apologetic work*, however, appears certainly to have been written in compliance with some inward impulse, and not in consequence of any external excitement. But it may also be the case, that his determination to make a public confession of Christianity, and to come forward as a public defender of it, were formed at the same time in his soul—and that he then went with this resolution to the bishop. In after times, the bishops were often inclined to be too little suspicious towards those, who became Christians from external motives. But it is by no means so improbable, that a bishop in these unhappy times of the Church, when he saw before him a man who had been so violent an enemy to Christianity, should fear in him an evil-minded informer. And then, in order to destroy his doubts at once, Arnobius shows him his writing in defence of Christianity. He himself thus speaks of the change that was effected in him by Christianity: * “Oh, blindness! it is not long ago, that I worshipped even the images that came from

* Hieronymus de vir. illustr. c. 79.

* Lib. i. c. 39.

the forge, the gods that were made on the anvil and by the hammer; when I saw a stone that had been polished and besmeared with oil, I testified my veneration, I addressed it as if a living power had been there, and I begged for benefits for myself from the insentient stone, and I even did the gods, whom I took to be gods, the injury of believing them to be wood, or stone, or bones, or I thought that they dwelt in such things. Now, as I have been led on the way of truth by so great a teacher, I know what all that is."

As far as relates to the period, at which Arnobius wrote his book, he himself determines it, when he says,* that Rome had been built 1050 years, or not much less. According to the *era Varroniana*, then in vogue, (Rome built, 753,) this would tally with the year A. D. 297. But this is not entirely satisfactory, because there are in the work evident traces of those persecutions under Diocletian, which did not break out (see above) before the year A. D. 303. We must, therefore, suppose, either that Arnobius has made use of an era different from the usual one of that day, or that the exact number did not occur to him,† or that he wrote the work at different times. He says to the heathen:‡ "If a pious zeal for your religion animated you, you would far rather have long ago burnt those writings, and destroyed those theatres, in which the disgrace of the gods is daily published in scandalous plays. For, wherefore have our writings deserved to be delivered up to the fire? wherefore have our assembling houses deserved to be destroyed, in which the Supreme God is adored, peace and grace are implored for governors, for the armies, for the emperors,—joy and peace are implored for the living and for those freed from the fetters of the body,—in which nothing is ever heard, but what tends to make men humane, mild, discreet, modest, generous in giving of their own, and akin to all those, whom the one bond of brotherhood embraces?"

The objection also of the heathen against Christianity, which moved Arnobius to write (as he himself says,) indicates the time at which he wrote; for

it was the very accusation which had occasioned the persecutions under Diocletian; namely, the public calamities which took place, because the reverence for the gods had been supplanted by Christianity, and hence protection and aid were no longer afforded by these gods. Arnobius justly says in reply to this charge: "If men, instead of trusting to their own wisdom and following their own opinion, would only endeavour to follow the doctrines of Christ, which bring salvation and peace, how soon would the form of the world be changed, and iron, instead of being required for war, would be used in peaceful works!"

However important the Roman Church became by its outward ecclesiastical influence, and by the influence of the element of the Roman political spirit upon the progress of the Church, it was proportionably poor from the beginning in regard to theological attainments. The anxiety for the outward existence of the Church, which predominated here, appears early to have depressed the scale of theological knowledge. Only two distinguished writers appear among the Roman clergy, neither of whom, perhaps, can be compared with a Tertullian, a Clement, or an Origen; they are the Presbyter Caius, whom we have already named as an opponent of the Montanists, and the Presbyter Novatian, also mentioned before. Of the writings of the first, nothing has been preserved to us; of the second, we have only short expositions of the essential meaning of the Christian doctrines; especially of the doctrines of the Divinity of Christ, and of the Trinity. According to Jerome, § 70, this work was an extract from a greater one of Tertullian. But at all events, this writer was something more than a mere copyist of another man's mind, we should far rather say that he showed a character of his own; he had not the power and depth of Tertullian, but a more spiritual disposition.*

We have also a treatise by him on the *Jewish laws about food*, a paronomastic allegorical interpretation of them, intended to show, that they are no longer

* Lib. ii. c. 71.

† This is the most natural supposition, for the chronology of Arnobius is certainly not very exact; for in l. i. c. 13, he says: trecenti sunt anni ferme, minus vel plus aliquid, ex quo capimus esse Christiani.

‡ Lib. iv. c. 36.

* Novatian's opponent, Cornelius, the bishop of Rome, appears evidently (in Euseb. vi. 43,) to allude to this treatise, when he calls Novatian, ὁ δὲ μαθητὴς, ὁ τῆς ἰαλλομαστικῆς ἱστῆρας ὑπερπῆστις. This is certainly a hint, that such a phenomenon was not common among the Roman clergy.

binding upon Christians.* We see from this treatise, that it was written by a bishop separated from his Church by the persecution, who maintained a constant interchange of letters with this Church, and endeavoured to preserve it from the seductions offered to it by heathens, Jews, and heretics: every thing about it answers well to a Roman Church, for many Jews dwelt at Rome. Only then, this treatise can hardly have proceeded from a Presbyter; the author speaks, as only a bishop could have spoken at that time to his Church. And we know also from the letter of Cornelius, that Novatian did not remove from Rome during the persecution under Decius. We must, therefore, call to mind the relation between Novatian and the Church which recognised him as its bishop, and we shall naturally suppose that this piece was written under the first persecution of Valerius, (see above,) during which so many bishops were separated from their Churches.

There belonged also to the Roman Church a man, who deserves a conspicuous place among the Apologists of this age for his sensible, ingenious, and graphic dialogue, animated throughout by genuine Christian feeling, and taken from the life,—I mean Minucius Felix, who, according to Jerome, was celebrated as an advocate at Rome, before his conversion to Christianity; he lived apparently in the first half of the third century, but *before Cyprian*, who made use of his writings. We have already quoted some portion of this Apologetic dialogue under the name of Octavius.

We now pass to the teachers of the Alexandrian school, of whose influence over the progress of the development of the Church we have already spoken. We have no written monument of him, who is named to us as the first teacher of this school who was held in much estimation, Pantænus (Πανταῖνος,) the Philosopher, who was converted to Christianity. We know him only through his scholar, Clement.

Titus Flavius Clemens was arrived at the age of manhood before he became a Christian; for he numbers himself among

those who came from the service of sin in heathenism to the Redeemer, and received from him forgiveness of their sins.* He persuaded himself of the truth of Christianity by a free inquiry, as he was one who had attained a great knowledge of all the systems of religion and philosophy about Divine matters, that were known to the more cultivated world of his days.† This free spirit of inquiry, which had brought him to Christianity, impelled him also, after he became a Christian, to seek out distinguished Christian teachers of different characters of mind in different countries. He himself says,‡ that he had several distinguished men for his teachers; in Greece an Ionian; in Magna Græcia (the lower part of Italy,) one from Cœlesyria, and another from Egypt; in the east of Asia (probably Syria,) an Assyrian, and in Palestine a person of Jewish origin. He remained at last in Egypt, where he found the greatest Gnostic, who had penetrated most deeply into the spirit of Scripture. This last was no other than Pantænus. Eusebius does not confine himself to this statement, but he appeals§ to a passage also in the Hypotyposes of Clement, where he calls him his teacher. Perhaps, when Pantænus entered upon the missionary journey mentioned above, Clement followed him in the character of a catechist, and at the same time, or later, was a presbyter in the Alexandrian Church. The persecution under Septimius Severus, A. D. 202, probably compelled him to absent himself from Alexandria.|| But great obscurity envelopes the history of his life, and the place of his abode at this period. We only know, that in the beginning of the reign of the Emperor Caracalla he was at Jerusalem, whither at that time many Christians, especially clergy, had been accustomed to betake themselves, partly in order to become eye-witnesses of places sanctified by religious remembrances, and partly in order to make use of a more accurate knowledge of these places for the better understanding of Scripture. Alexander, the bishop of Jerusalem, who was then imprisoned for the faith, commended him to the Church at Antioch, whither he was travelling, by a letter, in which he called

* Jerome mentions this as one of his writings, as well as two others, *on the Sabbath* and *on Circumcision*, which Novatian quotes as two letters, that had preceded this letter to his Church, in which he had been desirous of showing *quæ sit vera circumcisio, et quod verum sabbatum.*

* Pædagog. l. ii. c. 8. p. 176. [Pott. 205. Sylb. 76.]

† παντα διὰ παλαιῶν ἔλθων ἄνθρωπος. Euseb. Præparat. Evangel. l. ii. c. 2.

‡ Stromat. l. i. 274. [Pott. 322. Sylb. 118.]

§ vi. 13.

|| Euseb. vi. c. 3.

him a virtuous and approved man, and took it for granted, that he was already known to the Antiochians.*

We have *three works* written by him, and dependent in some sort on each other; because he sets out from the idea, that the instructor of mankind, the Logos, first leads the rude heathens, sunk in sin and idolatry, to believe, then continually improves their lives by moral precepts, and lastly, elevates those who had been purified in morals to a deeper knowledge of Divine matters, i. e. to Gnosis. Thus the Logos appears, at first exhorting the sinner to repentance and converting the heathens, (προτρεπτικός,) next as forming by his discipline the conduct of the converted, (παιδαγωγός,) and then as the teacher of the Gnosis to the purified.† His three works, which we still have, are formed on this fundamental notion, the *Apologetic* work, the *Protrepicos*, next the *ethical* work, the *Pædagogus*, and then the *work containing the elements of Gnosis*, the *Στρωματαίς* (Στρωματα.)‡ Clement was not a man of a systematic mind; many multifarious elements of mind and ideas, which he had received from his intercourse with minds of varied character, were heaped up in him, as one sees at times in his *Stromata*, and as must have been shown still more strongly in his *Hypotyposeis*, which we shall have to mention hereafter, if Photius has understood him properly. It is beyond doubt that by isolated flashes of mind he must have exercised an animating influence on his disciples and his readers, as we see particularly shown in the case of Origen. Many ideas unconnectedly thrown out by him, in a manner full of the loftiest conceptions,—ideas which contain the germ of a complete and systematic theological course of thought, are found in him scattered among a multitude of insignificant discussions.

As far as regards his *Στρωματα*, it was here, nevertheless, his intention, as he testifies in many places, to place together confusedly truth and error from the Greek philosophers and the systems of Christian sects, as well as fragments of the true Gnosis. Every one was to find out that which was adapted to himself;

he *wished* rather to excite than to teach, and often purposely only to give a hint in those cases where he might fear to give offence to the πιστικοί, who were as yet unable to comprehend these ideas. The eighth book of this work is lost; for the fragment of dialectic investigations, which now goes under the name of the eighth book of the *Stromata*, evidently does not belong to this work. Indeed, the eighth book was lost as early as the time of Photius.*

We have to regret the loss of the 'Υποτυπωσεις;† of Clement, in which apparently he gave doctrinal and exegetical investigations and views on the principles of the Alexandrian Gnosis. Fragments from this work, the short explanations of some of the Catholic Epistles, which have descended to us in the Latin translation,‡ and perhaps, also, the fragment of the ἐκλογαὶ ἐκ τῶν προφητικῶν, belong to this class. The fact is, that people made for themselves extracts out of the larger work for common use on different parts of Scripture, and some of these extracts have been preserved to us, while this very custom may have contributed to effect the loss of the whole work.

Obscure as it is in its nature, the fragment of the extracts from the writings of Theodotus and of the διδασκαλία ἀνατολική, (that is, of the Theosophic doctrines of Eastern Asia,) which has remained to us among the works of Clement, is of the highest importance for the knowledge of the Gnostic systems. It is, perhaps, a fragment of a critical collection, which Clement had made during his sojourn in Syria. We have already spoken of the treatise of Clement on the time of Easter,§ and of his work τις ὁ σωζόμενος πλουσιος, which is of importance in regard to the history of Christian Ethics.

Clement, in his *Stromata*,|| intimates his intention of writing a work, *περί προφητείας*, in which he would treat of the nature of the Holy Spirit, and on the mode of his communication, as well as of the proper judgment to be made about

* Euseb. vi. c. 11.

† καθ' ἑκαστὸν μέρος γνώσεως ἐπιτελεστικῆς εὐπρετίζαν τὴν ψυχὴν δυναμένην χωρεῖν τὴν ἀποκαλύψιν τοῦ Λόγου. *Pædagog.* l. i. c. 1.

‡ Just like the *κεντρος*, a word of similar import, which was commonly used to denote a work of mixed contents.

* See Cod. 111.

† This word would probably be best translated thus: sketches, shadows, general outlines. Rufinus translates it, adumbrationes.

‡ See the second volume of Potter's edition.

§ The writing also which Eusebius quotes under the title, *κείμενα ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἡ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους*, was on a similar subject.

|| L. iv. 511. [Pott. 605. Syll. 219.] v. 591. [Pott. 699. Syll. 252.]

literal interpretation of Scripture, shows that in his youth he was yet far from that, his later theological turn of mind; and he himself says of himself, while he calls to mind this fault of his youth, "I who once knew Christ, the Divine Logos only after the flesh and the letter, now know him no longer in this way."^{*} It is clear from this, that the education of his father had more influence on the first religious character of Origen, than the instruction of Clement; and that the influence of the Alexandrian theological spirit on him belongs to a later period of his life, when his character was more developed. We freely confess, that in the history of the formation of his mind there is much obscurity, which we are unable entirely to dissipate, from want of historical documents. The religion of the heart was at first the predominant one with Origen.

The persecution which raged against the Christians in Egypt, under the emperor Septimius Severus (see above,) gave an opportunity to him, then a stripling of sixteen, of showing his faith and zeal. The example of the martyrs carried him away, and induced him to wish to declare himself a Christian before the heathen governor, and thus expose himself to death. Such was the feeling of the high-spirited and ardent young Christian; but the reasonable and soundly-informed man, who better understood the spirit of Christianity, and the doctrines and example of Christ, judged otherwise.† "A temptation, which comes upon us without our own co-operation," he says, in touching on this matter, "we must sustain with courage and with patience, but it is useless, when we can avoid it, not to do so." As the father of Origen was thrown into prison, the son felt himself still more strongly urged to join his father in death.‡ As all arguments and entreaties had proved fruitless, his mother was unable to retain him in any other way than by hiding his clothes. The love of Christ now so completely overwhelmed all other feelings within him, that when he found himself prevented in his first intention, of sharing the imprisonment and death of his father, he wrote to him thus: "Take care that thou changest not thy mind for our sakes."

Leonides suffered martyrdom; and his property being confiscated, he left behind him a helpless widow with six children, none of whom, except Origen, were grown up. He found a friendly reception in the house of a rich and well-esteemed Christian lady of Alexandria. A characteristic trait here showed his firmness in that which he acknowledged as the true faith, and how he prized it above all besides. His patroness had devoted herself to one of those Gnostics, who came so commonly out of Syria to Alexandria, and there propagated their systems, dressed up after the Alexandrian fashion,—one Paulus of Antioch. She had received him as a son, and allowed him to deliver lectures in her house, which were frequented not only by the friends of Gnosticism in Alexandria, but also by those of the orthodox, who were constantly desirous of learning something new. The young Origen, however, did not allow respect for his patroness to withhold him from speaking out freely his abhorrence of the Gnostic doctrines, and nothing could induce him to frequent these assemblies, because he would then have been obliged to join in the prayers of this Gnostic, and thus to testify his concurrence with him in matters of faith.

He was soon able to release himself from this state of dependence; his knowledge of the Greek language and literature, which he had improved still more after the death of his father, put him into a condition at Alexandria, where such knowledge was peculiarly prized, to gain his livelihood by instruction in these subjects.

As he had made himself known even among the heathens by his knowledge and intellectual endowments, by his zeal for the things of the Gospel, and by his pure and strict life, and as the office of a Catechist was vacant at Alexandria in consequence of the persecution, many heathens who were desirous of instruction in Christianity applied to him, and by this stripling those were brought to Christianity, who afterwards distinguished themselves as martyrs, or as teachers of the Church. By this activity of his in the propagation of Christianity, he must have constantly attracted to himself more and more the hatred of the fanatical multitude, especially as he, without regarding his own danger, showed such sympathy towards those who were imprisoned for faith, that he not only visited them frequently in their dungeons, but accompa-

* T. xv. Matth. Ed. Huet. f. 369. ἡμεις δε Χριστον Θεου τινος Λογον τινος Θεου κατα σαρκα και κατα φθωρον κατα ποτε γνωστας, νυν ουκατι γινωσκοντες.

† He appeals to Matth. xiv. 13; x. 23.

‡ In Matth. f. 231.

nied them to execution, and even in the face of death encouraged them by the strength of his faith and his love. Providence often saved him from imminent danger of his life, when soldiers had surrounded the house in which he was dwelling, and he was obliged to betake himself secretly from one house to another. Once a crowd of heathens seized him, put upon him the dress of a heathen priest of Serapis, and led him in this dress to the steps of the temple; and then gave him palm-branches, that he might distribute them, after the usual manner, to those who were entering into the temple. Origen said to those, to whom he offered the palm-branches, "Receive, not the palm of the heathen gods, but the palm of Christ."*

These effective exertions of Origen in the communication of religious instruction called the attention of Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria, to him, and moved him to bestow on Origen the office of a Catechist in the Alexandrian Church. At that time, however, no salary was attached to this office; and as he now wished to be able to devote himself entirely to the duties of his spiritual calling, and his theological studies, without being interrupted and called away by other employments, and as he was nevertheless desirous that he should be dependent on no one for his support, he sold a collection of beautiful manuscripts of old authors, which he had been at much pains to make for himself, to a lover of literature, who was to pay him for this library four oboli daily for many years. This must have been sufficient for the very limited personal wants of Origen, for he led the same kind of life as the strictest among the ascetics. He was, as we before observed, then devoted to a literal interpretation of Scripture; and, as he was actuated by a serious and sacred zeal to act up to the ideal of holiness set forth by our Saviour, and endeavoured with conscientious fidelity to apply to himself all the words of that Saviour, he must, in

the warmth of his youthful ascetic zeal, which was not accompanied by a sound and judicious interpretation of Scripture, have been led into many practical errors, where he understood literally the figurative expressions of Christ, or maintained as applicable to all times and circumstances, that which Christ had said only in reference to particular circumstances. The most remarkable error of this kind, which afterwards attracted much odium to him, was that he was induced, by a literal interpretation of the passage in Matth. xix. 12, to practise in his own case what he believed prescribed by these words to those, who wished to be quite certain of admission into the kingdom of heaven. It was a mistake which might easily arise from the partial views of asceticism, and from this kind of scriptural interpretation, and which was encouraged by many writings then in circulation.* But through this error there still shines forth conspicuously the earnest desire of this young man, so ardent in his zeal for holiness, as well as his intimate love for the Redeemer, whose every hint he wished to follow so literally. Although, however, such an error, proceeding as it did from that which is most holy in man, ought always to be judged most mildly; yet there are at all times many, who, having only one measure for all things, judge all eccentric excesses of this kind the more harshly, the farther that principle, from which alone such enthusiastic exaggeration could proceed, lies from their own carnal feelings, or their own sobriety of intellect. Origen speaks from his own experience when he speaks of those, who by such mistakes and errors have got to themselves shame and reproaches, not only among unbelievers,

* Philo, Opp. f. 186. ἐξενουχισθῆναι ἄμωμον, ἢ πρὸς συνουσίας ἐκνημούς λυτταίν. Again, one of the sentences (Gnomai) of Σέπτος then very current among the Alexandrian Christians, No. 12, (according to the translation of Rufinus,) omne membrum corporis, quod suadet to contra pudicitiam agere, abjiciendum. These Gnomæ certainly are neither the production of a Roman Bishop Sixtus (neither the first nor the second,) as Rufinus thought them, nor, as Jerome believed, (v. ep. ad Ctesiphon.) of a heathen Pythagorean, but they are the work of some person, who out of the Platonic and Gnostic sentiments, and by putting together detached passages of Scripture, had formed his own moral code, the highest aim of which was ἀπαθῆναι. A moral code interpenetrated by the essential principles of the Gospel is not to be found in them;—they consist of many elevated sentiments, joined with many distorted notions.

* See Epiphan. H. 64. This narrative may certainly, taken by itself, appear to be improbable, when we remember how such an address must have excited the fanatical rage of the Alexandrian multitude, and when we take into account the untrustworthiness of Epiphanius. But the first of these circumstances, although it may excite a doubt, is no decisive argument, and Epiphanius is entitled to more credit when he repeats any thing which tells to the advantage of one reputed to be a heretic.

but with those who would pardon every thing human, rather than such errors as proceed from a misinformed fear of God, and an immoderate desire after holiness.* When the Bishop Demetrius was first made acquainted with this circumstance, he honoured the *intention* even in the error, but he afterwards used this false step of Origen to his prejudice.

It would be of great importance if we could accurately determine the *time when*, and the *mode in which*, (to use the language of the Alexandrian school) the point of transition from *πιστις* to *γνωσις* was effected in Origen. According to what we have above remarked on the peculiar character of Clement's mind, we cannot doubt that if Origen had been a scholar of Clement himself, as a Theologian, he would have been incited by him from the first to make himself accurately acquainted with the systems of the Hellenic philosophers, and of the different heretics, as the liberal spirit of Alexandrian theology would require. But apparently Origen had originally a far more uncouth and a narrower turn. A literary education indeed accompanied his ascetic zeal and his inward Christian life, but it was unconnected with that which was the animating principle of that Christian life. He himself says, that he was first induced by an outward necessity to busy himself with the Platonic philosophy, and generally to acquaint himself more accurately with the systems of those who differed from him, namely, because heretics and philosophically educated heathens, attracted by his reputation, sought him for the purpose of conversation on religious subjects, and he was compelled to give them a reason of his faith, and to refute their objections to it. He expresses himself on the subject in the following manner in a letter, in which he justifies himself for being occupied with the Grecian philosophy: "When I had entirely devoted myself to the preaching of the Divine doctrines, and the reputation of my ability in these things had extended itself widely,—and sometimes heretics, sometimes persons who had pursued the Hellenic sciences, and especially men from the philosophical schools, came to me,—then it seemed necessary for me to investigate the doctrinal opinions of heretics, and what the philosophers pretended to know of truth." He adds, that he then frequented the lectures of "the

Teacher" of philosophical sciences, with whom Heraclas, a convert made by Origen, had passed five years. As he here indicates the person, who was commonly known at Alexandria by the name of "the Teacher of Philosophy," chronology naturally leads us to think of the celebrated Ammonius Saccas, through whose means the chaotic neo-platonic eclecticism, formed out of a mixture of Greek and oriental elements, obtained a more defined and settled form,—the master of the deep-thinking Plotinus. We may add, that Porphyry, in his work against Christianity, expressly calls Origen a scholar of this Ammonius.*

From this time the great change in the theological character of Origen unfolded itself. It was now his endeavour to seek out the traces of truth in all human systems, to investigate every thing, in order universally to distinguish falsehood from truth. His life at Alexandria, where so many sects of various kinds met together, his journey to Rome (A. D. 211,) his journeys to Palestine and about it, to Achaia, and Cappadocia, gave him an opportunity, as he himself says,† every where to seek out those who pretended to any peculiar knowledge, and to attain a knowledge of their doctrines, and a means of investigating them. It became his principle, not to allow himself to be governed by the traditional opinion of the multitude, but to hold fast as truth that only, which he found to be truth after an impartial investigation. He expresses this in the following manner, in a practical application of Matt. xxii. 19, 20. "We

* For there can be no doubt that Porphyry, in Euseb. vi. 19, speaks of no other than this Ammonius Saccas, although Eusebius confounds him with Ammonius, teacher of the Church, who wrote a harmony of the Gospels, which has been preserved, and a book on the Agreement between Moses and Jesus. At nearly the same period there were in Alexandria a *heathen* Ammonius, distinguished among the learned, a *Christian* Ammonius and Origen. When Porphyry elsewhere says of Origen: Έλλην η Έλλησι τινάδου λόγοι, προς το βεβηλιν έσκαλα τολμημα (he became a renegade, and joined the religion of the Barbarians,) one part alone of this account is true, namely, that Origen had, from the first, an education in Hellenic literature; but Porphyry is wrong in stating further that he was brought up in *heathenism*, which is notoriously false. We cannot suppose that Porphyry, who knew both the persons who bore the name of Origen should have made a confusion between the two.

† C. Cels. vi. 24. πολλους ινταρωθοντες τοπουσ της ης και τους πανταχου ιταρωθαιμενους τι ειδωαι ζητωσαντες.

learn here from our Saviour not to stand under a pretence of piety upon that which is said by the multitude, and is held, therefore, in great esteem, but upon that which proceeds from investigation, and from the internal connection of truth; for we must remark, that when he was asked whether it was lawful to give tribute to Cæsar or not, he did not simply express his opinion, but saying, 'Show me the tribute-money,' he inquired 'whose the image and superscription was;' and when they said that 'they were Cæsar's,' he answered, that they must render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and not defraud him, under the pretence of piety, of that which was his due.* Hence comes the mildness with which he could judge of those who are in error, as he expresses himself in this beautiful remark on St. John xiii. 8. "It is clear that, although Peter said this with a good and reverential feeling towards the Master, he said it still to his own shame. Life is full of this kind of sins, which happen to those who wish indeed to be right in their faith, but out of ignorance say, or even do, that which leads to the very contrary. Such are those who say 'touch not, taste not, handle not.† Coloss. ii. 21, 22. But what shall we say of those, who in sects are driven about by every wind of doctrine, who call that which is destructive holy, and who make to themselves false representations of the person of Jesus, in order, as they think, to honour him?‡"

By means of this liberality Origen succeeded in bringing back many heretics, whom he met at Alexandria, especially Gnostics, to the simple doctrines of the Gospel. A remarkable instance of this is furnished by the case of Ambrose, a rich man at Alexandria, who being dissatisfied by the manner in which Christianity was presented to him in the ordinary expositions of the doctrines of the Church, had sought and fancied that he had found a more spiritual conception of Christianity among the Gnostics, until he was undeceived by the influence of Origen, and rejoiced to find in that teacher the true Gnosis joined with faith.§ He became now the most zealous friend of Origen,

and endeavoured particularly to forward his literary labours for the advantage of the Church.

If Origen, after having learnt from his own experience the errors of a carnal and literal interpretation of Scripture, and the disadvantageous consequences resulting from it, passed over to the other error of an arbitrary allegorizing mode of explanation, he deserves on that account the greater esteem for his earnest and conscientious endeavours to use all the means of assistance, which could serve to restore the letter of Holy Writ to its original condition, and to understand it accurately. For this purpose, after arriving at the years of manhood, he learnt the Hebrew language, which must have been difficult to a Greek; he undertook a correction of the MSS. of the Bible by means of a collation of them; and he is the founder of a learned and scientific study of the Bible among Christians, although his arbitrary hermeneutical principles do not allow all the fruits, which otherwise might have been produced, to arise from it.

As now the number of those who sought religious instruction at his hands was constantly increasing, and at the same time his labours in biblical literature which became continually more extensive, laid more and more heavy demands upon him, in order to obtain more time, he shared his office of catechist with his friend Heraclas; he transferred to him the duty of giving the preparatory instruction in religion, and reserved for himself the more accurate instruction of those who were further advanced,* apparently with respect to both the classes of catechumens mentioned above. (See above.†)

The division of the duties of his office in this manner enabled him to enlarge the sphere of his exertions in public teaching with advantage to the Church. Persuaded of the utility of a thorough education in general knowledge for the right understanding of the Scriptures, and the right application of their contents, and persuaded also that this enlarged education would be the best and most efficacious antidote, as well to a too sensuous belief, as to the too capricious and fantastic theosophy of the Gnostics, he endeavoured to spread such an education

* c. Matt. f. 483.

† [There is an omission here of two or three lines of the original.—H. J. R.]

‡ In Joh. xxxii. § 5. [vol. ii. p. 380, 381. Ed. Huet.]

§ See the words addressed to Ambrosius, Tom. Evang. Joh. p. 99, as cited above.

* Euseb. vi. 15.

† [I apprehend Ncander here alludes to a note a few passages back. The two classes of catechumens are adult heathen converts, and Christian children.—H. J. R.]

among the young men who joined themselves to him. He delivered lectures as well on that which the Greeks called Encyclopædic education, as on philosophy. He explained to his scholars all the old philosophers, in whom there were moral and religious principles; and he endeavoured to form them to that freedom of mind, which should enable them everywhere to separate truth from the admixture of falsehood, and to preserve them also from becoming the slaves of a school or a system.* And in all that he did his ultimate aim was to point out to his scholars how they ought to use every thing to the service of Christianity, and consider every thing with reference to that which is Divine; and he endeavoured to instil into them the mind to do this. By these means he did great service towards promoting a more free and enlightened Christian education, as the school which originated from him will prove. He succeeded also in leading many, whom the love of learning alone had first brought to him, more and more to faith in the Gospel, by first raising up in them a longing after divine things, then proving to them the incompetence of the Greek systems of philosophy to satisfy the religious wants of man, and by presenting to them last of all the doctrines of Scripture about divine matters, and comparing these with the doctrines of the old philosophers. The completion of his instruction was thus his lectures on the explanation of Scripture, with which in his case, the whole range of theology, and all *Christian* philosophy, all, in short, which he understood under the name of Gnosis, was connected; by which means we must allow, although he awakened in his scholars, reverence and love to that which is Divine in Scripture, and preserved them from a mere dead knowledge of Scripture, he introduced much foreign matter into Scripture, and in part led his hearers away from its proper, simple, and at the same time profound, meaning, rather than conducted them to it. Many of those whom Origen was able to lead thus gradually to the knowledge and the love of Scripture, afterwards became zealous and successful teachers in the Church.

Ambrose, the above named friend of Origen, took peculiar interest in his

learned labours, and Origen used to call him his task-master. Not only did he, by his inquiries and demands, drive him to many investigations, but he made use of his own large fortune, in order to buy for his friend the means of pursuing many of them that were expensive; as, for instance, in those where the purchase and comparison of manuscripts was necessary. He gave him seven rapid writers, who were to take turns with each other in writing down from his dictation, and making a clear copy of all that was written. Origen, in a letter, says of this friend,* "He who gave me credit for great diligence and thirst after the Divine word, has, by his own diligence and love of holy learning, convinced himself of the contrary.† He has so completely surpassed me, that I am in danger of being unable to meet his demands. The comparison of manuscripts leaves me no time to eat, and after my meals I cannot go out, nor rest myself, but even at that time I am compelled to institute philological inquiries, and correct manuscripts. Even the night is not allowed me for sleep, but my philological inquiries occupy a considerable portion of it. I will not mention the time from early in the morning till the ninth, and sometimes even the tenth hour,‡ because all who have pleasure in such employments use this time for the study of the Divine word and reading."

Ambrose urged Origen, by making known his theological labours, to extend their utility to the whole Church, and thus to counteract the Gnostics, who had at first excited deeper inquiries after Divine things among the Christians, and then were enabled, under the pretext of a more profound interpretation of Scripture, to introduce their philosophy into the Holy Scriptures by means of arbitrary and allegorizing explanations. Origen himself attributes this latter object to his labours in the end of the fifth tomos of his Commentary on the Gospel of St. John, which was in part directed against the Gnostic Heracleon. "As now," he says, "the heterodox under the pretence of Gnosis, rise up against the holy Church, and propagate works consisting of many books, which promise explanations of the evangelic and apos-

* T. i. Opp. Ed. de la R. f. 3.

† [This is not quite an exact translation of the original, which rather means, 'has put me to shame, ἡσχέσατο, coarguit me.'—H. J. R.]

‡ 'Till three or four o'clock in the afternoon, according to our reckoning.

* His scholar, Gregory Thaumaturgus, has painted to us, in this point of view, the method of instruction pursued by Origen in an oration of his to be quoted hereafter.

tolic writings, they will, if we are silent, and set forth no true and sound doctrines, get dominion over the hungry souls, who, for want of wholesome food, run to that which is forbidden.*

He finished at Alexandria his Commentaries on Genesis, the Psalms, the Lamentations of Jeremiah (of which writings only fragments have been preserved,) his five first Tomi [i. e. sections,] on the Gospel of St. John, his Treatise on the Resurrection, his Stromata, and his work *περί ἀρχῶν*, i. e. probably not about the fundamental principles of the Christian faith, but about the origin of all Being,* a subject of which the controversies with the Gnostics particularly treated. The last-mentioned work became of especial importance by the struggles between opposite theological dispositions which it set on foot, and by the influence which it exerted over the fate of Origen and of his school. At that time, even more than at a later season, Platonic philosophy and the doctrines of the Christian faith were in him intermingled together; his caprice of speculation was afterwards more moderated by the influence of the Christian spirit, and many notions which he (although more in a problematic than a decisive manner,) had thrown out, he afterwards retracted, although the principles of his system remained always the same. He himself afterwards declared, in a letter to Fabianus, the Bishop of Rome, to whom his system had probably been denounced as heretical, that in this book he had brought forward much, which he now no longer considered true, and that his friend Ambrose had made the book known against his will.†

And yet, as it often happens, the dispute between Origen and the party of the Church zealots would not have come to an open rupture so soon, without an external occasion, and without the accession of personal and improper passions, especially as Origen was far from having *the pride*, which commonly so easily attaches itself to a theological turn of mind like his, and as he always shows so much tenderness towards those whose religious and theological views and condition are different from his own. The authority of his Bishop Demetrius was a great sup-

port to him; but this man, who was animated by the hierarchical pride, which we find subsisting at this age, especially among the Bishops of the great Metropolitan sees, was excited to jealousy against him, by the great reputation of Origen, and the honour which he obtained on particular occasions.

One especial cause of this jealousy was the honour showed to Origen by his two friends, Alexander, the Bishop of Jerusalem, the friend of his youth, and Theocistus, the Bishop of Cæsarea, in Palestine. It had already much embittered the proud Demetrius against them, that they had permitted Origen, as a layman, to preach in their Churches. (See Part 1.)* As, however, in obedience to the call of his bishop, he returned to Alexandria, he was enabled to renew his former friendly relations with him. But in the year 228 it happened that he travelled into Hellas,† on account of some ecclesiastical matters, of which we have no exact statement. On this journey he visited his friends in Palestine,—and they ordained him a presbyter at Cæsarea, in the year 228.

Demetrius could not forgive the two bishops and Origen for this transaction. After the return of Origen, he assembled a synod, consisting of the presbyters of his diocese, and of other Egyptian bishops, in which he used against Origen that extravagant act of his youth, by which he was, undoubtedly, according to the letter of the laws of the Church, excluded from the clerical profession.‡ But they

* There were apparently, in the year 216, hostile incursions upon Alexandria (according to Euseb. vi. 19.) which made then an abode there no longer safe for him—perhaps, when the fanciful Caracalla, departing for the Parthian war, gave up this town to plunder and to slaughter at the mercy of his soldiers (Æl. Spartian. vi. 6;) and one is inclined to think, that the rage of the heathen soldiers would peculiarly attack the Christians. Origen then betook himself to Palestine, to visit his old friends; and, as he himself says (Joh. t. vi. 24,) to investigate the spots which had been trodden by Jesus, by his apostles, and by the prophets. (*ἐπὶ ἱστορίαν τῶν ἰχθῶν Ἰησοῦ καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν προφητῶν.*)

† Perhaps he was called into these parts in order to dispute with the Gnostics who were spread about there, because it was known how much he was an adept in this business. His disputation with Candidus, the Valentinian, the Acts of which Jerome quotes, might lead us to this conclusion.

‡ It is in the highest degree probable that the ecclesiastical regulation which we find in xvii. of the *Canones Apostolici*, was then in existence. It was there, however, by no means unconditionally forbidden, in accordance with the law of the Old

* *ἀρχῶν ἀρχαίς*, in the language of Clement, means a discourse which relates to the doctrine of the *ἀρχαί*. See Strom. l. iv. 510, a. [Pott. Sylb.]

† See Hieronym. ep. 41. t. iv. opp. ed. Martianay.

ought to have considered, that he had become a different man since that time, and that he *had long condemned the step*, to which his youthful enthusiasm had led him. And yet he was for this deposed from the dignity of presbyter, which had been conferred upon him, and the administration of the office of public teaching in the Alexandrian Church was forbidden to him.* After he had once so strongly attracted to himself the jealousy and hatred of the pharisaical bishop, he could no longer find any peace in Alexandria. Demetrius did not content himself with this single attack upon him, but he began to cast the imputation of heresy on the doctrines of Origen; to which imputation, perhaps, the expressions of the latter in his disputes with the Gnostics had given some new occasion.†

Yet that which animated him, gave him tranquillity of mind enough to finish his fifth tomos on the Gospel of St. John, amidst the storms of Alexandria, (for, as he says,‡ Jesus commanded the storms and waves of the sea,) until at last he thought it advisable to leave Alexandria, and to betake himself to his friends at Cæsarea, in Palestine. But Demetrius pursued him even thither with his persecutions; and he laid hold of a matter as a pretext, wherein he could easily find associates, both in Egypt and out of it, since the prevailing doctrinal spirit in many parts of the Church was altogether hostile to the idealistic tendency of the school of Origen, and since the book *περι ἀρχῶν* was calculated to give occasion to so many accusations of heresy. In a more numerous synod of Egyptian bishops, Demetrius excommu-

nicated Origen, as a heretic, and the synod sent forth a violent decree against him. It is in reference to this, that when he began again at Cæsarea to continue his commentary on the Gospel of St. John, Origen says, that "God, who once led his people out of Egypt, had saved him also out of Egypt; but that his enemy had assailed him with the utmost bitterness by his recent letter, so utterly opposed to the Gospel, and that he had raised up all the pestilential winds of evil in Egypt against him.*"

* We are without connected and trustworthy accounts of these important transactions. We can only endeavour, by means of combining particulars, to trace the real progress of the matter. From the indications which Eusebius gives, and from the above-quoted words of Origen about the rash act of his youth, it is certain, that this was then used against him; but it could have been used as a ground only for excluding him from the clerical office. The other proceedings against him must have arisen from another accusation against him. Photius, who had read the Apology of Pamphilus for Origen, says, Cod. 118, that Demetrius made it a matter of reproach to him, that he had travelled to Athens without his permission, and during this journey, undertaken without his permission, had allowed himself to be ordained, which would certainly on the part of Origen, as well as of the bishop who ordained him, have been a violation of the laws of the Church. But supposing that Demetrius did make this accusation against Origen, we have still to inquire, whether he had the right to do so. We see from the quotation of Jerome de Vir. illustr. c. 62, that Alexander, the bishop of Jerusalem, in reply to Demetrius, might allege, that he had ordained Origen on the strength of an epistola formata, brought by him from his own bishop. The laws of the Church about these circumstances were then, perhaps, so indefinite, that Alexander might believe himself fully justified in ordaining a man, who was recommended to a foreign Church, and yet that Demetrius might see in this an invasion of the rights of his episcopal office. Be this as it may, even this could not be a sufficient ground for excommunicating Origen. The sympathy, which the attack upon him found in other Churches—the accusations of heresy against Origen which continued after his death—what he said afterwards in his own justification to Fabianus, the bishop of Rome, in the letter we have already cited, (as he had also written to other bishops in defence of his orthodoxy. See Eusebius, vi. 36.) all this points out, that *his opinions* [seine Dogmatik,] were the cause of his excommunication. We see also from what Jerome (l. ii. adv. Rufin. f. 411,) quotes out of the letter of Origen against Demetrius, that errors in the doctrines of the faith had been charged against him, as he defends himself against the accusation that he had maintained, that even Satan would hereafter be in bliss; although one cannot well perceive, how he could deny this conclusion, which is grounded by a necessary consequence on his system. Rufinus quotes passages out of a defence of Origen's, ad-

Testament, Deut. xxii., that any eunuch should enter into the clerical profession, but it was expressly appointed that one, whom such a misfortune might have befallen without his own instrumentality, might be allowed, if he was in other respects worthy, to become a clergyman; it was only *ὁ εὐνοὺς ἐκρωτηγισίας μὴ γινώσκων κληρικός*. It was only to put a stop to such ascetic enthusiasm.

* Photius, however, says that this synod had already forbidden Origen, not only to exercise the office of a teacher, but even to remain at Alexandria. And yet it is difficult to see, how a bishop at that time could effect the latter of these two things. He could only exclude him from the communion of the Church, and it was not until the second synod that this was done. Nor does the language of Origen appear to hint, that he was compelled to leave Alexandria.

† As we may conclude from the disputation with Candidus the Valentinian. Hieronym. adv. Rufin. f. 414, vol. iv.

‡ T. vi. Joh. § 1.

This personal contest became now a contest between the opposite opinions of two parties. The Churches in Palestine, in Arabia, Phœnicia and Achaia declared themselves for Origen, while the Roman Church declared herself against him.* The judgment which Origen himself formed of those who branded him with the name of heretic, will be seen from his expression in the following passage,† where after quoting 1 Cor. i. 25, he says, "Had I said, 'the foolishness of God,' how would those who love to accuse men of heresy,‡ have accused me! how should I, who had said a thousand things, which they themselves approve of, have been assailed for having said this one thing, 'the foolishness of God?'" In his defence against the synod, which had excommunicated him, he quotes the denunciations of the prophets against wicked priests and rulers, and then says, "We must pity them rather than hate them, pray for them rather than curse them, for we are created for blessing, and not for cursing."§

dressed to his friends at Alexandria, from which we see that a falsified report [protokoll] of a disputation held between him and the heretics, had excited astonishment in Palestine, even among his friends, at the opinions he expressed. They had sent a messenger to him at Athens, and begged him to send them the genuine original report. Even at Rome these adulterated copies had been propagated. See *Rufin. de Adulteratione Librorum Origenis*, in opp. Hieronym. t. v. ed. Martianay, f. 251. Even if Rufinus is not really a faithful translator, this cannot have been wholly invented by him. The disputes with the Gnostics would easily give an opportunity of bringing forward the peculiar religious opinions of Origen, and to those who had in him so powerful an antagonist, an opportunity of rendering his orthodoxy suspicious in his own Church, would be welcome enough.

* Hieronym. ep. 29, ad Paulam. Damnatu s a Demetrio episcopo, exceptis Palestinæ, et Arabiæ, et Phœniciæ, atque Achaïæ sacerdotibus. He certainly adds, non propter hæresin, sed quia gloriam eloquentiæ ejus et scientiæ ferre non poterant. But this is not a fact, it is only a subjective interpretation of motives, according to the bias which Jerome was under at that time. Compare also the remark made on the case of Tertullian.

† Hom. viii. in Jerem. § 8.

‡ ἡ φιλαια.

§ See l. c. Hieronym. iv. f. 411. Compare what Origen says against the importance [i. e. validity, the German is Bedeutung.—H. J. R.] of unjust excommunication. See above, page 136. Comp. also on Matt. f. 445, where Origen, applying the passage in Matt. xxi. 16, to the bishops of his own time, says: "As these priests and scribes are blamable according to the

The enemies of Origen were destined to contribute to the farther extension of the sphere of his exertions; his change of residence to Palestine was assuredly followed by important consequences; because an opportunity was thus afforded to him, of effecting also from that point the propagation of a liberal and enlightened spirit in the Church; and the traces of his exertions are to be found for a long time in these regions. Here also he collected a body of young men around him, who educated themselves for theologians and teachers of the Church under his influence; among whom was Gregory, who afterwards became so remarkably active in the preaching of the Gospel. (Of him we shall afterwards speak more particularly.) He continued here also his literary labours. Among other works he composed here his already mentioned treatise on the use of prayer and on the explanation of the Lord's Prayer, which he addressed to his friend Ambrose. He was here in a personal communication with the most distinguished teachers of Cappadocia, Palestine, and Arabia, and was constantly called upon to give his advice in deliberations on any novel circumstances in the Church.

As, under the persecution of Maximinus

letter of this history, so according to spiritual application, are also many high priests worthy of blame, who adorn not the name of the episcopal rank by their lives, and have not clothed themselves with *light and truth*. (Exod. xxviii.) These, while they behold the wonders of God, despise the little ones and babes in the Church, who praise God and his Christ, and they are angry at their advances in godliness, and they accuse them to Jesus, as doing wrong, while they really do no wrong; and they say to him, Hearst thou what these say? And we shall understand this the better, if we consider, how it often happens that men of an ardent spirit, who brave imprisonment by their bold confession of faith before the heathen, who despise danger, and resolutely lead a strict life of abstinence and celibacy; how it happens that such men, being rude in speech* (*ἰσχυροὶ τῇ λέξει*), are calumniated by the blame-worthy high priests as disorderly, and how they are accused by them before Jesus, as if their own conduct was better than that of these zealous and simple children! But Jesus gives his testimony to the children, and, on the contrary, accuses the high priests of ignorance, when he says, Have ye not read this, 'out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast prepared praise?'" Well might Origen here set before his mind the image of Demetrius, and other bishops like him, who were inclined to judge the errors of a pious enthusiasm with extreme severity.

* [In literis vero ignari. *Lat. Translator*—II. J. R.]

Thrax, the friends of Origen, the Presbyter Protectus of Cæsarea himself, and Ambrose, had much to suffer; he addressed to these men, who were as confessors, in prison awaiting the termination of their sufferings, his treatise on *Martyrdom*, in which he exhorts them to steadfastness in their confession, and endeavours to hold them up by the promises of Scripture, and to refute the sophistry of which many Gnostics, as well as heathens, who considered religion as an affair of state, made use in order to persuade the Christians that, without any prejudice to their belief, which no man wished to take from them, they might satisfy the demands of the laws of the state, in regard to the external things of religion. But in this book the prevalent tone is at times more the spirit of that philosophically ascetic, and dehumanizing morality, than the spirit of that evangelical morality, which sanctions all that is pure in human nature, and unites the consciousness of God's quickening power with the feeling of human weakness;* and we find also in the same work the false notions of the *opus operatum* of martyrdom, to which we have before alluded; and yet with all this the force of his faithful confidence and his evangelical zeal for the faith is beautifully expressed in it. He says to the two confessors:† "I desired also, that, during the whole of the present struggle, you should rejoice and be glad, when you remember the great recompense, which is laid up in heaven for those who suffer persecution and shame for righteousness' sake, and for the sake of the Son of Man, as the apostles of old rejoiced, that they were counted worthy to suffer shame for the name of Christ. But if at any time you feel anxiety in your soul, let the Spirit of Christ, that dwells in you, speak to it thus, when she for her part would trouble him, 'Why art thou cast down, O my soul! and art so disquieted within me? Trust in God, for I will give thanks to him, soasmuch as he helps me with his countenance,' Ps. xlii. 6. . . Let it [never] be troubled! but even before the tribunal

itself, and while the naked sword impends over the neck, let it be guarded by the peace of God, which passeth all understanding."* He says to them in another passage,† "Since the Word of God is lively and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, and penetrates even to the dividing asunder soul and spirit, marrow and bone, and is a judge over the thoughts and the faculties of the heart, Heb. iv. 12; this Divine Word now bestows on our souls the peace which passeth all understanding, which it once shed over the souls of apostles, but it has thrown the sword between the earthly and the heavenly form within us, in order that, for the present, it may take our heavenly man to itself; and hereafter, when we are so far advanced, as to need no farther dividing,‡ it may make us altogether heavenly. And he is come, also, to bring not only a sword on earth, but the fire also, of which he says, "I would that it were already kindled," Luke xii. 49. Let then this fire be kindled also in you, and let it consume all your earthly thoughts, and be ye baptized with the baptism, whereof Jesus spoke.§ And thou also! (Ambrose) who hast both wife and children, and brethren and sisters, remember the words of the Lord: 'if any man cometh to me, and hateth not father, mother, wife, children, brethren, sisters, he cannot be my disciple.' But both of you remember also the words, 'If any man cometh to me and hateth not also his own life, he cannot be my disciple.'"

It was, perhaps, this very persecution, which moved Origen to leave for a time the place, which hitherto had been his abode. Since the persecution, as we have before remarked, was only local, it was easy to obviate it by a flight to regions where tranquillity at that moment prevailed. Origen betook himself to Cæsarea in Cappadocia, to his friend, the Bishop Firmilianus, with whom he was in the habit of communicating on subjects of theological learning.||

But, probably, exactly about the time that he had settled there, the above-mentioned persecution (see above) in Cappadocia broke out, and he was induced by

* In proof of this assertion we may particularly appeal to the manner, in which Origen explained so artificially the simple sense of those words of Christ, which he spoke in his agony, and which the spirit we allude to would not allow him to conceive in their natural meaning, § 29. [pp. 189—191, in Wetstein's Edition of the Dial. cont. Marcion. et alia opuscula. Basileæ, 1673.—H. J. R.]

† § 4. [p. 165. Ed. Wetstein.]

* § 37. [p. 201. Ed. Wetstein.]

† He applies this passage to the Logos.

‡ No separation of holiness from ungodliness.

§ Luke xii. 50.

|| They used sometimes to visit each other, in order to converse on theological subjects. Euseb. vi. 27.

it, to withdraw into the house of Juliana, a Christian lady, who for two years kept him hidden in her house, and maintained him. He there made a discovery of great importance to his literary undertakings. For some years he had already busied himself *with a work, the object of which* was, as well to correct the text of the Alexandrian version of the Old Testament (which was then the translation prevalent in the Church, and was looked upon by many Christians, in consequence of the old Jewish legend, as inspired, and the MSS. of which differed very much from each other in their readings,) as also to promote the improvement of the translation itself, by comparing it with other old translations, and with the Hebrew original. Origen, who constantly disputed much on religious subjects with heathens and Jews, had learnt, as he himself says, how necessary a knowledge of the original text of the Old Testament was, in order not to give openings to the Jews, for they were in the habit of ridiculing the ignorance of the heathen converts, who disputed with them, when they quoted such passages from the Alexandrian version, as did not exist in the Hebrew, or when they knew nothing of those, which were only to be found in the Hebrew.* He had therefore made use of the fortune of his friend Ambrose, and of his own frequent journeys, in order to collect different manuscripts of the Alexandrian version and other old translations, wherever he could find them. He had for instance, in rummaging every where, found at Jericho in a barrel, an old translation of some books of the Old Testament, which was elsewhere unknown. Now it happened that his protectress Juliana had inherited the writings of the Ebionite Symmachus, who possibly lived about the beginning of that century, and he found in her house a commentary by this writer on the εὐαγγέλιον καθ' Ἑβραίους,† and a trans-

lation made by him also of the Old Testament.* He was now enabled to complete his great work of a collection of the then existing translations of the Old Testament, and a comparison of them with the Hebrew text.†

After the murder of the Emperor Maximinus, Origen was able under Gordianus, A. D. 238, to return again to Cæsarea, and there again to begin his former course of activity.

As he had once before, on account of

the Gospel according to St. Matthew (that is to say, probably, on the εὐαγγέλιον καθ' Ἑβραίους which resembled St. Matthew's) from which he endeavoured to establish the Ebionitish doctrines.

* Palladius (in the beginning of the fifth century) relates in his history of Monachism (λαυσιακά,) ch. 147, that he had found in an old manuscript which had descended from Origen, the words written by Origen himself, in which he narrated the circumstance mentioned in the text. This Palladius, however, in consequence of his credulousness, is a very suspicious witness, but in the present case we have no grounds to suspect his evidence, especially since it harmonizes well with the account given in Eusebius, vi. 17.

† The Hexapla. It would be foreign to our purpose to enlarge on this and similar works of Origen, for information on which we must refer to the Introductions to the Old Testament. We only quote here the words of Origen himself on the comparison instituted by him between the Alexandrian version and the other old translations of the Old Testament. After he has spoken (Comment. in Matth. f. 381. Ed. Huet.) of the differences between the copies of the New Testament, which had arisen, partly from the negligence of transcribers, and partly from their boldness in assuming a critical liberty of correcting the text, he adds the following words: "As far as relates to the difference between the copies of the Old Testament, we have found by God's assistance a mode of remedying this inconvenience, by using the other translations as a criterion. Whenever any thing was doubtful in the version of the LXX. by reason of a difference in the manuscripts, we have constantly retained that which agreed with the rest of the translations, and we have marked a great deal, which was not found in the Hebrew, with an *obelus* (the critical mark to denote an omission) because we did not venture to leave it out entirely. We have added also some passages with the mark of an *asterisk*, to denote, that we have added these passages, which are not found in the LXX., from the other translations, in accordance with the Hebrew, and that he *who is inclined to do so, may receive them into the text* (I think we must read *προσεται**) but he, who is offended at them, may receive them or not, just as he pleases." [Comp. Ep. ad African. p. 226, Ed. Wetstein.—H. J. R.] From these latter words we see how much Origen had to fear those, who were ready to charge every one, who deviated from that which had been received, with falsification of the Holy Scriptures.

* Origen. Ep. ad African. § 3. ταῦτες οὕτως ἡμῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς ζητήσεσι παρασκευῆς, οὐ καταφρονήσουσιν, οὐδ' ὥς ἴδιος αὐτοῖς, γράσσονται τεύ: ἀπο τῶν ἰθὺς πιστευόντας, ὥς τ' ἀληθὴ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀναγγραμμένα ἀνέκοντα.

† The following words of Eusebius, vi. 17, on the work of Symmachus (which he afterwards reckons among his ἑρμηνεύς εἰς τὰς γράφας: "ἐν αἷς δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαίου ὑποτινόμενος εὐαγγέλιον τὴν δεδηλωμένην αἵρεσιν (τῶν Ἑβραίων) ἀρατύνει;" from the context can hardly be taken to mean, as Valesius makes them, that Symmachus endeavoured to maintain the Ebionitish doctrines *against* the Gospel of St. Matthew; but they must be understood to mean, that he wrote a commentary on

* [The common reading is *προσεται*.—H. J. R.]

some ecclesiastical affairs, been sent for from Alexandria by the Churches of Greece, which esteemed him most highly, the same thing apparently took place again. His way led him through Nicomedia in Bithynia, where he stayed some days with his old friend, Ambrose; who, if the account of Jerome is correct, had in the mean time become a deacon, although it does not appear whether Ambrose had employment in the Church of that city, or had only come thither in order to meet Origen. He there received a letter from one of his friends? Julius Africanus,* one among the distinguished Christian men of learning of this period. It appears that Origen, at a conversation which took

place in the presence of Africanus, had cited the history of Susannah on the authority of the Septuagint version, as a genuine piece belonging to Daniel. Africanus expressed to him his surprise at this in a letter, distinguished alike by the moderate, delicate, and learned tone of its argument, and by its unprejudiced criticism, and he begged him to enter into a farther discussion of the subject. Origen answered him from Nicomedia, in a very elaborate writing. Not so unprejudiced as Africanus, he endeavoured to defend the authority of the Alexandrian version and collection of the Holy Scriptures. It is remarkable to observe how the free, inquiring spirit of Origen, from a mistaken piety, and perhaps also from being made fearful in consequence of the troubles which he had involuntarily caused in the Church, fell back upon the authority of a Church tradition, which was supposed to be under the guidance of God; he says,* “But hath not that Providence, which has given edification in the Holy Scripture to all the Churches of Christ, taken care also for those who have been bought with a price, for whom Christ died, whom [i. e. Christ] though he was his own Son, God, being love itself, spared not; but gave him up for us all, that with him he might give us all things.†

* He was a man far advanced in years, as will appear immediately from his being able to address Origen, at that time a person of fifty years of age, by the title of ‘my son.’ He seems to have fixed his usual residence in the old decayed town of Emmaus, or Nicopoli, in Palestine (as it was afterwards called by the Romans in order to distinguish it from the Emmaus of the New Testament, it being more distant from Jerusalem than the latter; namely, about 176 stadia.) The inhabitants of this decayed place chose him as their delegate to the Emperor Heliogabalus, to effect the restoration of their town by this emperor, which he obtained for them. Hieronym. de Vir. Illust. c. 63. He is known as the first Christian compiler of a history of the world (his *χρονολογια* in five books, see Eusebius, vi. 31.) This work which is only known to us by the quotations of other writers, and fragments, proceeded from an intention to compose something of an apologetic nature. He is known also to us, by his letter to Aristides on the solution of the difference between the genealogies of Jesus as given by St. Matthew and St. Luke, of which a portion is preserved by Eusebius, Hist. i. 7. Another remarkable fragment of this letter has been published by Routh, Reliquiæ Sacræ, vol. ii. p. 115. In that he combats those, who maintained that these different genealogies were given, in order to show clearly in this way the truth, that Jesus is both a King and a High priest, as being descended from a royal and a priestly race. He here also declares himself expressly against the theory of a *fraus pia*. “May such an opinion never prevail in the Church of Christ that a falsehood has been invented for the glory of Christ!” *μη δε κρατιον τιμωρις λογος, εν εκκλησια Χριστου, ουτι ψευδος συζηταται εις αινην και δοξαλαζιον Χριστου.* Eusebius ascribes a work to him, which, under the name of *κωσμου*, contains a kind of literary miscellany, according to the then mode of unscientifically mingling together a variety of historical materials. And yet among the fragments of this work, which are ascribed to him, there is much which does not suit the views and principles, which we are accustomed to ascribe to this man, from what we learn of him elsewhere. The most natural supposition is, that he wrote that work before his habits of thought had become decidedly Christian.

* C. 4. [p. 227. Ed. Wetstein.]

† These are arguments by which a free investigation of the canon of Scripture,—an inquiry, I freely grant, which ought, like all theological inquiries, to be animated by a spirit of piety,—has often been opposed. But the arguments of Origen only prove that God, who revealed in Christ his unspeakable love to man, without doubt must have provided for all the wants implanted by himself in human nature. But the mode, in which he has provided for them, must not be determined *a priori* in accordance with the prejudices of any existing system of opinions (einer stehenden dogmatik,) nor according to the measure of the limited faculties, the little faith, or the dulness of man. Nay, after all, a mode by which truth comes forth victorious from the contest with error, after a free inquiry, may be the mode most consonant to human nature itself. It may be the plan of Providence, that Faith should fight the battle out herself without any external support, by means of its own inward and Divine power, by means of its own attractive power over the inmost heart of man. The incorrect conclusion, drawn from these correct premises, would, if consistently carried out, lead to the supposition of an outward visible Theocracy constantly guiding mankind, as in a state of infancy, as alas! in after times the conclusion was pushed to this point. But it is far rather true that human nature, in consequence of having had every thing given to it in Christ, has

Consider, therefore, whether it is not good to remember these words, 'Remove not the boundaries which thy fathers have made.'* (Prov. xxii. 28.) He says then, "that although he has not neglected the other old translations, he has yet bestowed his chief industry upon the Alexandrian version, in order that it might not seem as if he wished to introduce a spurious innovation into the Church, and in order that he might give no handle to those who sought for opportunities, and who desired to calumniate those men, who were well known, and had obtained stations of eminence in the Church."† Athens was the point to which the journey of Origen tended; he stayed there some time, finished his commentary on Ezekiel, and began that on the Song of Solomon.‡

Till the end of his life he busied himself in theological labours; and during the reign of Philip the Arabian, with whose family he was connected, he wrote the work against Celsus, which we have already mentioned, his Commentary on St. Matthew, &c. He now permitted for the first time, being sixty years of age, his sermons to be taken down by short hand writers. In what reverence he was held we may see clearly from the fact, that he was called into council by synods of bishops in weighty ecclesiastical affairs, on which people could not come to a decision; and we have already spoken of the manner in which Beryllus, the Bishop of Bostra, in Arabia, received instruction at his hand. We must, however, still mention, that among the Christians of Arabia at that time a party had caused a controversy, by maintaining that the souls died with the body, and that they would

be raised again only at the general resurrection at the same time with the bodies. It was an old Jewish notion (see above,) that immortality was not founded upon the nature of the soul, but a peculiar gift of Divine grace; a representation which had been transferred from Judaism to Christianity, traces of which we find in the theory of the Gnostics about the nature of the Psychici, in the doctrine of the Clementine, and in the *opinions* of Justin and Tatian. Perhaps also in this district, the position of which placed it in close connexion with Jews, it was no new doctrine, but the predominant one from ancient times; and perhaps the influence of Origen (in whose system the doctrine of the natural immortality of the soul necessarily obtained a place,) first effected the change that this latter should obtain universal acceptance among the Church-teachers of that district; and that the small party, which still maintained the old opinion, should appear heretical, although the predominant opinion had previously really pronounced itself against it* [the new opinion.] Hence we may understand, how the convocation of a *Great Synod* was considered necessary, in order to allay these controversies. When they were unable to agree, Origen was invited by the Synod, and his influence prevailed upon the opposers of the doctrine of the natural immortality of the soul to acknowledge their error, and renounce it.

Origen, who on account of his individual opinions was considered as an heretical opposer of the evangelical doctrines of the Christian faith, was destined in the last days of a life, consecrated to labouring and struggling for that which he believed to be the cause of Christ, to confute by facts the accusations of his enemies, and to show how he was ready to sacrifice every thing to his faith, and how he belonged to those who are ready to hate even their own lives for the sake of the Lord.

As the fury of the enemies of Christianity in the *Decian* persecution fell chiefly upon *those persons*, who were distinguished among the Christians by their offices, their virtues, or their knowledge,

* Eusebius (vi. 37,) may perhaps judge the controversies of this period too much according to his own subjective doctrinal system, and according to the Church-orthodoxy of his own times, when he represents the maintainers of this opinion as generally acknowledged teachers of heresy, and propagators of a new opinion.

grown up to the maturity of the years of manhood.

* These words, which, taken as an unconditional and unlimited rule of life, have so often since those times been used in support of old errors to the prejudice of pure evangelical truths, contain the same principle, which the religio a majoribus tradita of the heathen at first opposed to the new Gospel. See the First Part of this work. The truth victorious through her Divine power—the answer, that could not be refused, to inquiries based on the inmost being of human nature,—the satisfaction of undeniable wants, required by human nature itself,—this needed no *prejudice* for its support, no *prejudicium*, no *pæscriptio antiquitatis*.

† ἵνα μὴ τι παρὰ χρεῖστας δοκῇ μὲν τὰς ὑπο τῶν ὠρανῶν ἐκκλησιαίς καὶ προφασίς δίδωμι τοῖς ζήτουσιν ἁρεσμάς, ἰθαυτοὶ τοὺς ἐν μέσῳ συκοφαντῶν καὶ τῶν διαφανέμενων ἐν τῷ κινῶν κατήχησιν.

‡ Euseb. vi. 32.

and their activity in the propagation of the faith,* so it was natural that a man like Origen, should be especially a mark for fanatical cruelty. After a steadfast confession he was thrown into a dungeon, and it was endeavoured, according to the plan pursued in the Decian persecution, to triumph over the weakness of age by refined and gradually increasing tortures. But the faith, which he bore in his heart, supported the feebleness of his age, and enabled him to bear all the trials to which they put him. After he had endured so much,† he wrote from his prison a letter full of comfort and encouragement for others. The circumstances already related, (see above,) which in part softened this persecution, and in part entirely put an end to it, obtained at last for Origen also freedom and tranquillity. And yet the sufferings undergone by him, perhaps, contributed to hasten his death. He died about the year 254, aged sixty-nine.‡

The influence of Origen on the formation of a theological system did not continue bound up in his own person, but remained and developed itself independently of him, by means of his writings and his disciples, but not without a continuing contest with the opposite dispositions of the human mind. The friends of Chiliasm, of the carnal and literal interpretation of Scripture, and the anthropomorphical and anthropopathical mode of representing Divine things connected with such a system of interpretation, and the zealots for the letter of the doctrinal tradition of the Church, were enemies of

the Origenistic school. The contest between these opposing principles is the source of the most marking phenomena for the theological development of the latter portion of this period. We shall here first throw a glance upon the Church, which was the original scene of the activity of Origen, namely, the *Alexandrian* and the *Egyptian Church*.

Origen had left behind him disciples in this district who continued to work on in his spirit, although with a greater degree of speculative moderation. The bishop Demetrius, as is shown by what precedes, was rather a personal enemy to Origen than an enemy to his theological opinions. The opposition made by him to these was, apparently, in his case, only a pretext. He, therefore, allowed the disciples of Origen to continue their operations undisturbed, and he himself died soon after the breaking out of these controversies in the same year, 231.

Heraclas, the friend and scholar of Origen already mentioned, who after his [Origen's] departure had become the head of the Catechetical school, was made successor to Demetrius in the Episcopal office. In the year 247, Heraclas was succeeded in his office of Catechist, and afterwards as bishop, by Dionysius, another worthy disciple of Origen, who constantly retained his love and reverence for his master, to whom when in prison, (see above,) during the Decian persecution, he wrote a letter of consolation. This man, as he himself says, had come to a belief in the Gospel through the method of *free investigation*, by giving an unprejudiced and thorough examination to all systems; and hence he remained true to this principle, even as a Christian and a Church-teacher. He read and examined in an unprejudiced manner all writings of the heretics, and rejected their systems only after having learned to know them accurately, and after having placed himself in a condition to confute them on just grounds. A presbyter of his Church warned him against the evil, which might happen to his soul from his employing himself so repeatedly with these godless writings. But the Spirit of God gave him confidence enough not to allow himself to be frightened at this danger. He believed that he heard a voice which said to him, "Read all that falls into your hands, for you are able to judge, and to examine every thing, and this has been to you from the very beginning a source of faith."

* The personæ insignes.

† Euseb. vi. 39.

‡ Euseb. vii. 2. According to Photius, cod.

118, there were two accounts of the death of Origen, which differed both as to its circumstances, and the time of its occurrence. Pamphilus and many others, who had been personally acquainted with Origen, related that he died at Cæsarea as a martyr in the Decian persecution. Others related that he lived to the times of Gallus and Volusianus, and then died at Tyre, and was buried there; and the truth of this latter account was testified by the letters written by Origen after the persecution, of the genuineness of which, however, Photius was not decidedly convinced. But after that, which Eusebius, who certainly followed the account of his friend and instructor Pamphilus, says in the above cited passage of his Church History, it can hardly be supposed that Pamphilus really gave the account alluded to by Photius. Perhaps Photius may have misunderstood Pamphilus, when by the term Martyrdom he meant only a confession under torture, or when he spoke of the consequences of those sufferings as affecting Origen.

Dionysius was strengthened by this encouragement in his resolution, and he thought it corresponded with that precept of the Lord to those who are strong, which is found in an Apocryphal Gospel, "Be ye able money-changers?" (*γινεσθε δοκιμοὶ τραπέζιται,*) that is to say, be capable of distinguishing genuine from counterfeit coins.*

We have already on different occasions given examples of the liberal mind and moderation of this man, and of the blessed effects produced by it. His Christian moderation and mildness are shown also in his letter to an Egyptian bishop, named Basilides, which contains answers to inquiries concerning circumstances relative to the discipline, and the rites of the Church.† The letter of Dionysius to this bishop, who was subordinate to him, concludes thus: "Thou hast not laid these inquiries before me, as if thou wert ignorant in the matter, but in order to do me honour, and that I might be of the same mind with you, as indeed I am. I have stated and explained my opinion to you not as a teacher, but in all the openness with which we must speak to each other. But it is now your business to judge about the matter; and write to me then what seems to you better, or whether you are yourself satisfied that this is right."‡

* Dionysius, in his letter to the Romish Bishop Philemon, (Euseb. vii. 7.) appeals to a heavenly vision and to a heavenly voice. He speaks of the thing so simply, and betrays so little design, that we should do him an injustice to charge him with what is called a *fraus pia*, although the somewhat lax principles of the Alexandrian school in this respect (a laxity which is connected with their distinction between two different conditions with regard to religion) might favour such an accusation; but we must here take into the account also, that these pious men certainly were better guided by the Christian spirit which animated them, than by their theoretical principles. It may easily be explained in a psychological way, by supposing that the truth, which the Spirit of God caused him to acknowledge, presented itself again to his imagination in this form, perhaps in a dream. The manner in which he speaks of it seems, however, to indicate that he himself was not so firmly convinced of the Divine nature of the vision, as of the truth of its purport, and of the declaration of Christ, his words being these: *ἀπέβλεψα μὲν το ἱερῆμα, ὡς ἀποστολικὴ φωνὴ συντρέχει, τῇ λαύσει, &c.*

† Which letter maintains, in the Greek Church, a lawful reverence as an *ἐπιστολὴ καθολικὴ*. The fragments which remain of it were last published by Routh, *Reliquiæ Sacre*, vol. ii.

‡ A larger fragment of the work of this Dionysius "On Nature," in which he defends faith in Providence against the Atomic theory of the

Afterwards also, in the last period of the third century, Pierius and Theognostus distinguished themselves as teachers of the Alexandrian Church. In the fragments of their works, (preserved in Photius,) we recognise the peculiar doctrines of Origen.

We have already remarked, that in Egypt itself an opposition existed between an *Origenistic* and an *anti-Origenistic* party. We find this opposition in the fourth century, especially among the Egyptian monks, occurring again, and the parties named *Anthropomorphites* and *Origenists*. Perhaps also this opposition among the Egyptian monks is to be derived from the time of which we have just been speaking. There were, indeed, at this time no monks; but as early as the end of the third century there were in Egypt assemblies of ascetics, who lived in the country.* Among these Egyptian ascetics there appeared a man at the end of this period, by name Hieracas, who was reckoned among the heretics in the times that followed, because men judged of him from the position assumed by the Church system of doctrine, as this had formed itself in the fourth century, but who, during his lifetime, would hardly have been considered as a heretic.† As far as we can become acquainted with his turn of mind, and his doctrines, from the fragmentary accounts preserved of him, for which we are chiefly indebted to Epiphanius,‡ he had in his peculiar views much that was akin to the Origenistic school, and it may be the case that he himself was originally of that school; but we nevertheless find no such similarity of doctrines, that it cannot be explained any other way. Views similar to these might easily be formed also in other parts of Egypt.

Hieracas lived in the town of Leontopolis§ in Egypt, as an ascetic; and, according to the practice of ascetics, he procured for himself what was necessary for his livelihood, and means for the ex-

Epicureans, is preserved to us by Eusebius in the xivth Book of his *Præparatio Evangelica*, and it is printed in Routh, l. c. vol. iv.

* As we may perceive from the Life of Antony in Athanasius. More will be said on this subject in the following period.

† On this account—as in this work we can conceive the notion of heresy only in its historical signification, we have not reckoned Hieracas among the heretics, as is usually done.

‡ Hæres. 67.

§ Unless, perhaps, he was at the head of an ascetic body in the neighbourhood of that town.

ercise of his benevolence, by an art which was much prized, and much used in Egypt, that of *fine penmanship*, in which he was skilful, both as regarded the Greek and the Coptic character. He must have lived to beyond the age of ninety years, which may easily be explained from his simple mode of life, and to his very end was in possession of his faculties, and, therefore, was able to exercise his art to the latest hours of his life. He was equally acquainted with the Greek and the Coptic literature; and from this very cause it may have happened, that he mingled with Christianity many elements foreign to it, drawn from both those classes of literature. He wrote commentaries on the Bible both in the Coptic and the Greek language, and composed many hymns for the Church.

He was addicted to the allegorizing interpretation of Scripture, which was closely connected with a certain theosophical disposition. Like Origen he explained the account of Paradise in an allegorical manner, and denied a material [*sinnliches*, sensuous] Paradise. Probably, like Origen, he considered Paradise as the symbol of a higher world of spirits, from which the heavenly Spirit sunk down through an inclination for earthly matter. But as men were by no means of one mind as to what was to be understood symbolically in that narrative, and what literally, and also as nothing had been finally settled (see above) in the prevailing doctrine of the Church on the origin of souls, and, besides, as the peculiar opinions of Origen had at that time in the Egyptian Church many considerable advocates, he could not have been generally set down as a heretic on that account.

From that theory of his concerning the incorporation of the heavenly Spirit, which sunk down to a union with matter, it may easily be explained how Hieracas must have despised the earthly material body, and have made its renunciation and mortification* the chief business of Christian morality, and how he must have contended against the doctrine that the soul once freed, should again at the Resurrection become enclosed in this prison-house of the body. In regard to

the last subject, he may very possibly have held that the soul would become enveloped with a higher organ of ethereal matter (a *σῶμα πνευματικόν*.) And this opinion also he might dress up in such a manner that he could not be said exactly to reject the doctrine of a resurrection of the body, but only to explain it after his own views.

As far as regards the first point, he pronounced that an unmarried life of continence was an essential element in true Christian perfection. In the recommendation of celibacy he placed the characteristic difference between the moral position of the Old and of the New Testament. Hieracas discovers the traces of those false views of the nature of morality, and of the requirements of the moral law from human nature, (according to which it might be supposed that this moral law could be so easily fulfilled, and men could do even more than it required, viz. the opera supererogationis,) when he inquires, "What new thing, then, has the doctrine of the only-begotten One introduced? what new good hath he planted in mankind? The Old Testament has already treated of the fear of God, of envy, of covetousness, &c. What new thing then remains, if it be not the introduction of celibacy?" This inquiry, we must acknowledge, shows that Hieracas had no right conception either of the requirements of the moral Law, or, which is closely connected with it, of that which Christ is as the Redeemer of mankind, and of the nature of redemption. From the view of human nature, and of the requirements of the moral Law upon it, which we find here set forth, a doctrine might easily be deduced, according to which man has no need of a Redeemer. But it would be unjust on that account to ascribe to Hieracas the doctrine that Christ was only the founder of a more perfect moral system, and not the Redeemer of mankind. A zealots Montanist might have said something similar to what Hieracas advanced. And traces of these false ethical and anthropological views, are besides found also at this season, and particularly among the Alexandrians.

By means of passages, detached from their context, in the 7th chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, he endeavoured to prove that St. Paul had permitted marriage only out of a regard for the weakness of men, and only to avoid a worse evil in the case of those who

[* *Entausserung*. Perhaps a stronger phrase would more nearly translate Neander's word. It seems to express such a system of self-denial as would almost free us from the body, even while we are in it.—H. J. R.]

were weak. In the parable of the virgins, Matt. xxv., he neglected the rule of interpretation, which indicates that we are not to seek a resemblance in every particular, but only in the points of comparison; and he concluded from that parable that here *virgins* only were named, and that only unmarried persons could attain to a participation in the kingdom of heaven. In his application of the passage, in which it is said, that "without holiness no man can see God," Heb. xii. 14, he sets out from his presumption that the nature of holiness consists in a life of celibacy.

As Hieracas himself admits that St. Paul permitted marriage to those who are weak, it follows, that he by no means unconditionally condemned married Christians and excluded them from the number of Christians. It may be the case, that persons drew too large conclusions from many of his exaggerations in his recommendation of celibacy. Or else, when he said that only those who lived in celibacy could attain to the kingdom of heaven, he must by that expression have understood not the blessedness of heaven generally, but only the highest grade of it; which doctrinal expression, as peculiar to himself, appears likely to have been thus used, from what we are now about to observe.

In virtue of his ascetic disposition Hieracas laid particular stress on this point, viz. every one was to obtain for himself a participation in the kingdom of heaven by his own moral endeavours, and his own ascetic strictness. This point, the laying particular stress on man's own endeavours, was also altogether in accordance with the Alexandrian views. Now Hieracas, setting out from the principle: "that participation in the kingdom of heaven being only the recompense of a combat, he who has never fought, cannot attain the victor's crown," came to this conclusion, "children who die before they attain to knowledge and consciousness, do not enter into the kingdom of heaven." He could hardly have intended thus to express an unconditional sentence of condemnation upon them, but only to exclude them from the *highest grade* of blessedness, which proceeds from communion with God, and from the ennoblement of human nature by its union with God in Christ: for the participation in this is only to be attained by man through his own moral endeavours, when he does more than the Law requires. He supposed a middle

state for these children, as was afterward supposed in the case of unbaptized children by many Orientals and by Pelagius. If Hieracas maintained this with regard to all children, even those that were baptized, it follows from this that he denied a *supernatural operation*, as existing in infant baptism. Perhaps also in accordance with this principle he opposed infant baptism itself, and pronounced it to be a rite of a later origin, which was contrary to the intention of baptism and the nature of Christianity. What we have here observed, serves also to the confirmation of what we have said above, that Hieracas by no means revered Christ merely as a moral teacher; it is clear from it, that he recognised him as an ennobler of human nature, the obtainer of the highest grade of blessedness, to which men could not have attained by their own powers.

In the view of orthodoxy maintained by the Church in later days, errors would be charged on Hieracas in regard to the doctrines of the Trinity. He must have used the comparison that the Son of God emanated from the Father, as the light of a lamp is kindled from another lamp, or as a torch is divided into two.* Such sensuous comparisons were, it must be granted, contrary to the spiritual disposition of Origen; but the older Church-teachers, Justin and Tatian, had been fond of them. He maintained further, that the Holy Ghost was represented under the image of Melchisedec, for he [the Spirit,] is set forth both as the advocate for men, Rom. viii. 26, and as a priest. He represents the image of the Son, subordinate indeed to him, but the most like to him among all beings, which representation was entirely conformable to the Origenistic theory of subordination, which maintained itself for a long time in the Oriental Church.†

* ὡς λυχνον ἀπο λυχνου, ἢ ὡς λαμπάδα εἰς δύο. Arius ad Alexandr. apud Epiphan. Hæres. 69. § 7. Athanas. t. i. p. ii. 68.

† He appeals to a passage of an Apocryphal writing, which is of importance for the illustration of the doctrinal history of the earliest times, the ἀναβατικὸν Ἰσαίου; that is, the narrative of the ascension of Isaiah into different regions of the heaven, and of what he saw there. After the accompanying angel has shown Isaiah the Son of God, who stands at the right hand of God, the ἀρχηγός, Isaiah inquires καὶ τίς ἐστὶν ὁ ἄλλος ὁ ὁμοῖός αὐτῷ ἐξ ἀριστέρας εἶδων; καὶ εἶπε συ γυναισκὲς ταυτ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα τὸ λαλῶν ἐν σοὶ καὶ ἐν τοῖς προφῆταις καὶ ἡν φησὶ ὁμοῖον τῷ ἀρχηγῷ. The passage is found in this work which has now been

The influence of Origen extended itself through the influence of his friends and scholars from Palestine, as far as Cappadocia and Pontus, as the three great Church-teachers of Cappadocia give testimony to it even in the fourth century. We must here mention particularly his great scholar *Gregory*, on whom the veneration of Christians has conferred the name of wonder-worker (*Θαυματουργός*.) His original name was Theodorus. He was descended from a respectable and wealthy family at Neo-Cæsarea in Pontus; his father, a zealous heathen, educated him in the principles of heathenism. But when he was fourteen years of age he lost his father, and now he was first gained to the cause of Christianity, as it often happened (see above) that the Gospel first found entrance into families by means of children and women. He, however, still knew Christianity only from the tradition of others, he still remained unacquainted with Holy Scripture, his interest in religion was still a subordinate feeling, and the endeavour after a splendid career in the world was of more value in his eyes. His mother used every means in her power to enable him to learn whatever in those days would serve to promote the object of his wishes in this respect. He therefore received a good rhetorical education, so as to be able to advance himself, either as a rhetorician or an advocate; and he also learned Latin, the language both of the governing power and of the courts of law. His instructor in the Roman language showed him how very necessary to him a knowledge of the Roman law would be for the attainment of the object he had in view. He began this study, and had already formed a scheme to visit Rome, in order to increase his acquaintance with the Roman jurisprudence. But Providence had selected him for an instrument in a work of higher importance, and as he himself remarks, in his portraiture of the events of his life, without his own desire or will, he was prepared for that work.

His brother-in-law had been called to Cæsarea as law-adviser (assessor,) to the Præses, of the province of Palestine. He had left his wife at Neo-Cæsarea, but she was now to follow him. They requested his brother-in-law, the young Theodorus, to conduct her to him, as he might then

with great facility put in execution his plan of studying Roman law, by going from Cæsarea to the celebrated neighbouring school of Roman jurisprudence at Berytus in Phenicia. Theodorus accepted the offer; but this journey was attended by consequences different from those which he had expected. He became acquainted with Origen at Cæsarea; Origen soon remarked the powers of the young man, and endeavoured to win them to the service of something higher than that which then animated him. Theodorus felt himself attracted by Origen, as he worked upon his spirit and his heart, exciting, warming, and encouraging them. In spite of his own will he felt himself detained there; he forgot Rome and Berytus, and the study of the law. Origen led him to perceive the nothingness of his former endeavours and pursuits, he lighted in the soul of the young man the holy fire of love to truth and to godliness [*lit.* the Divine.] The noblest effort of Origen, as Theodorus himself represents it in his farewell address, was to excite in him a spiritual activity of his own, and an unprejudiced spirit of inquiry and examination. After he had allowed him to seek for the scattered beams of Truth in the systems of Greek philosophy he showed him the higher thing which Revelation bestowed on him; he led him now to the study of Holy Scripture and explained it to him. Theodorus says of Origen's exposition of Scripture; "I think he spoke this in no other way than by the communion of the Holy Spirit, for to be a prophet and to understand a prophet requires the self-same power. And none of the prophets can understand it, to whom the Spirit himself, from whom the prophecies come, has not given the understanding of his words. This man has received the greatest gift of God, *to be the interpreter for men, of the words of God*, to understand the word of God, as God speaks it, and so to preach it to men that they can understand it."

After he had passed *eight years* with Origen, and apparently received baptism also at Cæsarea, and assumed also here the name of *Gregorius*, he returned to his own country. It was with sorrow that he left his instructor, on whom his whole soul hung: he compared the bond which knitted him to Origen, with the bond of friendship between a David and

published in a complete manner from the old Ethiopic translation, by R. Laurence, Oxford, 1819, pp. 58, 59, v. 32—36.

* Panegyric. in Orig. c. 15.

a Jonathan. He testified his thankfulness to Origen, and to Providence, which had conducted him to Origen without his knowledge or will, in his farewell oration, in which he describes the events of his life, and the methods of instruction and edification employed by Origen.*

While he tears himself away with pain from intercourse with his dear instructor, and from unmixed employment about godly things, and with sorrow and fear prepares to meet the occupations of so different a character, to which he must devote himself in his own country, he speaks thus:—"But why should I lament this? We have, we know, a Saviour for all, even for those who are half-dead, and fallen into the hands of robbers. One who cares for all, and is a physician for all, the watchful protector of all men. We have *also the seed within us, of which, as bearing it about within us, we become conscious through thee* (Origen,) and the seed which *we have received from thee*, those glorious doctrines. With this seed we depart, in tears indeed, because we are leaving thee, but taking this seed with us. Perhaps the heavenly Protector will join himself to our company, and save us, but perhaps we shall return to thee, and bring to thee also from that seed fruits and grain,—not ripe ones, indeed, (for how can that be?) but such as can grow up amidst civil employments." And turning himself to Origen, he addresses him thus: But thou, dear head! stand up! and dismiss us with thy prayer; as thou hast led us† to salvation by thy holy doctrines, while we were with thee, so lead us, now that we are departing from thee, to salvation by thy prayer. And transfer us and commend us, or rather only give us back again to God, who led us to you. Thank him for that

which he has hitherto done for us, but call upon him also, that he may engraft his commands upon our Spirit, that he may pour upon us the fear of God, and that this may serve as our best corrector. For at a distance we can no longer hearken to him *with that freedom*, with which we have done so, as long as we have been with you. Pray to him to send us a good angel to accompany us, as a consolation for our separation from you. But entreat him also to conduct us back to you, for this alone will be our chief consolation."

After his departure also Origen retained him in his heart. We have still a letter full of fatherly love, which he addressed to him. (Philocal. c. 13.) He here says to him, that his distinguished qualities might make him an able Roman jurisconsult or a respected teacher of one of the celebrated philosophical schools; but he wished that Gregory should propose to himself Christianity alone as his aim and object, and use his talents only as means to the one great end. According to his principles, which we have before detailed, as to the relation of different departments of knowledge, and especially of Philosophy, to Christianity, he incites him to appropriate to himself from the whole circle of human knowledge, [*lit.* from the Encyclopædical sciences] and from philosophy, every thing, which he might be able to use for the advantage of Christianity. By many beautiful allegorical explanations of the narratives of the Old Testament he endeavours to make it clear to him, that we must use every thing to the service of godliness [*lit.* the Divine,] and sanctify every thing else by referring it to that; but not, as often happens, forget godliness itself amidst these elements which are foreign to it, and thus desecrate it by the admixture. He then addresses him thus:—"Do thou then, my son! above every thing study the Holy Scriptures; but let it be a serious study to thee, for Scripture requires a very serious study, in order that we may not too hastily pronounce or judge any thing out of it. And if with a believing heart, and a mind well pleasing to God, and pre-occupied with him,* thou studiest the Scripture,

* We have followed this oration, as the most trustworthy source, for the history of the early life and education of Gregory. The accounts given by Gregory of Nyssa, in his life of this Gregory, are in open contradiction to the narrative of this Gregory himself; and as Gregory of Nyssa dressed up rhetorically what he had taken from unauthentic inaccurate accounts, it would be a useless trouble to endeavour to reconcile the contradictory narratives with each other. The Panegyrics of Gregory may be found in the fourth volume of the works of Origen, by *de la Rue*, and in the third volume of the *Bibliotheca Patrum of Galland*.

† He speaks here in the plural number, because he probably had in his mind at the same time his brother Athenodorus, who came with him to Origen, and also afterwards became Bishop of the Church of Pontus. See Euseb. vi. 30.

* The Greek *προηληψεν* can hardly be rendered into German, for the German, "vorurtheil" [prejudice,] according to the usage of our language, is generally taken in a bad sense. We should rather use the word *voraussetzung* [presumption, or pre-supposition.] Origen means that the reader of Scripture ought beforehand to be filled with the

then knock, where any thing in it is shut up to you, and it will be opened to you by the porter, of whom Jesus speaks, John x. 3, 'To him shall the doorkeeper open.' Seek with immovable faith in God, the sense of Holy Scripture which is hidden from the multitude. But let it not be enough to thee to knock and to seek, for prayer is especially necessary for the understanding of holy things, in exciting us to which the Saviour has not only said, 'Knock, and it shall be opened to you,' and 'seek, and ye shall find,' but also, 'pray, and it shall be given to you.'"

He answered the expectations of his great teacher. While he found in his native city, of which he became bishop, *seventeen* Christians, the major part of the inhabitants was converted by him, and Christianity extended far into Pontus. It is a matter of regret, that we have no more accurate and authentic accounts of the efficiency of this remarkable man, than the fabulous and rhetorical life written by Gregory of Nyssa, a century afterwards. Perhaps, while he followed the principles of the Alexandrian school in regard to the condescension to the weakness of the many, and to the gradation in religious education, he was nevertheless too yielding, in order to convert the heathen in greater numbers; perhaps he thought, that if once they only belonged to the Christian Church, the spirit of the Gospel and the increasing activity of their teachers might gradually carry them farther on. As he observed that many of the people, out of attachment to their former festivities, which were interwoven with heathenism, remained fettered to the religion of their ancestors, he wished to give the newly-converted something to supply their place. After the Decian persecution, during which many in this region had died as martyrs, he appointed a general festival in honour of the martyrs, and suffered the rugged multitude to celebrate this with the same sort of feasts as those which were usual at the heathen commemorations of the dead (*Parentalia*.) and other heathen festivals. He thought that thus one obstacle to conversion would be removed, and that if they had once become members of the Christian Church, they would by degrees voluntarily renounce sensuous indulgences,

persuasion, that the Holy Scripture is imbued with a Divine spirit, and cannot lead him astray, even when in single passages its Divine nature does not make itself apparent to him.

after their minds should have become spiritualized through Christianity.* But he forgot what an intermixture of heathen and Christian views and rites might arise from this acquiescence in heathen customs, as really did happen afterwards, and how difficult it is for Christianity to penetrate properly into the life, when it is debased from the beginning with such an admixture.†

We have a simple and clearly written *paraphrase of the Preacher of Solomon*, [i. e. *Ecclesiastes*,] by Gregory. A confession of faith in regard to the Trinity, which he was supposed to have written in consequence of a special revelation, was used in opposition to the Arians in the fourth century. The circumstance that it was to be found in the Church of Neo-Cæsarea in his own hand-writing, was appealed to in proof of its genuineness. But although the first part of the confession, in which the peculiar characteristics of the Origenian doctrines appear, might be genuine, yet the second part is clearly a later addition, for it contains decisions, which were thoroughly foreign to the school of Origen, and which first proceeded from the controversies with the Arians in the fourth century.

Among the violent opponents of the Origenistic school we have already mentioned Methodius, at first bishop of Olympus in Lycia, and afterwards of Tyre, a martyr in the persecution of Dioclesian; but still he appears not to have conducted himself towards that school always in the same manner. Eusebius of Cæsarea, in his continuation of the *Apology of Pamphilus*, was able to appeal to the circumstance, that Methodius contradicted what he had formerly said in praise of Origen.‡ The ecclesiastical historian, Socrates, on the contrary, says,§ that Methodius, who had formerly declared against Origen, in his dialogue, en-

* Vita Gregor. c. 27.

† The canonical letter, which we have, of this Gregory, shows well that in the conversion of large masses of people much may have been merely something external; for he speaks here of persons, who made use of the confusion which arose from the devastations of the Goths in the regions of Pontus, in order to reap advantage from the general calamity, and even to plunder their own countrymen. This letter at the same time gives evidence of Gregory's watchful zeal for morality.

‡ Apud Hieronym, l. i. Rufin. Hieron. opp. Ed. Martianay, t. iv. f. 359. Quomodo ausus est Methodius nunc contra Origenem scribere, qui hæc et hæc de Origenis loquutus est dogmatibus?

§ Lib. iv. c. 13.

titled *Ξεῖρον*, had revoked it all, and had testified his admiration of him. There must be some foundation in truth for this twofold story. Eusebius and Socrates deduced their judgment about Methodius from his own expressions; but their chronological determinations in regard to these writings apparently did not rest on historical facts, but they here followed only their subjective notions, and in such matters the ancients were not accurate. In the *Symposion* of Methodius, which we are just about to mention, he appears by no means an adherent of the letter of the Church doctrine, but there is shown in that work an inclination to theosophical views, and a predominant affection for the allegorical interpretation of the Bible, and there appears also much that is congenial to the turn of Origen's mind; there are certainly expressions which at least favour the doctrine of the pre-existence of souls.* Much also appears, which is altogether at variance with the doctrines of Origen; as, for example, a certain Chiliasm.† It may easily be imagined, that Methodius, a man of no systematic habit of thought, was attracted at first by many of the views and the writings of Origen, which corresponded to *his own* favourite opinions and to his own taste, but was afterwards on that very account, the more shocked by that, which in the system of Origen was contrary to *his own* disposition and his own doctrinal principles.

The most important and the most authentic written monument of this Methodius is his *Feast of the ten Virgins*, in eleven dialogues, containing a commendation of single life, which is often highly exaggerated.

That treatise, however, which we have under the name of Methodius *on the freedom of the will*, (*περὶ αὐτεξουσίας*), belongs rather to the Christian teacher Maximus, who lived in the time of Septimius Severus,‡ than to Methodius;§ it is an attack on the Gnostic dualism.

The presbyter Pamphilus, a man of Cæsarea in Palestine, distinguished by his zeal for piety and knowledge, came forward as a defender of Origen against the charges of heresy brought against him

by Methodius. He founded at Cæsarea an Ecclesiastical library, which, as late as the fourth century, contributed much to the promotion of learned studies. Every friend of knowledge, and especially every one to whom the thorough and fundamental study of the Bible was an object, found with him every kind of assistance, and he endeavoured to multiply,* to extend, and correct the manuscripts of the Bible. He made presents of many Bibles, even to women, whom he saw much busied in the reading of Scripture.† He established a *theological school*,‡ in which the study of Scripture was carried on with great earnestness.§ The learned Eusebius, who was indebted for every thing to Pamphilus, and looked upon him as friend, and almost as a father, probably came forth from this school. Pamphilus imparted to his scholars his own veneration for Origen, as the promoter of Christian knowledge; and he endeavoured to oppose the narrow-minded spirit, which proceeded from those who branded Origen with the name of heretic. While the blind zeal of these people, as Pamphilus says, went so far that they pronounced sentence of condemnation at once on every one, who only so much as busied himself with the writings of Origen, Pamphilus during his imprisonment in the persecution of Diocletian in the year 309,|| wrote in common with

* See Montfaucon. Catalog. MSS. Bibliothec. Coislinian. p. 261.

† Eusebius says of him in his life of him, ap. Hieronym. adv. Rufinum, l. i. p. 358-9, vol. iv.: "Quis studiosorum amicus non fuit Pamphili? si quos videbat ad victum necessariis indigere, præbebat large quæ poterat. Scripturas quoque sanctas non ad legendum tantum; sed et ad habendum tribuebat promptissime. Nec solum viris, sed et feminis, quas vidisset lectioni deditas. Unde et multos codices præparabat, ut, quum necessitas poscisset, volentibus largiretur.

‡ Euseb. vii. 32, συντηρησας διὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

§ Eus. de Martyr. Palæstinæ, c. 4.

|| A proof of the influence of Pamphilus on the neighbourhood around him is given by the case of his slave Porphyrius, a young man of eighteen years of age, whom he educated with parental affection, and for whose religious, moral, and spiritual edification he provided in every way; and he had communicated to him an ardent love for the Redeemer. When Porphyrius heard the sentence of death pronounced against his beloved master, he prayed that it might be conceded to him to show the last proof of love to him, by burying his corpse after the execution of the sentence had taken place. This request at once excited the wrath of the fanatical governor. And as he now steadfastly avowed, that he was a Christian, and was anxious to sacrifice himself, he

* Orat. ii. Theophil. § 5. † Orat. ix. § 5.

‡ Euseb. v. 27. Hieronym. de Vir. Illust. c. 47. This Maximus can hardly be the same as the bishop of Jerusalem of the same name mentioned in Euseb. v. 12.

§ See on this subject my "Genetic Development of the Gnostic Systems," p. 206.

his scholar Eusebius,* a work destined to the defence of Origen, and this defence was addressed to the confessors condemned to labour in the mines. After the martyrdom of Pamphilus, Eusebius added a sixth book to the five already existing of the uncompleted work. The first book of this Apology, with the exception of some Greek fragments, we have in the free translation of Rufinus.†

The example of Pamphilus shows us, how, from one like Origen, who embraced and united so much together, not only a speculative spirit in doctrinal matters proceeded, but also a profound study of the Bible and a careful treatment of the letter of the word, however much this letter may appear to be opposed to his licentious method of allegorizing. Apparently also, the instance of the Egyptian bishop Hesyehius is to be traced to the same source, who set on foot a new and corrected recension of the text of the Alexandrian version, the prevalent one in Egypt,‡ and who suffered§ martyrdom, probably in the persecution of Diocletian, A. D. 310, or 311; and lastly, in part also to the influence of Origen was owing the seed of a new theological school at Antioch, which received its full development only in the course of the fourth century, from which is derived the sound hermeneutical and exegetical direction properly ba-

lanced between the opposite extremes of a carnal and literal, and a capricious and allegorizing, interpretation of the Bible. Learned Presbyters in the Antiochian Church, who busied themselves with particular zeal in the study of Biblical interpretation, may be looked upon as the first promoters of this school, especially Dorotheus and Lucian, of whom the latter suffered martyrdom in the persecution of Diocletian, early in A. D. 312.*

Thus we see here, as the result of the historical development of this period, the formation, the transition into one another, and the oppositions of different theological dispositions, from the co-operation and opposition of which with each other, the further development of the Christian doctrine, as the leaven for the *whole nature of man*, was destined to proceed; a development and purifying process which passes on from one generation to another, and which can be brought to its destined end by nothing but the everlasting wisdom, which alone searches the depths of the free spirit, and which alone the free spirit follows without prejudice to its freedom.

* Lucian made a new recension of the corrected text of the Alexandrian version, and apparently also of the New Testament. The manuscripts prepared according to this text are called *Λουκιανναί*. Euseb. [Hieronym.!] de Vir. Illustr. 77. adv. Rufin. l. ii. 425. vol. iv. We are unable to determine with certainty what is to be believed about the early connection between Lucian and Paul of Samosata, as the account of it which we have, Theodoret. Hist. Eccles. l. i. c. 4. from Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, is suspicious on account of party-prejudices from controversial motives. [In regard to Lucian, I find in the edition of Jerome by Victorius the following passage, vol. i. p. 373, in the Catalogus Script. Eccles. :—Lucianus, vir disertissimus, Antiochenæ ecclesiæ presbyter, tantum in Scripturarum studio laboravit, ut usque nunc quedam exemplaria Scripturarum Lucianea nuncupentur. This treatise is also cited as Hieron. de Vir. Illustribus.—H. J. R.]

was most cruelly tortured, and at last, with his flesh entirely torn from his bones, he was led to the stake. He bore every thing with firmness, after he had only once, when the fire touched him for the first time, called to Jesus, the Son of God, for help. Euseb. de Martyr. Palæstinæ, c. ii. p. 338.

* The accusation of the passionate Jerome, that Rufinus falsely attributes such a work to Pamphilus, deserves no credit.

† The loss of the Biography of Pamphilus by Eusebius is deeply to be lamented. [N. B. The German word here translated 'free,' is willkürlich—*arbitrary*, or *capricious*.—H. J. R.]

‡ Hieronym. adv. Rufin. l. ii. 425.

§ Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. viii. c. 13. f. 308.

ANALYTICAL TABLE OF CONTENTS.

THE HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION AND CHURCH DURING THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES.

INTRODUCTION.

General view of the religious state of the Roman, Grecian, and Jewish world, at the time of the first appearance and early diffusion of Christianity . . . page 9

Christianity constantly maintains the same relation to human nature; a heaven destined to penetrate the whole mass—It showed itself peculiarly such at the season of its first appearance . . . 9

Religious condition of the heathen world in Rome and Greece . . . 9—25

The idolatry of nature in heathenism—No religion for mankind in general in heathenism, only state-religions and religions adapted to particular nations . . . 10

Esoteric and exoteric religion—Fraus Pia, Polybius, Strabo, Plutarch, Seneca . . . 11

Unbelief—Scoffing—Scepticism—Deism—Pantheism—Pliny the elder, the representative of the latter . . . 14

Desire after some definite faith; this points towards Christianity—Errors through fanaticism . . . 15

Transition from unbelief to superstition, painted by Plutarch . . . 17

Cold, stoic resignation generates pride—desire after an eternal life reasoned away by the Stoics . . . 18

Platonic philosophy—Spiritualization of Polytheism—It prepares the way, as it often did, for the appearance of Christianity . . . 19

The popular religions, however, still unimproved; hence superstition and enthusiasm—Alexander of Abonoteichos and Apollonius of Tyana . . . 22

The inquiring Clement, who sought and found . . . 23

It is the Gospel alone which can triumph over unbelief, superstition, and enthusiasm . . . 24

Religious condition of the Jews . . . 25—39

Judaism objectively a Divine religion, but yet only adapted to one stage of human development . . . 25

Adherence to the letter without a penetration into the spirit of the old religion; hence carnal pride and a carnal view of freedom—Judas Galilæus—Intermixture of worldly and spiritual; source of wild fanaticism . . . 25

Lifeless orthodoxy—Pharisees; False illumination—Sadducees; Mysticism—Essenes . . . 26

Peculiar character of the Jewish schools of Alexandria . . . 29—31

Hellenizing, Jewish scoffers in Philo's works—He himself calls the Jews prophets and priests for all mankind . . . 30

The endeavour to defend was seduced into a false hermeneutic—Philo's own contemplative character in religious things . . . 31

Idealism despises the grammatical interpretation of Scripture, and thus creates arbitrary dogmatism in interpretation . . . 32

This is opposed by anthropopathism . . . 33

Philo's distinction between the humanizing and the not-humanizing schools, and hence also between esoteric and exoteric doctrines . . . 34

The same contemplative spirit creates Theosophico-ascetic societies—The Therapeute not a branch of the Essenes . . . 35

General result . . . 36—37

Carnal mind of the Jews always at variance with Christianity on the one hand; and on the other, a capability of receiving the Gospel, more to be found in Phariseeism and Essenism than in Sadduceeism . . . 36

The Alexandrian Jews have their kind of Gnosis, but they are always wanting in poorness of spirit . . . 38

Extension of Judaism among the Greeks and Romans.

The Jews make proselytes of Righteousness and of the Gate among the heathen; the latter sort better disposed towards Christianity . . . 39

SECTION I.

THE RELATION OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH TO THE UNCHRISTIAN WORLD 40—102

I. Propagation of Christianity 40—50

[A.] On the Propagation of Christianity in general, the obstacles which opposed it, the means and causes by which it was furthered . . . 40—46

Christianity, attaching itself to every thing that is pure in human nature, is a sword of the Spirit to the ungodly; and hence its varied contentions with prevailing manners and state-religions—The Gospel a religion for the poor in spirit, not for the proud . . . 40

Goetæ oppose Christianity—Miracles pave the way for the inward power of the Divine word . . . 41

Effects of grace among the Christians, related by Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and Origen . . . 43

Inward Divine power of Christianity beaming through their conduct—The most powerful means of conversion . . . 44

Women, boys, and slaves cause the light of the Gospel to shine—Christianity is able to let itself down to all capacities—A heaven which is to reform all human nature . . . 45

[B.] Propagation of Christianity in particular districts . . . 46—50

In Asia—Christianity first preached in cities—

Story of Abgarus of Edessa; improbable—First certain trace of Christianity there under Abgar Bar Manu, A. D. 170	46	Christians, but the rescript <i>προς το κληρον της Ασιας</i> cannot come from him	60
The Gospel spread in Arabia by St. Paul, perhaps also by Bartholomew; and in the second and third centuries by Pantænus and Origen	47	Persecution of the Christians under M. Aurelius, who in his honest endeavour after deep self-knowledge, was always stopped by his stoic fatalism, as well as through a certain fanaticism of mind—Courage of the Christian faith	60
St. Thomas reported to have preached in the East Indies	48	(a.) Persecution in Smyrna, A. D. 167—Polycarp on the funeral pile of his martyrdom praises the Lord—The rage of the people a little cooled	63
In Africa—An old tradition makes St. Mark the founder of the Church in Alexandria; thence the Gospel reached Cyrene, perhaps also Æthiopia; afterwards Carthage, and all proconsular Africa	48	(b.) At Lyons, A. D. 177—Bishop Pothinus dies as a martyr in prison—The Divine power of faith efficacious even in tender and weak vessels, like Ponticus and Blandina—Humility preserves the martyrs at Lyons, as only disciples—They decline being called martyrs, but call themselves only weak confessors	65
In Europe—Rome, Lyons, Vienne, (A. D. 177)—Chief quarters for the spreading of the Gospel in Gaul—Saturninus hence to Germany—In Spain perhaps from St. Paul—In Britain from Asia Minor	49	Symphorianus dies as a martyr at Autun, and is cheered on to death by his mother	68
II. Persecution of Christianity	50—102	The "legio fulminea," A. D. 174, not a fiction—Examination of it	68
INTRODUCTION.		The wicked Commodus, from A. D. 180, rendered favourable to the Christians by Marcia—The popular fury subsides, and persecutions cease	69
First upon the causes of this persecution	50—54	The fury of the populace again awakened after the murder of Commodus—Persecutions under Septimius Severus and Caracalla	70
Notions of Roman toleration to be limited—General rights of man first acknowledged by Christianity—The prevailing political views, based on the state-religion, suspect political machinations under Christianity, as being a "religio nova, illicita," and without any old form of worship	50	Single characteristic traits of Christian faith shown forth in Speratus, and in the firmness of two women, Perpetua and Felicitas	71
On the other hand, the Christians are accused of not taking sufficient interest in the state, of not offering worship to the emperors, of refusing to serve in the army, and hence they are called "hostes Cæsarum, hostes populi Romani, infructuosi in negotio"	52	Repose of the Christians under Heliogabalus and Severus (from A. D. 219—235)—Julia Mamaea and Origen	73
Christians also the victims of popular fury; arising from blind prejudice—"Non pluit Deus, duc ad Christianos," but fomented by priests, Goetæ, &c.	53	Christianity still a "religio illicita"	74
[A.] Persecution by the hand of power.—Varied condition of the Christian Church under different emperors	54—93	Wretched condition under Maximinus Thrax, till A. D. 244—Fury of the populace	74
Tertullian's story of a proposal to the senate by Tiberius, in regard to Christ and the Christians, cannot be true	54	Repose under the mild Philip, the Arabian (from A. D. 244,) but this emperor no Christian—Origen's view of the persecution and his insight into futurity	74
Christians often confounded with Jews, and hence banished from Rome by Claudius, A. D. 53, together with the Jews, according to Suetonius, "impulsore Christo," &c.	55	His prophecies verified—Persecution of Decius, A. D. 250, proves an excitement to the dormant activity of the Church during its long repose—"Libellatici, acta facientes"—Glorious traits of Christian courage—Numidicus at Carthage	75
Cruel persecution under Nero, A. D. 64; its probable origin—The fire at Rome	55	Cyprian of Carthage and other bishops withdraw themselves at first from their Churches, not from cowardice; but they take care of them even while absent—The persecution gradually increases till A. D. 251	78
Under Domitian, from A. D. 81, the accusation of conversion to Christianity joined with the "crimen majestatis"	56	After a short respite, a pestilence again awakens the fury of the people under Gallus, A. D. 252—The bishops Cornelius and Lucius at Rome give testimony to the faith and are martyred	79
The justice-loving Nerva, A. D. 96, forbids slaves to accuse their masters	56	New persecution under Valerianus, from A. D. 257—Sintus, bishop of Rome, and Cyprian of Carthage, seal their fidelity with their blood—The last words of Cyprian, "God be thanked"	80
Trajan's law against <i>ερανη</i> used against Christians—Pliny the younger, the governor, with all his love of investigation, only a narrow-minded politician after all; his report, A. D. 120—Hence the unhappy condition of the Christians	57	The edict of Gallienus, A. D. 259, recognises the Christian Church as a legally existing corporation, and Christianity as a "religio licita"—First promulged in the East and in Egypt, A. D. 261—His superstitious successor, Aurelian, prevented by this from persecuting—His murder, A. D. 275	82
Hadrian forbids tumultuous attacks, but favours legal prosecutions against Christians, merely for being Christians; Christianity still a "religio illicita"—During this reign Barchochab persecutes the Christians in Palestine	58	Repose and increase of the Church during forty years—Diocletian, sole emperor from 284 and 286, in conjunction with Maximus, shows himself at first favourable to Christianity—His edict against the Manichees, A. D. 296	83
Wretched condition from A. D. 138—The Emperor Antoninus Pius mildly disposed towards			

Galerius, the slave of blind superstition, seeks for accusations against the Christians; A. D. 298, he obtains a decree that all soldiers must offer sacrifice—Many Christians give up their military rank—The Centurion Marcellus, on account of the "militia Christi," refuses the "militia imperatorum," and is sentenced to death 85

Galerius at last, A. D. 303, persuades Diocletian to issue a general edict against the Christians—The splendid church of Nicomedia, in Bithynia, plundered—The intended annihilation of the Scriptures defeated by the power of God—Humane officers act mildly in the execution of the edict 87

Traditores among the Christians—Enthusiastic zeal of faith—The union of simplicity and prudence unjustly stigmatised as cowardice 88

Individual traits of courage—The young Victoria and the boy Hilarianus 89

A fire in Nicomedia—Its origin uncertain—Cruelty against the Christians inflamed by political jealousy—Fury against the clergy in particular, A. D. 304—Edict that all the Christians should sacrifice—Heathenism appears to triumph, but this triumph is soon lost again 90

Constantine Chlorus favourable to the Christians—Particularly active from A. D. 305, when Diocletian and Herculius resigned 91

Maximinus, on the contrary, fanatical and cruel—From A. D. 308, a new season of repose—A new, severe edict soon makes its appearance, in order to uphold the heathen superstition in its whole compass—Thirty-nine confessors are executed in the mines of Palestine—This was the last blood shed in this persecution—Galerius being brought to a proper sense of the matter by severe illness, A. D. 311, issues a remarkable edict, by which this last bloody struggle of the Christian Church in the Roman empire is concluded 92

[B] Opposition to Christianity by heathen writings 93—102

The worshipping of God in spirit and in truth always a stumbling block to superstition and to light-minded unbelief 93

The self-righteous Stoics see in Christianity only a religion for the people—The religious idealism of Plato brings men of profoundness nearer to the Gospel, but it calls forth a still more violent opposition to it with those who have not self-denial enough to renounce their philosophical superiority in religion 94

The superficial Platonist, Celsus, apparently contemporary with M. Aurelius, attacks Christianity in his *Λόγος Ἀληθής*, a sarcastic work, abounding in self-contradiction—How he mistakes all Christianity, and especially Christian humility—Christianity alone can unite the two opposites, self-abasement and elevation in God 95

Another more profound opponent of Christianity in Porphyry, the Phœnician, about the beginning of the third century—One of his works was, "A System of Theology, deduced from the old (spurious) Oracles," *Περὶ τῆς ἐκ λόγων φαεινῶν*—He, however, contradicts himself, sometimes wishing to appear a philosopher in religion, while at others he is quite devoted to blind superstitious idolatry—The oracles relative to Christ 96

Microcles, governor of Bithynia, the last writer in opposition to Christianity of this period, in his book entitled, *Δεξι διαλεκτικὴ πρὸς τοὺς Χριστιανούς*, "The Discourse of a Lover of Truth, addressed to the Christians"—It is a pity he did not speak the truth, and did not refrain from telling the most shameless lies of Christ and the apostles, without examination

Concluding remark on the manner in which the apologies of the Christians were generally conducted.

The heathen attacks on Christianity were answered from the time of Hadrian, by defensive treatises on the part of the Christians (Apologies.) These consisted partly of general and extensive developments of Christian doctrines, partly of particular defences, addressed to Consuls, Præsides, &c.—These had but little effect in general—Christianity being at variance with the “disciplina Romana,” always appeared to Roman statesmen a feverish and dangerous enthusiasm

SECTION II.

HISTORY OF THE FORMATION OF THE CHURCH,
CHURCH DISCIPLINE, AND CHURCH DIVI-
SIONS 102—143

I. The history of the formation of the Church 102—127

1.) The history of the formation of congregations in general . . . 102—116

Two periods are to be distinguished, (1) The epoch of their formation in the time of the apostles; (2) Their progress to the end of this period 102

[A] The first foundation of the constitution of Christian Churches in the apostolic age 102—109

The Gospel conducting all men to the same communion with God through Christ, excludes, by its very nature, any peculiar caste of priests—One High-priest, one Mediator for all—Many gifts, one Spirit 102

Elevating form of the original constitution of the Church in the Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians 104

Outward form is necessary, but no one definite form, and least of all, the monarchical—The

monarchical form of Church constitution contradicts the spirit of Christianity, which admits of only one monarch, Christ—The Gospel constantly points to the feeling of mutual wants 103

Form naturally grafted on the Jewish and rather aristocratical constitution of congregation:

זקנים, πρεσβυτεροι, elders; פרנקסו, πρεσβυτεροι, presidents,
 bishops 106

Χαρισμα διδασκαλιας, and κυβερνησεως, talent for
teaching and for governing in the Church, not
equal in all men 106

Deacons and deaconesses—The latter particularly useful in the East for the purpose of introducing Christianity into the interior of families 107

Election to Church-offices made by the presbyters
after gathering the congregation together 107

- [B] The changes which took place in the constitution of the Christian Church after the apostolic age . . . 109—116
- The chief changes relate to three points; (1) the development of the Monarchico-episcopal form of Church-government; (2) the formation of an unevangelic caste of priests; (3) the multiplication of Church offices . . . 109
- a) The presbyter, who presided in the college of presbyters, has exclusively the name *ἐπισκοπος*, but always remains only the "primus inter pares" . . . 110
- The episcopal system unfolds itself gradually, and maintains itself during the persecutions—Cyprian, in this respect, acts quite in accordance with the spirit of his times—The episcopal system had great advantages and also great disadvantages, for . . . 110
- b) It furthered the rise of a separate class of priests in the Christian Church—the cause of this; Selfishness—the source of all Popery, and the confusion between the Jewish and Christian economy—Tertullian calls the bishop "summus sacerdos" . . . 111
- The names "ordo, plebs," *κληρος, κληρικοί*, of themselves naturally introduce unevangelic relations—Opposition of the evangelic conscience . . . 111
- The clergy at first maintained themselves by their trades—By degrees they were removed from worldly business, but not from worldly thoughts . . . 113
- Election to Church offices, as well as all Church affairs, conducted in conjunction with the congregation—"Seniores plebis," not clergy, but "personæ ecclesiasticæ"—a remnant of the freer spirit of the apostolic constitution, which is a model for all times . . . 114
- c) Multiplication of Church offices; Subdeacons, "lectores," (*ἀναγινωσται*;) *ἀκολυθοί*, (*acolythi*;) "exorcistæ;" *θυραῖοι, πυλῶναι*, "ostiarii" . . . 116
- 2) The means of Connection between separate Churches one with the other 116—120
- The subordination system does not proceed from a pure evangelic spirit, which would rather point to a system of sisterly equality—The *χρηστικιστάι*, suffragans, or country bishops, of the fourth century, must have come down from the earliest times, at first independent, afterwards subjected to, the bishop of the city—Daughter-churches also formed in cities—Metropolitans . . . 117
- "Ecclesiæ, sedes apostolicæ, matricæ ecclesiæ," Antioch, Alexandria, Ephesus, Corinth, but especially Rome . . . 118
- Communication by means of Church letters—"Literæ formatae," *ῥαχμματα τετυπωμενα*, necessary for many causes . . . 119
- Provincial synods first in Greece, after the model of the Amphictionic assemblies—gradually become general—Useful, if they are carried on in a real spirit of Christian humility; hurtful, as soon as hierarchical and arbitrary notions enter into them, and wish to prescribe laws for the Church for ever, without the co-operation of the congregations . . . 119
- 3) The union of the whole Church into one whole, compactly joined together in all its parts, the outward unity of the Catholic Church, and its representation 120—127
- Blessed unity of the Church, a manifestation of the unity of the kingdom of God—Yet the confusion between the visible and the invisible Church, between the form and the substance, leads to an overvalue for the outward unity of the Church—This is most distinctly laid down in his book "De Unitate Ecclesiæ," in which there is much truth mixed with some false notions . . . 120
- The error of thinking a visible unity of the Church necessarily leads to the notion of the necessity for that visible representation of that unity—this is founded in the pretended apostolic primacy of St. Peter, which, however, is entirely in contradiction with a sound interpretation of Scripture and the history of Christian antiquity, and especially with the whole spirit of the New Testament economy—This certainly knew nothing of a "Cathedra Petri" 123
- This notion soon becomes still more noxious—The pretended primacy of St. Peter now becomes transferred to the "Ecclesia Romana" and its bishops for ever—Roman ambition puts on a spiritual garb . . . 125
- Romish bishops call themselves "Episcopi Episcoporum;" Victor, A. D. 190—Stephanus receives appeals from Spain—Opposition made by Irenæus—"Dissonantia jejunii non solvit consonantium fidei"—Cyprian and Firmilianus . . . 125
- II. Church discipline—Excommunication from the visible Church and re-admission into it . . . 127—132
- The visible Church is not merely meant to reveal the kingdom of God, but to instruct and prepare men for it; hence, in the visible Church, there must always be a mixture of genuine and false Christians—To human judgment, in this respect, no decision was entrusted, but St. Paul himself entrusts it, with a wholesome discipline, for the Church—"Excommunicatio, pœnitentio, absolutio;" expulsion, penitence, and re-admission . . . 127
- Distinction made by the teachers of the Church between the absolution of the priest and the forgiveness of sins by God himself . . . 129
- Alas! how soon does human fancy confound the outward with the inward! How soon does a foolish misunderstanding of the power to bind and loose lead men into the belief in a wretched "opus operatum"—The Lord gives the power of the keys to every true preacher of the Gospel . . . 129
- Distinction (from 1 John) between "peccata venialia" and "peccata mortalia," or "ad mortem;" pardonable sins and mortal sins—Contentions between the stricter and laxer parties . . . 132
- III. The history of divisions in the Church, or Schisms . . . 132—148
- Distinction between schisms and heresies properly so called—The latter arise from differences in doctrine, the former from differences in outward things . . . 132
- a) Schism of Felicissimus, which arose in the North African Church 132—141
- The election of Cyprian as bishop awakens the opposition of a party, headed by five presbyters . . . 132

Cyprian, faithful as he was in his pastoral capacity, was yet not sufficiently on his guard against the suggestions of spiritual pride; in the bishop, appointed by God, he forgot the man, weak and liable to sin . . . 133

Novatus, apparently one of the five anti-Cyprian presbyters, ordains Felicissimus deacon by his own authority—This person now becomes his partisan . . . 133

Cyprian's withdrawal from his Church, and his severity towards the "lapsi" (fallen brethren) during the Decian persecution, give his enemies an opportunity of scheming against him still more actively . . . 134

The "lapsi," supported by the confessors (confessores) who give them letters of peace or communion (*libellos pacis*)—Cyprian's proper zeal against the extravagant reverence paid to the martyrs: "The Gospel makes the martyrs, not the martyrs the Gospel" . . . 136

But Cyprian still is not firm and consistent enough, he allows at last the "*libelli pacis*" of the "confessores" . . . 138

How injurious is any compromise with a prevailing prejudice!—The Romish Church declares itself for the milder party, pointing to the one source of forgiveness of sins . . . 138

Cyprian appears at last to conquer, but his hopes are deceived by his exercising his episcopal power, in ordering a visitation to be held—Felicissimus collects all the "lapsi" into his Church (perhaps in monte,) and gives them the communion—This conduct very injurious to discipline and good order . . . 138

The North African Synod, A. D. 251, at length puts down this schism, by devising a happy middle path in regard to the "lapsi;" but still the rebellious party choose Fortunatus for bishop of Carthage, and look for help from Rome, but all their schemes are frustrated by the concord of Cornelius and Cyprian . . . 140

b) The schism of Novatian, which arose in the bosom of Romish Church 141—148

This schism, as well as that of Felicissimus, arose from a difference of views on penance, only *that* was set on foot by the laxer party, *this* by the stricter—The controversy about the notion of the true Church also entered into this schism. . . . 141

Novatian's personal character, and its influence, on his part, in the controversies—The ascetic, serious, and learned Novatian, no stoic, having received, after many internal struggles, merely the "baptismus clinicorum," the baptism of the sick by sprinkling—Is ordained a presbyter by Fabianus—He espouses the side of the stricter party as to penance; this excites the opposition of Cornelius; at first only a contest of principles—Novatian guided by none but pure motives . . . 141

Novatus, an advocate at Carthage of the milder principles, here joins the stricter party, at the head of which Novatian was placed as bishop . . . 143

Cornelius is accused by Novatian of being a "libellaticus" (one that had received a certificate of having sacrificed)—The mildness of Dionysius . . . 144

Two points in controversy, penance and the notion of the true Church 145—150

a) Novatian's principles on the subject misrepresented by his enemies, but his moral error powerfully opposed by Cyprian . . . 145

And yet even Cyprian was unable to oppose the principles of Novatian effectually, because he himself had not a clear perception of the only real objective ground of confidence in the forgiveness of sins, namely, in the application of the merits of Christ . . . 146

b) Novatian on the idea of the Church—"The Church ceases to be a true Church, when it suffers those who have violated their baptismal covenant by gross sins, to remain in it, or receives them again." Hence the Novatianists call themselves *ci xzbaxza*, the Pure—this is beautifully answered in a practical manner by Cyprian: "The Lord alone has the sieve in his hand" . . . 147

And yet, from their dogmatical indefiniteness as to the notions of the visible and invisible Churches, the opponents of Novatian were unable to combat his fundamental error, which was deeply rooted in the confusion of those ideas, with sufficient power and clearness—The Catholic Church system comes forth triumphant at last from these struggles . . . 148

SECTION III.

CHRISTIAN LIFE AND WORSHIP 151—214

I. Christian Life . . . 151—180

Christianity a sanctifying power—Cyprian—Justin Martyr—Origen . . . 151

Contrast between the Christian and the heathen life—This was often very prominent, and yet false Christianity, dangerous self-delusion, false self-elevation, &c.—Tertullian, Origen, and Cyprian, against representations of the magical effects of baptism . . . 152

Gradual efficacy of Christianity—Carnal Christianity—Defects in the visible Church—Point of view from which we ought to look at these first times . . . 152

Mutual names of the Christians—The brotherly kiss—Care for the stranger, the sick, and the poor; for old men, widows, and orphans—Voluntary Church contributions—Peculiar activity of the Christian mistress of a family—Collections for foreign Churches—Examples—Cyprian—Dionysius of Alexandria—Christian benevolence in public calamities . . . 156

The Christians, with regard to the laws of the State—Their obedience to existing institutions—Collision between civil and religious duties—Different views of Christians upon this subject . . . 159

Forbidden trades—Forbidden to visit the shows of gladiators, and combats of wild beasts—Forbidden to be present at pantomimes, plays, circus, &c.—Sophistry of Celsus—Tertullian on true spiritual joys—No one who frequented plays was to remain in Church communion 161

Christianity in regard to slavery—The true and highest freedom may be united with bodily slavery . . . 165

May a Christian administer a civil or military office?—Opinions divided—One party against public duties—Opposition between the State and Christianity—Tertullian and Celsus on this point—Another party for serving public

offices—Grounds for and against a Christian becoming a soldier	167
New relation of the whole Christian life—Contrast of the thoughtless indulgence and moody seriousness of heathenism with the holy seriousness and joy in the Holy Spirit in Christianity—The idea of monkery quite foreign to the notions of Christians of those days—Self-chosen days of penance, prayer, and fasting—'Ασκηται, Παύλι—Origin and effects of asceticism—Notion of a true Christian Ascetic—Alcibiades the Ascetic	169
Vanity of dress among Christians, in opposition to a partial asceticism—Germ of clerical celibacy—Συνισμαῖτες—Voices raised against this disposition—Pastor Hermæ—Clemens: τι; ὁ σαρκῆνός πλῆσιος; spirit of evangelical freedom, particularly against the Montanists, and their fast ordinances	173
Christian family life—Marriage—Christian harmony—Mixed marriages—Sanction of the Church to conclude a marriage	175
Prayer, the soul of the Christian life—Effects—Kind of Prayer—Times of Prayer—Assemblies for Prayer—Postures in prayer	177
Christian instruction of a family	180
2.) The Christian worship. (Public and general worship of God)	180
a) Nature of the Christian worship in general	180
Spiritual worship—Contrast between Judaism and heathenism, especially in regard to visiting the Church	181
b) Places of congregation for the Christians	182
At first in private houses, afterwards their proper houses of assembly—Churches—originally no images used—Hatred of art—Its cause—Images in domestic life—Sensible forms—Images in churches—Sign of the cross	182
c) Times of Divine service, and festivals	184
Consecrated times—New view of them in Christianity—Rise of festivals—Confusion of Old and New Testament	184
Weekly and yearly festivals—Sunday—The "dies stationum"—Sabbath—Fasts—Yearly festival—Passover—Jewish and heathen converts differ	185
Anicetus and Polycarp—Later repetition of same controversies—Victor—Irenæus	188
Quadragesimal fast—Easter—Whitsuntide—Christmas—Ἐορτὴ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν—Origin of the latter festival	190
d) Single acts of Christian worship	191
Character of spiritual worship the essential mark of Christian service—Reading the Scriptures—Early translations—Interpretation—Preaching—Singing—Hymns—Sacraments	191
On the sacraments in particular.	
⌘ Baptism.	
Preparation—Κατήχησμοι—Church office of Catechists—Creed—Different application of it—Learnt by heart—Public confession of it—Form of renunciation, afterwards exorcism—Outward Form of Baptism—Formula—Immersion—Clinici—Infant baptism—General recog-	

nition of it (A. D. 250)—Late baptism—God-fathers (Sponsors)—Symbolic customs at baptism—Anointing—Χειροθεσία—Confirmation—Rise of confirmation—Privilege of the bishops—Symbol of childhood in a new life—Brotherly kiss—Baptism of heretics—Controversy on this—Stephanus—Cyprian—Dionysius of Alexandria—Romish Church on the subject—North African Church 193

⌘ Supper of the Lord.

General Remarks.

View of its foundation by the Redeemer—Its aim—Original connection with a general meal—'Αγάπη—Degeneration of these Agapæ—Abuses—Judgment of the Fathers thereon 207

Particular remarks on the Lord's Supper.

Prayer of praise and thanks—Original idea of an offering of thanksgiving—Oblationes—The idea of a sacrifice at first only symbolic—False notion of a sacrifice—Use of common bread—Daily communion—Communion every Sunday—Strangers, sick, and prisoners, receive consecrated bread and wine—First trace of communion under one kind—Infant communion 210

Connection of the Lord's Supper with the conclusion of a marriage, and the commemoration of the dead—Unevangelic dispositions—"Sacrificia pro martyribus"—Festivals of the martyrs—Extravagant honour to them—Overvalue for what is human 213

The Translator's Preface 215

SECTION IV.

THE HISTORY OF THE CONCEPTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIANITY AS A SYSTEM OF DOCTRINES.

1. General Introductory Remarks 229—230

Christianity not a dead letter, but a life-giving spirit—Different instruments for the One Truth—Internal Unity of Christianity—Development of Christianity by means of controversies and contentions 229

2. History of Sects.

Two chief divisions of the religious Spirit.

a) The Judaizing Sects 230—238

Jewish and heathen Christians—Peter and James—Paul—Four parties; α) Pseudo-Petrinians; β) Genuine apostolical Jewish Christians; γ) Pseudo-Pauline Christians; δ) Genuine apostolical Heathen Christians (Justin Martyr.) New Church at Ælia Capitolina 230

Ebionites—Their names—Different kinds of Ebionites—Difference between them—(Origen on this subject)—Representation of them by Epiphanius—Difference in their Christology—The Clementine on this subject—Their acceptance of a simple original religion—The theory of revelation according to the Clementine—Relation of Christianity to the original religion—Relation of Mosaism and the Gospel—The asceticism of the Ebionites—The Nazarenes mentioned by Jerome 233

b) The Sects which arose from the mixture of the Oriental Theosophy with Christianity 238

I. The Gnostic Sects.

- a) General introductory remarks on the origin, character, and differences of these Sects 238—254

γνῶσις in Christianity—Contrast between the πνευματικὴ and the ψυχικὴ (= πᾶσις)—Esoteric—Exoteric Religion—From the mixture of old-oriental views of Religion with those of Neo-Platonism a Theosophic Christ is formed—The then condition of the Roman Empire considered in reference to its influence on the formation of these systems 238

Genetic formation of Gnosis—a peculiar, animating principle in it—Key-note of this system—Subject-matter of the ideas in Gnostic speculation—Relation of Christian faith to this speculation—Idea of Emanation—Doctrine of the Æons—Theory of Evil—Dualism 242

Alexandrian and Syrian Gnosis (the latter modified by Parsism)—Relation of both these tendencies to each other—Zabians 244

Essential differences between the various Gnostic systems—The points of agreement in all Gnostics—Maker of the world (δημιουργός)—Their views of the Theocracy of carnal and spiritual Judaism. Anti-Jewish Gnostics—Their views relating to the Demiurgos and to Judaism, in which they departed from the Jewish Gnostics—between the New and the Old Testament—Contrast 247

Ethical differences—Antinomians—Special differences—Concerning Marriage—Concerning the person of the Redeemer (Docetism) 249

Classification of the Gnostics in consequence of these differences—into the “sects which engraft themselves on Judaism, and those which oppose themselves to it” 251

Exegesis of the Gnostics—Arbitrary criticism—Their theory of accommodation in an exegetical point of view—They wish to found Christian mysteries 251

Means by which Gnosticism was advanced—They were called forth by opposition against a rude conception of Divine things—Proper mode of considering Gnostics in history 253

β) The Individual Sects.

1. The Sects whose system was engrafted on Judaism 254—280

a) Cerinthus.

Contradictory accounts of him—His doctrines—His view of the baptism of Jesus—His Christology—His views on Judaism—His Chiliasm 254

b) Basilides.

Sphere of his operations—Foundation of his system—Doctrine of the Divine powers—Ogdoad—ὀβελῆς—Theory of Emanation—Dualism—Parallel members in the opposition established throughout the whole cycle of the world—General process of purification—Metempsychosis—Development of Life in Nature—His ἀρχαί—Doctrine of Providence, and the Theodicea—Typical view of Judaism—Supposition of written documents of the wisdom of the Patriarchs—On the Canon of the Old Testament—His theory of Redemption—Relation of the Archon to Christ—His views on the sufferings of Jesus—Doctrine of Justification 257

Detached considerations on the religious and moral ideas of the School of Basilides—Doctrine of Faith—Ethics of Basilides—His partial asceticism—His view of marriage 264

c) Valentinus and his School.

His life, and formation of his character—Relation to Basilides—Æons—Pleroma—Self-limitation of the Bythos—Horus, and his mode of operation—Double σῶσις—Three gradations of Being—Their mutual relations—His Demiurgos—Nature of the πνευματικὴ, ὕλη, ψυχικὴ 265
His theory of redemption—The Plastic Soter—Relation of man to the Universe—His notion of Inspiration—His views on that subject in reference to the Prophets and to heathenism—Appearance of the Soter—Psychical Messiah—The main point in Redemption—Χριστιανισμός ψυχικὸς and πνευματικὸς—Spiritual pride—Eschatology—Syzygy of the Soter with the Sophia 268

Distinguished men of this School.

Heracleon—His exegesis of St. John—Allegorizing indications—His opposition to martyrdom as an “opus operatum” 275

Ptolemæus—His relation to Valentinus—Letter to Flora—Threefold principle of the Mosaic Law of Religion—His typical system—Fasts—True object of fasting 276

Marcus—His life—Character of his doctrines—The idea of a λόγος τοῦ ἔντος refined by him to the utmost point 276

Bardesanes—Life—Character of his Gnosticism—He attacks the doctrine of an εἰκείμενον—His doctrine of moral freedom—He seeks traces of truth in all nations 279

2. Gnostic sects, which denied the connection between the Old and the New Testament, and between the visible and invisible worlds 280—290

a) Ophites.

Distinction between them and the Valentinian Gnosis—Their Demiurgos—Jaldabaoth—δολομυζήρας—Their anthropology—Meaning of the Serpent—Their view of the fall—Christology—Ophitish Pantheism—Its practical influence—Investigation of their relation to the older Oriental systems of religion 280

b) Pseudo-Basilidians.

Character of their sect—Views on Christ's sufferings and death—on martyrdom 283

c) Sethites and Cainites.

Anthropology of the Sethites—Shameful Antinomianism of the Cainites 284

d) Saturninus.

His Anthropology and Christology 284

e) Tatian and the Encratites.

His life—His conversion to Gnosticism—Fanciful ascetic disposition—Traces of a use of Apocryphal Gospels—Εὐαγγελιστὴν—Julius Cassianus—Severiani 285

f) Eclectic, Antinomian Gnostics.

Carpocrates—His religious system worked out by his son Epiphaneus—Doctrine of supreme Unity—Pantheistic Mysticism—Antinomianism—

Corruption of St. Paul's doctrines—Carpocratians at Same—Inscriptions relating to this sect	287
Antitacti—Prodicians	289
Nicolaitans—Name of this sect—Error of their founder—Nicolaus—Simonians—Their Coryphæus—Simon Magus	290

g) Marcion and his School.

His relation to Gnosticism—His predominantly practical disposition—His sources for the knowledge of genuine Christianity—Literal interpretation of Scripture—His contrast between <i>πρωτε</i> and <i>υστερε</i> —History of his religious education and development—Seeds of the doctrine of the Demiurgos—Opposition to the Old Testament—His abode in Rome—Acquaintance with Cerdo—His later history—Accounts of his end—Representation of his principles—Opposition between holiness and justice	291
Doctrine of the Demiurgos and man—Christology—Doctrine of Redemption—His Patripassianism and Docetism—His view of the "descensus ad inferos"—Twofold Messianic kingdom	295
Marcion's ethics and his asceticism—His views on the Canon of Scripture	298

Marcionite Sects.

Marcus—Lucanus—Appelles—Tertullian on the character and system of the last—His conversion to the faith	299
--	-----

Additional Remarks.

On the Cultus of the Gnostics.

Marcosians—Caians—Baptismal formula of the first—Use of extreme unction in the case of the dead—Marcion against the "Missa fidelium"—His endeavour after a primitive Christian of cultus—No vicarious baptism in Marcion's system	300
---	-----

II. Manes and the Manichees 302—317

Character of Manicheism—History of its founder—Western and eastern sources—Acts of Archelaus of Cascar—Representation of his doctrines by Scythianus and Buddas—Oriental sources—Education and development of Manes—Amalgamation of Parsism and Christianity in him—He gives himself out for the Paraclete—Relations of this public appearance—His fate	302
---	-----

Doctrines—His Dualism and Pantheism—Doctrine of the Kingdom of Life, of the Mother of Life, of the first Man, of the living Spirit, and of the Soul of the World—The struggles of Ormuzd and Ahriman in the process of purification of the physical and moral world—Transference of Mithras to the Christ of Manes—Mystical natural Philosophy—Christ crucified in nature—Origin, formation, and nature of man—Dominion of the soul over the <i>ύλη</i> —Allegorical meaning of Genes. II., III.—Destiny of man—Original corruption—Infant baptism—Appearance of Christ, the Sun-Spirit—Christ crucified, a mere symbol—Last fate of evil—Sources of religious knowledge—Mode of treating and criticizing Holy Scripture—Faustus the Manichee	306
---	-----

Composition of their religious assemblies—Exoteric and esoteric doctrines—Electi, Auditores—Orders—Use of the Sacraments—Their sign	
---	--

of recognition—Festivals—Festival of the martyrdom of Manes—Their moral character—Persecutions against them—Edict of Diocletian against this sect	315
---	-----

Author's Preface to the Third Part 319

SECTION V.

THE HISTORY OF THE FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIANITY AS A SYSTEM OF DOCTRINES IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, WHICH FORMED ITSELF IN OPPOSITION TO THE SECTS	323—453
--	---------

I. The genetic development of Church Theology in general, and the characteristic of the individual religious and dogmatical dispositions which have peculiarly influenced it.	323—357
---	---------

Relation of Christian life to the development of doctrine—Opposition to Judaism and Heathenism, especially against Gnosticism. Influence of the latter on the development of Doctrine, especially upon the settlement of Hermeneutic Principles. Possible mode of engrafting it upon what there is of truth in Gnosis	323
---	-----

Direction and tendency of the Church Theology derived from these considerations—Realistic—Idealistic dispositions	324
---	-----

Realistic Disposition.

Predominant in the development of Church Theology—in Asia Minor—Polycarp of Smyrna, Papias of Hierapolis, Melito of Sardis, Irenæus of Lyons—also in the Western (Romish) Church	324
--	-----

Practical Christian disposition of Irenæus—His controversy with Gnosticism	325
--	-----

Erroneous turn taken by this Realism, as shown in Montanus	326
--	-----

Montanus—Nothing new brought forward by him—His doctrines farther moulded by Tertullian—Character of Montanism	326
--	-----

Events of the life of Montanus—His peculiarity—Uncertainty as to the time of his coming forward—His appearance explained—His practical errors—Montanistic prophetesses—Priscilla, Maximilla	327
---	-----

Spirit of Montanism—Gradual development of the Church through the Paraclete—The extension and completion of the first Revelation—especially in reference to life and moral doctrines, and in regard to the defence of the doctrines which are attacked	329
--	-----

Opposition of Montanism to Church views, which clung only to Outward things. Tertullian on the Church of the Spirit, and the Church of the Bishops—Idea of the spiritual priesthood of all Christians—But a confusion, nevertheless, between the old and the new Theocracy	330
--	-----

Prophets of the Montanists—Idea of ecstasy carried to the extreme—Controversies concerning inspiration—The opposite extreme (Origen)—Their doctrine concerning the last outpouring of the Holy Spirit about to precede the return of Christ	331
---	-----

Moral doctrine—Their aberration from its true meaning—New commandments—Their asceticism—Fasts commanded—Opposition of evan-	
---	--

gelic freedom to these fasts—Their views on martyrdom—On marriage—Their principles in regard to penance (Tertullian) . . .	332
Zeal, in Tertullian, against an exaggerated reverence for martyrdom—Millenarian doctrines . . .	334
Outward history of Montanism—Circumstances favourable to its advance—Its opponents—Synods respecting Montanism—Concord established by means of Irenæus—His mission to Eleutheros—Later opponents; Praxeas—Montanists as Church-party in separation [i. e. a schismatical party]—(Cataphrygians, Pepuzians) . . .	334
Violent opponents of Montanism, arising from a cold intellectual disposition—Alogi . . .	336
Idealistic disposition in the Alexandrian Church.	
Alexandrian Catechetical schools—Their original intention (Eusebius, Jerome)—Activity of individual catechists—Originally only one Catechist—Origen divides his office with a second—Requisites for this office—Clement on this point—Their activity furthered by the foundation of a learned normal school for teachers of the Church . . .	337
Relation of the catechetical schools to different mental dispositions (to the Greeks, to the Gnostics, and to the Realists)—Their <i>γνωσις ἀληθινή</i> . . .	338
Relation to the Gnostics—Difference from them in their theory of <i>πίστις</i> and <i>γνώσις</i> —Clement on Pistis—Origen . . .	338
Peculiar Christian feature in their Gnosis—Its subjective nature and objective sources of knowledge (Clement)—Biblical character of their Gnosis—Reproaches against them for requiring intellectual attainments and culture—Clement defends them for requiring these—Mutual relations of Christianity and philosophy—Clement alternately mild, and severe against the adversaries of the Alexandrian Gnosis—He defends philosophical study—One-sided view of the Ante-Christian condition and education of man on the part of his opponent (Tertullian)—Clement on the march of the development of the Grecian philosophy, considered in the light of an education for human nature—On the relation of <i>δικαιοσύνη</i> to philosophy, and its weak points—Philosophy considered as a point of transition to Christianity . . .	339
The Alexandrians began to consider Christianity as the reconciliation of the oppositions caused by human one-sidedness—Their freedom of spirit . . .	345
Intermixture of Platonism and Christianity in reference to <i>πίστις</i> and <i>γνώσις</i> . <i>πίστις</i> a subordinate condition . . .	346
Point of connection of the Alexandrian <i>γνώσις</i> with the Gnostic <i>πνευματικός</i> , of the <i>πίστις</i> with the <i>ψυχικός</i> . . .	346
Difference of the two—existing certainly but not of great importance—Its causes—Their predominantly speculative disposition, and the opposition to other modes of conceiving <i>πίστις</i> . . .	347
Consequences of this separation of <i>γνώσις</i> from <i>πίστις</i> —Theosophy . . .	347
Farther advance of the ideas of Clement by Origen—His view on the nature of faith and its degrees—Opposition to faith in sight (<i>γνώσις</i>)—	

False explanation of St. Paul's expressions—On the twofold position of a spiritual and a carnal Christian—On spiritual Judaism and carnal Christianity—On the deeper sense of Holy Scripture . . .	348
Connection of this theory with the different forms of revelation of the Logos—Distinction of the predicates of the Logos in reference to his nature, and what he is, as received in reference to redemption—Origen on the subordinate position—and condescension to it—Disapproval of a contemptuous pride . . .	352
Theory of different exegetical positions connected with the former theory—Twofold position—The predominantly speculative spirit leads to an intermixture of Christian philosophy and the doctrines of the Christian faith . . .	353
Subject-matter [<i>lit. contents</i>] of Gnosis—as received by Origen—Third (and more exhortatory) sense of Scripture—for those who had not attained to Gnosis—Supposition of myths in Scripture—Application of this principle to the New Testament . . .	355
Explanation of the views of Origen—Truth and error mixed together in them—But still what is historical not destroyed—Necessary opposition to these views in Realism . . .	356
II. The Development of the great doctrines of Christianity considered separately . . .	357—407

Theology.

Doctrine concerning God—God-consciousness revived in Christianity—Different forms of its development—Controversy of the Church doctrine with the superstitious and idolators—Appeal to the original God-consciousness—Clement on the demonstration of the existence of God—Origen—Theophilus of Antioch on the revelation of God in the creation—Tertullian—Who appeals to the testimony of the soul, especially against Marcion . . .	357
Nature of God—Realistic conception of it—Tertullian—Confusion between corporeality and existence—Spiritualization of the Idea-of-God by means of a practical disposition—Irenæus, Novatian. Distinction between Anthropomorphism and Anthropopathism—Truth in the latter—Opposition between a sensuous humanizing of God in religious Realism; and a dehumanizing of him in Idealism—Peculiar nature of Marcian's Anthropopathism—Tertullian against him—Endeavours of the Alexandrians to spiritualize Anthropopathism—Origen—Middle way of the Alexandrians between the Gnostics and the rest of the Church-teachers . . .	360
Doctrine concerning creation—Creation out of nothing—In opposition to the religions of nature [deification of nature]—Maintenance of the Incomprehensible as such against speculation and poetry [imaginative views]—Christianity purifies religious faith—Misconception of this doctrine by the Gnostics . . .	363
Doctrine of Hermogenes—Difference and coincidence of his turn of mind with that of the Gnostics—His controversy against the emanation-doctrine of the Gnostics—Tertullian concerning him—His doctrine of evil—Deduced from natural necessity—Eternity of two principles—God the forming principle—His incon-	

sistency in the notion of a progressive formation of matter--Theodoret concerning him--Irenæus and Tertullian against these dispositions	365	--Agreement between Origen and Eusebius--Origen persuades Beryllus--Spirit of moderation in the Alexandrian School	378
Peculiar system of Origen--Engraftment on the Church-doctrine, and union of speculation with it--Impossibility of a transition from not-creating to creating--Origen, an opponent of the Gnostic emanation-system--Supposes a spiritual beaming forth of God--Eternal Becoming--His opponent Methodius--Weakness of his objections	366	Sabellius engrafs his doctrines on those of Beryllus--Sources of his doctrine according to Epiphanius--His Monas and Trias--His doctrine of the Logos--The spiritual personality of the Logos considered as an hypostatized emanation--Denial of an eternally enduring personality--Final return to the Monas	379
Origen's doctrine of the omnipotence of God--Platonizing view of it--Importance of this doctrine in his system	367	Church-doctrine of the Trinity, in opposition to the Monarchians--Opposed views of the Western and Eastern Churches--The Alexandrians--Origen--His doctrines taken collectively--His views opposed both to Gnostics and Monarchians--Opposed to the transference of the idea of time to the Logos--To sensuous representations and expressions in regard to generation--Opposed to ὁμοουσιον, in favour of the absolute pre-eminence of the Father--Practical consequence of this doctrine in regard to prayer	381
Doctrine of the Trinity--Peculiarity of Christianity in the recognition and worship of God as Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier--Import of this doctrine--Different modes of conceiving the Triune God--Mischiefs arising from the mixture of speculative and dialectic notions with the practical element	368	Comparison of Tertullian with Origen--Condemnation of the ὁμοουσιον by the Council of Antioch	385
Idea of the Logos--Engrafting on the previous ideas derived from St. Paul and St. John--Union of the doctrine of the divinity of Christ with existing speculative ideas--Two different dispositions, already existing among the Jews--The Church-doctrine engrafs itself on the one, while the other comes forward to oppose the Church-doctrine, and thus furthers its development	369	Seed of a controversy between the Origenistic system and that of the Romish Church--Letter of Dionysius of Rome against ὁμοουσιον--His moderation	386
The opponents of the Church-doctrine endeavour to maintain firmly the Unity of God (μοναρχια)--Difference in the application of this theory to Christ--Two classes of Monarchians derived from this source--The first proceeding from a dialectic and critical turn of mind, the second from a practical and Christian	370	Doctrine concerning the Holy Ghost--Imperfect ideas on the nature of Spirit--The idea of a personal substantial Being is firmly maintained--Justin Martyr--Origen	386
The second class of Monarchians more sharply opposed to the first, than to the Church-doctrine--from a peculiarly Christian leaning--Patripassians--Origen concerning them	371	Anthropology.	
Praxeas, a Patripassian--His life--His doctrine of the Logos--Two views concerning it possible, according to Tertullian	371	Doctrine concerning human nature--Its peculiar importance in reference to the doctrine of Redemption--Pneumatology--Connection with Anthropology--Neglect of what is of importance in a Christian and practical point of view among the Gnostics--Church-doctrine in opposition to them--In reference to evil	387
Doctrines of Noetus--Theodoret and Hippolytus concerning him	372	Contrast between the North African and the Alexandrian teachers.	
First class of Patripassians--First traces of them--Their founder Theodotus--Artemon--Artemonites--Christology of the two parties--Explanation of the Artemonite disposition	372	North African Church--Tertullian's doctrine--His peculiar theory of the propagation of the first corruption--Tertullian on sinfulness--Opposition against the division of the soul into ἀλογον and λογικον--Against the Gnostic doctrine of different elementary principles in human nature--Tertullian on grace and free will--No irresistible grace	388
Alogi--Whether they belong to this class--First trace of them in Irenæus--Traces in Epiphanius--Inquiries into the nature of this party--Connection between the Alogi and the Theodotians according to Epiphanius--Their opposition to the Gospel of St. John, and the Old Testament	374	Alexandrian Church--Clement against the North African doctrine--His Anthropology--Peculiar system of Origen--He endeavours to derive all differences from moral freedom--Vacillating views of Origen hereon, in respect to the origin of evil	388
Paul of Samosata--Ambiguity of his character--Accusations against him--Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, favours him--He uses this connection for worldly objects--He favours the acclamations of the people in the Church--Changes the Church-hymns, apparently from dogmatical grounds--His doctrine of the Logos--Reference which he gave to the name of the "Son of God"--He was in the habit of concealing his theological views--Fate of Paul	376	Origen against Traducianism and Cretianism--He teaches the pre-existence of souls--Allegorical explanation of the narrative concerning Paradise--The doctrine put forth in the book πρὸς ἑβραίους respecting the degradation of fallen souls in the bodies of animals afterwards given up--Theory of a process of purification in opposition to the notion of a cycle in the wanderings of the soul--Three principles, according to Origen, in the fallen nature of man--Their characteristics	392
Last class of Monarchians (a third class, which stood between the two already mentioned)--Beryllus of Bostra--Eusebius concerning him			

Christology.

Doctrine about the Redeemer—Development of this doctrine—Realistic-Christian disposition called forth by opposition to Gnostic systems—Especially by opposition to Docetism—Ignatius of Antioch—Tertullian—Doctrine of Clement, corrupted by Neo-Platonism (the *ἀπαθεία* of the Redeemer)—Doctrine of Irenæus—Justin Martyr—In his system the Logos takes the place of a soul—Tertullian on the proper human soul of the Redeemer 393

Influence of Origen on the Church system of doctrine—His efforts for a systematic foundation of this doctrine—Difference between the *πνεύμα* and the *ψυχή* in Christ—The Redeemer's soul an instrument for the communication of life—His doctrine of the nature of the body of Christ—His influence on the formation of the Church-doctrine—The Origenistic view brought forward against Beryllus of Bostra—Objections to the doctrine of Origen 395

Doctrine concerning Redemption—Character of the doctrine at this period—Negative and positive side of the doctrine—Both these points used against Docetism—In the doctrine of Irenæus the latter point, in that of Justin Martyr the former predominant—peculiar theory of redemption in Origen—His view of the magical operation of the sacrifice of a guiltless one 397

Doctrine concerning faith—Connection between redemption and sanctification—Subjective appropriation of redemption—Individual witness of the original Christian conviction and consciousness [*Bewusstsein*—Clement of Rome—Irenæus on law and faith—The Pauline notion of faith obscured—Judaizing view of it—False notion among the Gnostics—Marcion—Fundamental idea of the Church-doctrine—Disturbed by interchange of outward and inward things 399

Doctrine concerning the Church.

Doctrine concerning the sacraments—Obscurity concerning the relation of the divine thing to the outward token—*a*) Baptism—Irenæus—Tertullian—Confusion between outward and inward—Its practical prejudicial consequences—Satisfaction for sins committed after baptism, by means of penances and good works—Cyprian—*b*) Supper of the Lord—Doctrine of Ignatius of Antioch—Justin—Irenæus—Tertullian—Belief in the North African Church, in a supernatural sanctifying power of the token—Doctrine of the Alexandrians—View of Origen—His doctrine of the symbol in the Sacrament 400

Eschatology.

Doctrine concerning the last things—Chiliasm—Conception of the idea of a millennial kingdom—Sensuous Chiliasm of Papias of Hierapolis—This is purified and spiritualized in the case of Irenæus—It never belonged to the general doctrines of the Church 404

Antichilastic disposition—Opposition to Montanism—The presbyter Caius against Proclus—Influence of the learned views of the Alexandrians on the spiritualization of the ideas of the kingdom of God and Christ—Sensuous Chiliasm in Egypt—Defended by Nepos of

Nomos, and advanced by Korakion—Moderation of Dionysius of Alexandria in controverting this error—His work *πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν*—Judgment concerning Nepos 405

Doctrine concerning the Resurrection—Views of the Gnostics—A carnal conception opposed to this view—Interchange [*Verwechslung*! Reconciliation] of the opposite extremes in Origen 406

Doctrine of the restoration of all things—Theory of Origen 407

III. History of the most celebrated Church-teachers 407—453

Apostolical Fathers—Difference between their writings and those of the Apostles—Writings of these Fathers, in an unsatisfactory condition 407

Barnabas—The Catholic Epistle not written by him—Alexandrian spirit in that letter—Fanciful remarks in it alternately with pompous ones—Tendency of the epistle 407

Clement of Rome—His letter to the Corinthian Church—Fragment of a second—Two letters under his name in the Syrian Church (edited by Wetstein)—Doubts as to their genuineness—The Clementine—Apostolical Constitutions counterfeited under his name 408

Hermas—Pastor Hermas—Doubts as to its genuineness 409

Ignatius of Antioch—Seven epistles to the Churches of Asia Minor, and to Polycarp 410

Polycarp of Smyrna—Epistle to the Philippians 410

Apologists—Occasion of the defence of the Christians—Quadratus—His Apology lost—Eusebius concerning him 414

Aristides 414

Justin Martyr—Accounts of his life and education—His religious development—His activity as a preacher of the Gospel—His Apology to the emperor—Occasion of the first Apology—Time at which it was written—Whether written in the time of Marcus Aurelius—It comes into the time of Antoninus Pius—Peculiar ideas of these Apologies on Revelation and the *λογος σπέρματος*—But nothing of this kind occurs in his other writings—His "Exhortation to the Greeks"—Explanation of this difference—*λογος πρὸς Ἕλληνας*—Treatise *πρὸς Ἰουδαίους*—Dialogus cum Tryphone Judæo—Its authenticity and relation to the other writings of Justin—Agreement of the Apologies and this Dialogue—Especially in the doctrine of the Logos and the *ἰσχυρὰ ἔργα*—Occasion and cause of the composition of this Dialogue—Lost work of Justin—Letter on the characteristics of Christian worship, not genuine—His martyrdom 411

Tatian, a disciple of Justin—His religious development—His study of the Old Testament—Preparatory to believing—His address to the heathen 417

Athenagoras—Apology to the emperor—Personal accounts of him—Treatise in defence of the resurrection 418

Hermias—His *διατμήσεις τῶν ἱερῶν σοφισμάτων*—A violent enemy of the Greek philosophy 419

Theophilus of Antioch—Apologetical work by him addressed to Autolyceus—His commentary on the Bible 419

Peculiar character of the Church-teachers of Asia Minor.

Formation of the Anti-Gnostic--Practical--Realistic spirit--Hegesippus--His Church history--Hardly an opponent of Paul--Active authorship of these teachers--(Melito of Sardis)--Their object--Claudius Apollinaris . . . 419

Irenæus, bishop of Lyons and Vienne--His epistles to Florinus--Irenæus no Montanist--His chief work against the Gnostics--His other writings--Exegesis and Hermeneutics formed in opposition to the Gnostics--Epistles of Irenæus to Blastus and Florinus . . . 421

Hippolytus, a disciple of Irenæus--His residence--His writings--List of the latter--His works on the Gospel of St. John and the Apocalypse--Against thirty-two heresies--About Antichrist, and his *πρὸς τρεῖς αἰῶνες* 423

Peculiar character of the Church-teachers of North Africa.

Tertullian--His characteristics--Personal History--His conversion to Montanism--Whether he remained a Montanist--Tertullianists 424

Cyprian--Influence of Tertullian on him--His "Libri Testimoniorum"--Intention and aim of this collection . . . 427

[Commodianus--His "Instructiones"--Written not long after Cyprian's time--His strict notions--Speaks against pride in martyrdom as an "opus operatum"] . . . 427

Ambrosius--Account of his conversion--His apologetic work--Occasion of his conversion--Time of the composition of his work "Adversus Gentes" . . . 427

Romish Church.

Its original poverty in Theological respects--Caius--Novatianus--His writings--Treatise concerning the Jewish laws about food--Minucius Felix--his Apologetic Dialogue . . . 429

Peculiar character of the Alexandrian Church-teachers.

Pantænus--Clement of Alexandria, his successor in the office of Catechist--His writings--Of an apologetic, ethical, and dogmatical character--His Hypotyposes--The rest of his writings 430

Origen--His biography--Influence of his father Leonidas on the formation of his religious character--Influence of Clement on his theological development--Origen amidst persecution--His place of refuge--His controversy with Gnosticism--His firmness during the persecutions--His asceticism--Misunderstanding of this 432

Theological formation of Origen--His employment on the Platonic philosophy--Justification of this study--Ammonius Saccas, his teacher--Change in the theological turn of his mind--His free spirit of investigation, and his mildness, particularly in reference to the Gnostics

in Alexandria--(Ambrosius)--His services in the cause of exegesis and criticism--He divides his office of Catechist with Heraclas . . . 435

His activity as a theological teacher--Character of his lectures on the explanation of Scripture--Active participation of Ambrosius in his labours--His expressions with regard to the object of his labours--His commentary--His work *περὶ ἀρχῶν*--His endeavours for the party of the Church zealots--His relations with Demetrius of Alexandria--Jealousy of the latter towards him--Origen ordained a presbyter at Cæsarea--Persecution of Origen by the bishop--First and second synods against him--Excommunication of Origen in the last of these--Causes of these persecutions--One cause of them the dogmatical views of Origen [dogmatik]--His expressions with regard to those who charged him with heresy--His writings addressed to the synod in his own defence 437

His activity in Palestine--Exhortation to the confessors--His change of residence--Correction of the Alexandrian version--Hexapla--His conduct in this matter defended by himself--His interchange of letters with Julius Africanus, and his prejudices in regard to the traditions of the Church--The rest of his writings--His influence on the controversies relative to the doctrine--His steadfast confession during the Decian persecution--His death . . . 440

Continuation of the Origenistic School--Disciples of Origen--Heraclas--Dionysius of Alexandria--His letter to the Bishop Basilides in Egypt--Pierius and Theognostus, teachers of the Alexandrian Church--An Origenistic and an Anti-Origenistic party in Egypt . . . 445

Hieracas, the ascetic--His allegorizing exegesis and ascetic bias--His disapproval of marriage--Participation in the kingdom of heaven, a consequence of severity and strictness of moral observances--His views on the middle state of Children [in the world to come] and on the Trinity . . . 446

Gregory Thaumaturgus--His parentage and education--His acquaintance with Origen leads him to Christianity--His language concerning the Exegesis of Origen--His departure from his master--Origen--Epistle of the latter to Gregory--His activity in Neo-Cæsarea--His writings . . . 449

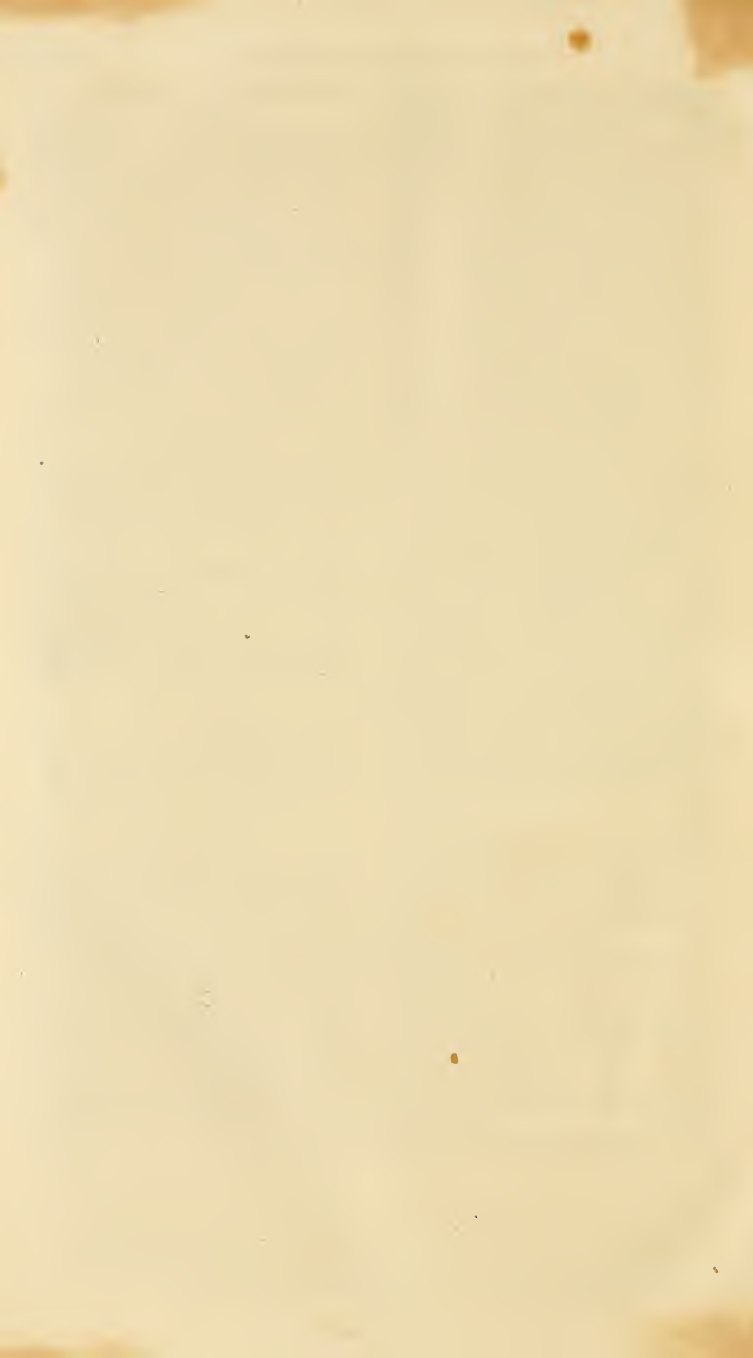
Methodius, bishop of Olympus--An opponent of the Origenistic school--but an illogical one--His writings . . . 452

Pamphilus, presbyter at Cæsarea in Palestine--Defends Origen. He is the founder of a theological school, especially for exegesis--His work in defence of Origen, written in conjunction with his scholar Eusebius . . . 452

Theological school at Antioch--Of great importance in an exegetical point of view--Dorotheus and Lucian . . . 453

General conclusion in regard to this period 453











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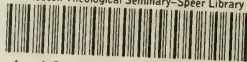
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